

A POPULAR
HISTORY OF PRIESTCRAFT

IN

ALL AGES AND NATIONS.

BY WILLIAM HOWITT.

//

Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

MILTON.

We spirits are not citizens of the earth, but of the city of God, called the universe: and our life fills not merely a moment, but eternity. In this exalted position, what can we do more worthy of our destination than, like Christ, and by his word, to release spirits from the shackles of error, and to bring them nearer unto God.

SHOBERL'S *Present State of Christianity throughout the World.*

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WITH LARGE ADDITIONS.

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JOHN CHILDS AND SON, BUNGAY.

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— 1848 —

Oh Truth ! immortal Truth ! on what wild ground
Still hast thou trod through this unspiritual sphere !
The strong, the brutish, and the vile surround
Thy presence, lest thy streaming glory cheer
The poor, the many, without price, or bound ;
Drowning thy voice, they fill the popular ear,
In thy high name, with canons, creeds, and laws,
Feigning to serve, that they may mar thy cause.

And the great multitude doth crouch and bear
The burden of the selfish. That emprise,—
That lofty spirit of Virtue which can dare
To rend the bands of error from all eyes,
And from the freed soul pluck each sensual care,
To them is but a fable. Therefore lies
Darkness upon the mental desert still,
And wolves devour, and robbers walk at will.

Yet, ever and anon, from thy bright quiver,
The flaming arrows of thy might are strown ;
And rushing forth, thy dauntless children shiver
The strength of foes who press too near thy throne.
Then, like the sun, or thy Almighty Giver,
Thy light is through the startled nations shown ;
And generous indignation tramples down
The sophist's web, and the oppressor's crown.

Oh ! might it burn for ever ! But in vain—
For vengeance rallies the alarmed host,
Who from men's souls draw their dishonest gain.
For thee they smite, audaciously they boast,
Even while thy sons are in thy bosom slain.
Yet this is thy sure solace—that not lost,
Each drop of blood, each tear,—Cadmean seed
Shall send up armed champions at thy need.*

1827.

W. H.

* From the " Desolation of Eyam, and other Poems."

Various well-meaning people have expressed the wish that I had defined what *priestcraft* is, and distinguished it from *priesthood*. Can that be needful? Do not the things clearly enough contradict themselves? Is not this volume an embodied mass of such distinctions? Or will not any common dictionary do it? *Priesthood*, the office of priest or teacher of a religion. *Priestcraft*, the craft or selfish cunning which perverts that office, and converts it into a mischievous machine to secure the base ends of individuals, or of a party. Such also is the distinction between *kingship* and *kingcraft*.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE SEVENTH EDITION.

ELEVEN years have elapsed since the publication of the first edition of this work, and perhaps no equal number of years has ever afforded in this country such demonstrations of the truth of the great principle advocated in it—the enfranchisement of the church of Christ from the thralldom of the churches of men. Never, at any moment, did such glorious proofs present themselves of the total inadequacy of state Establishments of religion to effect the vaunted objects of their erection and maintenance, as are exhibited in the present position of the state churches of this empire. After all that has been so loudly sounded in our ears, of the absolute necessity of state religions for the maintenance of the unity and uniformity of religious faith, and of showing to the world what is *really the religion of the nation*, it would puzzle the ablest head to tell us what even is actually the present religion of the state.

In the first place, if we seek the *religion of the nation*, we find ourselves immediately in the midst of a host of *dissenters*, of such overwhelming numbers that we are compelled to give up seeking the *religion of the nation* in the *religion of the state*. If, however, we give up this point, and admit that the great object of government is a failure, that it has not succeeded in making the *religion*

of the state the religion of the nation, and content ourselves with inquiring what is then the religion of the state, we find ourselves in no less a dilemma. Some will boldly tell us that the religion of the state is threefold—Episcopalianism, Presbyterianism, and Catholicism; for that these are the three prevailing religions of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and that all these have their representatives in parliament. But if we are again driven by our own convictions that *our state is not so very religious* as to have *three religions at once*, and by the loud assertions of the state clergy themselves, to seek for the state religion only in *the state-paid churches*, we are still equally at a loss. Where, we ask, is the unity and the uniformity of faith? Never, indeed, was such a spectacle of disunity and discordance of faith and of opinion as amongst the clergy of each individual church!

The church of England, which is also called the church of Ireland, to its "popish liturgy, Calvinistic creed, and Arminian clergy," to all its former internal sects of High and Low Churchmen, Nonjurors, and Evangelicals, has now got a great Puseyite, or popish sect in it; Oxford is at war with Cambridge, bishop with bishop, parish priest with parish priest, and parishes with their priests. The old leaven of popery which was left by the arbitrary act of government in the lump at the Reformation, has worked bravely, and popery is almost as rife in the church of England now as it was in the days of Laud. Is the religion of the nation then Puseyism, or popery in disguise? For it is certain that the nation is made to pay for its propagation. It is from the national university, and from the national pulpits, by clergy supported by national property, that this Puseyism is preached. *No one* disputes that Dr. Pusey has a right to preach Puseyism, or any other ism, but can *any one* tell what right he has to preach it at the expense of the nation?

Of the unity and uniformity for which the church was set up not a shred is to be found! Of the effectiveness of a national religion there is almost as little trace. In Wales, as may be seen from an additional chapter in this edition, it actually suffered all religion to be lost; and when one of its curates pointed out the

startling fact, he was driven out of the national fold, as a noisy cur that would not let the shepherds sleep; and the dissenters came in and evangelized the land; the poor outcast curate, for want of employment by his own church, joining them in the good work.

In Ireland the state church still remains the miserable fraction that it ever was. It has not been able to proselyte the seven millions of people that were plundered of their fathers' property to maintain this fraction of a foreign church, and it has amply succeeded in the more, natural consequence of driving this seven millions, by the constant irritation of witnessing this monstrous state of things, to the verge of destruction, and of rebellion. So flagrantly does this state of things outrage all principles of justice, common sense, and common humanity, that the leaders of the Whig party begin to declare plainly that it must have an end; that the clergy of both churches must be paid by the state, or neither; nay, the very Tories now in power are actually beginning to carry out this principle, to the consternation of O'Connell; who feels that if the state is cunning enough to induce the catholic priesthood of Ireland to look towards it as the source of emolument, they will speedily let fall the drum-stick ecclesiastic with which they have so lustily thumped away for Repeal, and then farewell to that magic word.

But in Scotland?—In that *third* state church for creating uniformity, unity, and a national religion,—in that virtuous, moderately paid, unambitious church without a hierarchy,—how is it there? In that church which sent out Dr. Chalmers, even into London, to demonstrate incontestably that it was not in religion as in political economy; that a demand *did not exist* for religion, it must be *created*; and that no power was competent to the great task but that of a *nation*!—how is it with this church and its mighty antagonist of the voluntary principle? Astounding! As Dominie Sampson would say, “Pro-di-gi-ous!” Why, this church too has been in a tempest of internal distraction. It has been rent to the very centre by its own agitations. It has burst asunder, and out of its ruins have marched forth *four hundred* and

seventy of its clergy, who have quarrelled with the hand that fed them; and at their head—can we believe our eyes!—this very Dr. Chalmers,—this very Goliath of state churchism; this demolisher of the voluntary principle,—to set up a *Free Scotch Church on the voluntary principle!*

Thus, then, it seems that in this new Tale of a Tub,—not a tub of state can stand on its own bottom, or rather, can find a proper bottom to stand upon. Spite of all the coopering of kings and parliaments, these sacred vessels of state continually burst their hoops, and fall into a confused heap of useless staves. But if these state Establishments do not preserve unity and uniformity of faith; if they do not enable a nation to show to the world what really is its religion; if they cannot even prevent their falling to pieces, people may very naturally ask,—What do they do? And why do we still maintain them at the costly rate of ten millions a year? Instead of answering that question, I merely say, as Abernethy used to say to applicants for his advice—"Read my book!"—though I will not undertake to affirm, but that, when my readers arrive at the end, they may repeat the question still more earnestly than ever.

It only remains to add, that a vast mass of new matter has been added to this edition. It contains several entirely new chapters, and the whole work has been so got up as to present three times the original information, at a considerably reduced price.

W. H.

*The Elms, Clapton Pond,
Jan. 1845.*

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PRIESTCRAFT IN ALL AGES.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF PRIESTCRAFT.

THIS unfortunate world has been blasted in all ages by two evil principles—Kingcraft and Priestcraft—that, taking advantage of human necessities, in themselves not hard—salutary, and even beneficial in their natural operation—the necessity of civil government, and that of spiritual instruction, have warped them cruelly from their own pure direction, and converted them into the most odious, the most terrible and disastrous scourges of our race. These malign powers have ever begun, as it were, at the wrong end of things. Kingcraft, seizing upon the office of civil government, not as the gift of popular choice, and to be filled for the good of nations, but with the desperate hand of physical violence, has proclaimed that it was not made for man, but man for it—that it possessed an inherent and divine right to rule, to trample upon men's hearts, to violate their dearest rights, to scatter their limbs and their blood at its pleasure upon the earth; and, in return for its atrocities, to be worshipped on bended knee, and hailed as a god. Its horrors are on the face of every nation; its annals are written in gore in all civilized climes; and, where pen never was known, it has scored its terrors in the hearts of millions, and left its traces in deserts of everlasting desolation, and in the ferocious spirits of abused and brutalized hordes. What is all the history of this wretched planet but a mass of its bloody wrath and detestable oppressions, whereby it has converted earth into a hell; men into the worst of demons; and has turned the human mind from its natural pursuit of knowledge, and virtue, and social happiness, into a career of blind rage, bitter and foolish prejudices; an entailment of awful and crime-creating ignorance; and has held the universal soul of man in the blackest and most pitiable of bondage? Countless are its historians; we need not add one more to the unavailing catalogue: but, of

That sister-pest, congregator of slaves
Into the shadow of its pinions wide,

I do not know that there has been one man who has devoted himself solely and completely to the task of tracing its course of demoniacal devastation. Many of its fiendish arts and exploits, undoubtedly, are embodied in what is called ecclesiastical history; many are presented to us in the chronicles of kingcraft; for the two evil powers have ever been intimately united in their labours. They have mutually and lovingly supported each other; knowing that individually they are "weak as stubble," yet, conjointly,

Can bind
Into a mass irrefragably firm
The axes and the rods which awe mankind.

Thus, through this pestilential influence, we must admit that too much of its evil nature has been forced on our observation incidentally; but no one clear and complete picture of it has been presented to our view. It shall now be my task to supply to the world this singular desideratum. It shall be my task to show, that priestcraft in all ages and all nations has been the same; that its nature is one, and that nature essentially evil; that its object is self-gratification and self-aggrandizement; the means it uses—the basest frauds, the most shameless delusions, practised on the popular mind for the acquisition of power; and that power once gained, the most fierce and bloody exercise of it, in order to render it at once awful and perpetual. I shall show, that nothing is so servilely mean in weakness, so daring in assumption, so arrogant in command,—earth, heaven, the very throne and existence of God himself being used but as the tools of its designs, and appealed to with horrible impudence in the most shameless of its lies. That, professing itself merciful, nothing on this earth, which is by no means wanting in scenes of terror, has ever exhibited itself in shapes of equal cruelty—cruelty, cold, selfish, and impassable; that, claiming sanctity as its peculiar attribute, nothing has been so grossly debauched and licentious; that, assuming the mien of humility, nothing is so impiously proud, so offensively insolent; that, proclaiming to others the utter vanity of worldly goods, its cupidity is insatiable—of worldly honours, its ambition is boundless; that, affecting peace and purity, it has perpetrated the most savage wars, ay, in the very name of Heaven, and spread far and wide the contagion of sensuality; that, in Europe, usurping the chair of knowledge, the office of promulgating the doctrines of a religion whose very nature overflows with freedom, and love, and liberal enlightenment, it has locked up the human mind for more than a thousand years in the dens of ignorance; mocked it with the vilest baubles, the most imbecile legends; made it a prey to all the restless and savage passions of an uncultured and daily irritated soul; robbed it of the highest joys of earth or heaven—those of the exercise of a perfected intellect and a benevolent spirit; and finally, by its tyrannies, its childish puerilities, its inane pomps and most ludicrous dogmas, overwhelmed the middle ages with

the horrors of an iron bigotry, and the modern world with the tenfold horrors of infidel heartlessness and the wars of atheism.

This is a mighty and an awful charge. Alas! the annals of all people are but too affluent in proofs of its justice. I shall prove this through the most popular histories, that the general reader may, if he please, easily refer to them, and be satisfied of the correctness of my statements. While I proceed, however, to draw these proofs from the most accessible works, I shall carefully war alone with the principle, not with individual men. The very worst systems have often involved in their blind intricacies the best of men: and in some of those which it will be my duty, as a man, to denounce, there have been, and there are at the present moment, numbers of sincere and excellent beings, who are an honour and a blessing to their race.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN OF PAGANISM.

PRIESTCRAFT and kingcraft began at pretty much the same time, and that at an early age of the world, to exercise their baneful influence over it. Whether they existed, and if so, what they did, in the antediluvian world, we know not, and it concerns us little: but immediately after the flood, they became conspicuous. Nimrod is usually supposed to be the first monarch; the first man who, not satisfied with the mild patriarchal rule over his brethren, is believed to have collected armies, dispossessed the peaceful children of Shem of part of their territories by violence, and swayed all whom he could by the terrors of overwhelming force. Priestcraft, it is evident, by many indubitable signs, was busily at work at the same moment. Certain common principles running through idolatrous worship in every known part of the globe, have convinced the most acute and industrious antiquarians, that every pagan worship in the world has the same origin; and that origin could have coincided only with some early period, when the whole human family was together in one place. This fact, now that countries, their habits and opinions, have been so extensively examined, would have led learned men of the present day, had not the Bible been in our possession, to the confident conclusion that mankind had, at first, but one source, and one place of abode: that their religious opinions had been at that time uniform: and that, dispersing from that point of original residence, they had carried these opinions into all regions of the earth, where, through the progress of ages, they had received many modifications, been variously darkened and disfigured, but not to such an extent as to extinguish those great leading features which mark them as the offspring of one primeval parent. But the Bible not only shows that such was the origin of the various human families, not only shows the time when they dwelt in one place, when and how they were thence dispersed, but also furnishes us with a certain key to the whole theory of universal paganism.

We see at once, that every system of heathen mythology had its origin in the corruption of patriarchal worship before the dispersion at Babel. There the whole family of man was collected in the descendants of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet; and thence, at that time, they were scattered abroad by the hand of God over the world. Japhet colonized the whole of Europe; all those northern regions called Tartary and Siberia; and, in

process of time, by the easy passage of Behring's Straits, the entire continent of America. His son Gomer seems clearly to have been the father of those who were originally called Gomerians; and by slight variations, were afterwards termed Comarians, Cimmerians, Cymbri, Cumbri, Cambri, and Umbri; and, in later years, Celts, Gauls, and Gaels. These extended themselves over the regions north of Armenia and Bactriana; thence over nearly all Europe, and first planted Britain and Ireland. Magog, Tubal, and Mesech, as we learn from Ezekiel, dwelt far to the north of Judea, and became the ancestors of the great Sclavonic or Sarmatian families; the name of Magog still existing in the appellations of Mogli, Monguls, and Mongolians; those of Tubal and Mesech, in Tobolski, Moschici, and Moscow and Moscovites: Madai was father of the Medes, and Javan of the original inhabitants of Greece, where we may trace the names of his sons Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, in Elis, Tarsus, Cittium, and Dodona.

The posterity of Shem were confined to southern Asia; founding by his sons Elam, or Persia, Ashur, or Assyria, a province of Iran, or great Assyrian empire of Nimrod, whose son Cush appears to have subdued these descendants of Shem. Arphaxad became the father of the Hebrews and other kindred nations; his descendant Peleg founded Babylonia; and Joktan, stretching far towards the east, probably became the father of the Hindoos. Ophir, one of the sons of Joktan, is often mentioned in Scripture as dwelling in a land of gold, to which voyages were made by ships issuing from the Red Sea, and sailing eastward; but Elam and Cush occupied the whole sea-coast of Persia, as far as the Indus. This, therefore, brings us to the great peninsular of Hindostan for the seat of Ophir. Lud, the fourth son of Shem, is presumed to be the founder of Lydia; and Aram, the fifth, the father of Mesopotamia and Syria.

Ham was at first mixed with Shem throughout southern Asia, and became the sole occupant of Africa. Of his sons, Cush became the founder of Iran, or central Asia, the great Assyrian empire, and the progenitor of all those called Cushim, Cushas, Cuths, Goths, Scyths, Scuths, or Scots. Mizraim peopled Egypt; Phut, the western frontier of Egypt, and thence, passing west and south, spread over the greater part of Africa; and Canaan, it is well known, peopled the tract afterwards inhabited by the Israelites.

Thus, it is said, was the world peopled; and that it was thus peopled, we learn not only from Moses, but from profane writers; and find both accounts confirmed by abundant evidence in the manners, traditions, language, and occupance of the different races at the present day. Sir William Jones found only three great original languages to exist—Arabic, Sclavonic, and Sanscrit: and these three all issue from one point, central Asia, whence, by consent of the most ancient records and traditions of the great primeval nations, their original ancestors spread.

But before they were thus scattered, they had corrupted the religious doctrines they had received from their great progenitor, Noah; or rather, had set them aside, in order to deify Noah and his three sons, whom they had come to regard as a re-appearance of Adam and his three sons, Cain, Abel, and Seth. The singular coincidence of circumstances between Adam and Noah forced this upon their imaginations. Adam, the first man, and father of the first world,—and Noah, the first man, and father of the second world, had each three sons conspicuous in history; and of these three, one in each case was a bad one—Cain and Ham. Led by this, to consider the second family but an avater of the first, they regarded them as immortal, and worshipped them. Hence we have in all pagan mythologies a triad of principal gods. In the Greek—Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto; in the Hindoo—Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva; in the Egyptian—Osiris, Horus, and Typhon; one of whom, in each case, is a deity of a dark nature, like Cain and Ham. The Persians had their Ormuzd, Mithras, and Ahriman; the Syrians, their Monimus, Aziz, and Ares; the Canaanites, their Baal-Shalisha, or self-triplicated Baal; the Goths, their Odin, Vile, and Ve, who are described as the three sons of the mysterious cow, a symbol of the ark; the Jakuthi Tartars, their Artugon, Schugoteugon, and Tangara, the last, even in name, the Tanga-tanga of the Peruvians: for this singular fact stops not with the great primitive nations; it extends itself to all others, even to those discovered in modern times. Like China and Japan, the Peruvians were found, on the discovery of America, to have their triads, Apomti, Churunti, and Intiquoaqui; or the father-sun, the brother-sun, and the son-sun. The Mexicans had also their Mexitli, Tlaloc, and Tezcallipuca; the last, the god of repentance. The Virginians, Iroquois, and various nations of North-American Indians, held similar notions. The New Zealanders believe that three gods made the first man, and the first woman from the man's rib; and their general term for bone is Eve. The Otaheitans had a similar idea.

Thus, far and wide, to the very hidden ends of the earth, spread this notion of a triad: and hence, in the second century, it found its way, through Justin Martyr into the Christian church.

The post-diluvians likewise held the Ark in the most sacred veneration. It was that into which their great father and all living things had entered and floated away safely over the destroying waters. It was the type of the earth into which Adam had entered by death; and, as they supposed, re-appeared in Noah. Hence, an ark is to be found in nearly every system of pagan worship. After it, were fashioned the most ancient temples. It was borne in the most religious processions of Osiris, Adonis, Bacchus, Ceres, and amongst the Druids: and has been found, to the astonishment of discoverers and missionaries, amongst the Mexicans, the North-American Indians, and the South-sea Islanders.

Hence, also, the doctrine of a succession of worlds, from the supposed re-appearance of Adam and his three sons, in Noah and his three sons, which has expanded itself into the great system of transmigrations and avatars of the Hindoos. Hence, also, the traditions of a universal deluge to be found amongst all the ancient nations; amongst the wild tribes of America; amongst the Hindoos in the east, and the Celts in the west. Hence, the close connexion of lakes with heathen temples; and hence, lastly, the ancient mysteries, which were but a symbolical representation of entering the ark, or great cave of death and life; which, as the old world was purified by the flood, was supposed to purify and confer a new life on those who passed through those mysteries, which were celebrated with striking similarity in Greece, India, Egypt, and amongst the Druids in these islands. These, and many other general features of paganism—for abundant illustration of which I refer my reader to the learned works of Calmet, Bryant, Faber, and Spencer, *De Legibus Ritualibus Hebræorum*—sufficiently testify to the common origin of all heathen systems of worship; and we shall presently find how amply the priests of all ages and all the Gentile nations, have laid hold on these rich materials, and converted them into exuberant sources of wealth, and power, and honour to themselves, and of terror, deception, and degradation to their victims—the people.

It may, perhaps, be said that they themselves were but the slaves of superstition, in common with those they taught; and that it would be unfair to charge them with the wilful misleading of their auditors, when they themselves were blinded by the common delusions of their times and countries. But we must recollect, that though the people were taught by them to believe, and could not, in dark times, easily escape the influence of their doctrines and practices, studiously adapted to dazzle and deceive the senses, yet it was impossible for the priests to enter upon their office, without discovering that those terrors were fictitious,—without finding that they were called upon to maintain a series of utter fallacies. The people might listen to oracles, uttered amid a multitude of imposing pageants and awful solemnities, in the sacred gloom of temples and groves; and might really believe that a god spoke. But where were the priests? Behind these scenes!—and must soon have found that, instead of the inspiration of a present god, they themselves were the actors of the vilest impositions; which, through the temptations of power, and fame, and wealth, they became the willing means of fixing on their countrymen.

When did any one, in any nation, on discovering that he had entered an order of impostors, renounce their connexion, and abandon his base calling? Never!—the spirit of priestcraft was too subtly potent for him. He either acquiesced readily in measures, which were, to him, pregnant with honour, ease, and abundance; or saw that instant destruction awaited him, from the wily and merciless spirit of priestcraft, if he gave but a symptom of ab-

juring, or disclosing its arcana of gainful deceit. As the entrance of the Adytus of the mysteries, so the vestibule of the priestly office was probably guarded by naked swords, and oaths full of destruction to the backslider. Be that as it may, there is not a fact on the face of history more conspicuous than this—that no order of men has ever clung to the service of its caste, or has fulfilled its purposes, however desperate, or infamously cruel they might be, with the same fiery and unflinching zeal as priests.

CHAPTER III.

MYTHOLOGY OF THE ASSYRIANS AND SYRIANS.

We have now seen how idolatry was diffused over the globe, forming a field of no less amplitude than the world itself for priestcraft to exercise itself in; full of ignorance, and full of systems prolific in all the wild creation of superstition, so auspicious to priestly desires; and we shall soon see that such advantages were not neglected by that evil power, but were eagerly laid hold on, and by its indefatigable activity the earth was speedily overrun by every curse, and horror, and pollution, that can fix itself on unfortunate humanity.

We shall take a hasty survey of its progress in the most ancient nations, Syria and Assyria; we shall then pass rapidly into Scandinavia and the British Isles, following the course of Druidism; and, without regard to the order of time, glance at the confirmation of this ancient state of things, by that which was found to exist at the time of their discovery in America and the isles of the Indian Ocean. By this plan we shall leave our course clear in a direct progress through ancient Egypt, Greece, and Hindostan; where we shall leave the review of priestcraft as it existed in paganism, and contemplate its aspect in Judea, under the direct ordinances of God; then, under Christianity, in the Romish church; and, finally, in the ecclesiastical establishment of our own country.

The Bible furnishes us with abundant evidences of what idolatry was in Syria, and the neighbouring kingdoms of Philistia, Moab, Amalek, and others. The principal gods of these countries were Baal, Moloch, and Chemosh: but the number of false gods altogether was extremely numerous. The more gods the more shrines, the more priestly gains and influence. The principal characteristics of the whole idol dynasty, were horrible cruelty and gross licentiousness. Chemosh was the god of the Moabites; and his rites were particularly distinguished by their lasciviousness. In Syria, those of Ashtarothe, or Astarte, the queen of heaven, were similar; but Baal and Moloch were the very impersonations of savage atrocity. Moloch is represented as a huge metallic image in a sitting posture, which, on days of sacrifice, was heated to redness in a pit of fire, and young children were brought as victims, and placed in his extended and burning arms, where they were consumed in the most exquisite agonies, while the devilish band of priests and their retainers drowned their piercing cries with the stunning din of drums, cymbals, hours, and trumpets.

Baal, however, was the principal idol of all those countries; and—associated as he was in idea with the sun, as was the chief god of all pagan nations, from a fanciful process of imagination, treated of at large by writers on this subject, but which we need not trace here—to him, on almost every lofty eminence, fires were kindled at stated periods, and human sacrifices performed, in the midst of unbounded and infernal glee. The Beal-fires, or Baal-fires, kindled on the mountains of Scotland and Ireland by the peasantry at Beltane, or May Eve, are the last remains of this most ancient and universal superstition.

When we recollect over what an immense extent of country, in fact over the greater part of the habitable globe, this idolatry extended; and the number of ages, from the time of the flood to the time of Christianity, a period of upwards of two thousand years; what a terrible sum of miseries must have been inflicted on our race by the diabolical zeal and cupidity of pagan priestcraft. From the temple of Buddh and Jaggernath in India, to the stony circles of Druidism in Europe; from the snowy wastes of Siberia and Scandinavia in the north, to the most southern lands in Africa and America, the fires of these bloody deities rejoiced the demoniac priests, and consumed the people.

Mr. Bryant contends, and his theory seems both supported by strong facts, and is generally admitted by intelligent historians, that the kindred of Nimrod, the tribe of Cush, a haughty and dominant race, disdaining labour or commerce, disdaining all professions but those of arms or the priesthood, followed the progress of diffusive population into all regions, and either subduing the original settlers or insinuating themselves amongst them, as they had been their general corrupters, became their generals, priests, and kings. This theory certainly agrees well with what the researches of late years have made known of the great tribes of emigration from the east; agrees well with what we know of the Gothic or Cuthic nations, and with the establishment of the despotism of the feudal system. Castes, which remain so unbroken to the present day in Hindostan, and on which we shall have presently to remark, prevailed, in a greater or less degree, all over the world. In Egypt, Herodotus shows it to have been the case. None but kings and priests were noble. In Greece, they had their race of demi-gods, or descendants of the ancient Pelasgi, or Cuthites, from whom their priests, augurs, and kings were chosen. Such was the case amongst the Gauls and Britons. The Druids were a sacred and noble caste, who disdained to work or mingle with the people; an insult to one of whom was instant death, as it was with the Brahmins at a former day: and the strong spirit of caste throughout all the feudal nations of Europe, not only all past history, but present circumstances, show us. Be the origin of dominant castes what it may, nothing is more conspicuous than their existence, and the evils, scorns, and ignominious burdens they have heaped upon the people.

Of the rancorous activity of the heathen priesthood to proselyte and extend their influence on all sides, the Jewish history is full. Scarcely had the Hebrews escaped from Egypt and entered the desert, when the Moabites came amongst them with their harlot daughters, carrying beneath their robes the images of Chemosh, and scattering among the frail Jews the mingled fires of sensual and idolatrous passion. Through the whole period of the administration of the Judges, they were indefatigably at work, and brought upon the backsliding Hebrews the vengeance of their own living and indignant God. The wise and magnificent Solomon they plucked from the height of his peerless knowledge and glory, and rendered the reigns of his successors continual scenes of reproof and desolation, till the whole nation was swept into captivity.

There cannot be a more expressive instance of the daring hardihood and fanatic zeal of the priests of Baal, nor a finer one of their defeat and punishment, than that given on Mount Carmel in the days of Ahab and Jezebel. Those pestilential wretches had actually, under royal patronage, corrupted or destroyed the whole legitimate priesthood. There were but left seven thousand, even of the people, "who had not bowed the knee to Baal, nor kissed him." They were in pursuit of the noble prophet himself, when he came forth and challenged them to an actual proof of the existence of their respective deities.

It may be argued, that the readiness with which they accepted this challenge, is sufficient evidence that they themselves were believers in the existence of their deity; and it may be that some were stupid or fanatic enough to be so; but it is far likelier that, possessing royal patronage, and a whole host of base and besotted supporters, they hoped to entrap the solitary man: that, knowing the emptiness of their own pretensions, they were of opinion that Elijah's were equally empty, and therefore came boldly to a contest, in which, if neither party won, an individual against a host would easily be sacrificed to priestly fury and popular credulity. Be it as it might, nothing is more certain than that the ferocious zeal of priestcraft, for its own objects, has been in all ages so audacious as not to fear rushing, in the face of the world, on the most desperate attempts. This event was most illustrative of this blind sacerdotal hardihood; for, notwithstanding their signal exposure and destruction, yet in every successive age of the Hebrew kingdom, the pagan priests ceased not to solicit the Israelites to their ruin. The Hebrew kings, ever and anon, awoke from the trance of delusion into which they drew them, and executed ample vengeance; hewing down their groves, and overturning their altars; but it was not till the general captivity,—till Judah was humbled for a time, before Babylon, and Israel was wholly and for ever driven from the land, that the pest was annihilated.

The mythology of Assyria was of much the same nature;—Baal, however, being there held in far higher honour than all other gods;

for the priesthood, according to the servile cunning of its policy, had flattered the royal house by deifying its founder, and identifying him with the sun by the name of Belus, or Bel. What I have already said of this god will suffice; and I shall only state, that as the priesthood there had shown its usual character of adulation to the high, and cruelty to the low, so it displayed almost more than its customary lewdness. Herodotus tells us, that "at the top of the tower of Belus, in a chapel, is placed a couch, magnificently adorned; and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here, but a female occupies the apartment, whom the Chaldean priests affirm their deity selects from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures. They declare that their deity enters this apartment by night, and reposes upon this couch. A similar assertion is made by the Egyptians of Thebes; for in the interior part of the temple of the Thebean Jupiter, a woman, in like manner, sleeps. Of these two women, it is presumed, that neither of them have any communication with the other sex. In which predicament, the priestess of the temple of Pateræ, in Lycia, is also placed. Here is no regular oracle; but whenever a divine communication is expected, the woman is obliged to pass the preceding night in the temple." That is, the priests made their god the scape-goat of their own unbridled sensuality; and, under the pretext of providing a sacrifice of beauty to the deity, selected the most lovely woman of the nation for themselves.

This species of detestable deception seems to have been carried on to an enormous extent in ancient times. If we are to believe all the Grecian stories, and especially the Homeric ones, of the origin of their demi-gods, we can only explain them in this manner. A circumstance of the same nature is related by Josephus; which is curious, because the priests of the temple in that case, were induced by a young noble to inveigle a married lady, of whom he had become enamoured, into the temple, under pretence that the god had a loving desire of her company; and showed that the gratification, not merely of themselves, but of men in power, by frauds, however infamous or diabolical, has been always a priestly practice.

But to return to Assyria. The seeds of licentiousness, sown by their early priests, grew and spread abundantly in after ages. When the Assyrian was merged in the Babylonian empire, the orgies of the temple of Mylitta, the Babylonian Venus, were infamous above all others; so much so, that every woman, whether high or low, was bound, by the national practice, to present herself before the temple once in her life, and there submit to prostitute herself with whoever first chose her; and the price of her shame was paid into the treasury, to swell the revenues of the priests. So horrible a fact has been doubted; but Herodotus seriously asserts it, and it has been confirmed by other authorities.

That these crafty and voluptuous priests were not amongst those

deceived by their own devices, but were solely deceivers, living in honour and abundance by juggling the people, we need no better testimony than that of the story of Bel and the Dragon. They are there represented as setting before the idol splendid banquets, which he was asserted to devour in the night; but Daniel, scattering sand on the floor, showed the people in the morning the footsteps of the priests, their wives and children, who had, as they were regularly accustomed, flocked into the temple at night, and helped the god to despatch his viands.

Though this story is one of those called apocryphal, it is certainly so far true, that it shows what were the opinions of the wise at that day, of the priests, founded, no doubt, on sufficient observation.

CHAPTER IV.

CELTS AND GOTHs.

WITHOUT following minutely the progress of original migration, from east to west, through the great Scythian deserts, we will now at once open upon the human family as it appeared in Europe, when the Romans began to extend their conquests into the great forests and wild lands of its north-western regions: and here, again, we behold with surprise, how exactly the nations had preserved those features of idolatrous superstition which I have before stated to be universal, and which we have been contemplating in central Asia.

Part of southern Europe appears to have been peopled by one great branch of the descendants of Japhet, under the name of Slavonians, and to have maintained their settlements against all future comers: but another great branch, the Gomerians, or Celts, had been followed by the warlike and domineering Goths, and had, in some cases, received from them teachers and governors; in others, had been totally expelled by them, or lost character, language, and every thing, in their overwhelming tide. The northern parts of Britain, Ireland, Wales, Gaul, and some other districts, retained the Celtic character; while England, Scandinavia, Germany, Belgium, and some other tracts, became decidedly Gothic. Of these facts, the very languages of the respective countries, at the present day, remain living proofs. But, whatever was the name, the language, or the government of the different parts of Europe, every where its religion was essentially the same; every where the same Cuthic race of domineering priests. "Every where," says a sagacious antiquarian, "we find, first, an order of priests; secondly, an order of military nobles; thirdly, a subjugated multitude; and institutions, the spirit of which is, that of thrusting the lower orders from all place and authority, and systematically dooming them to an unalterable state of servile depression." Whoever will examine the system of the Druids, as he may in Toland's history of them, in Borlace's Cornwall, or Davis's Celtic Mythology, will be perfectly convinced of its identity with that of Persia, Egypt, and Hindostan. Their triads, their own assumed sanctity of character, their worship of the god Hu, the Buddhu of the east; their traditions of the flood; the ark, which their circular stone temples symbolized; their human sacrifices; their doctrine of transmigration; and other abundant characteristics, are not to be mistaken. Dr. Borlace was so struck with the

perfect resemblance of the Druids to the Persian Magi and the Indian Brahmins, that he declared it was impossible to doubt their identity. Mr. Rowland argues in the same manner with regard to the Irish Druids, who, as usual, constituted the first of the three classes into which the community was divided. He feels assured that they must have been Magi. Long, indeed, before our time Pliny had made the same remark, applying the very term of Magi to them.

In Gaul, Cæsar found precisely the same state of things—the same dominant class; and has left so lucid an account of them, that his representation will, at once, place before us the actual condition of both Gaul and Britain. "Over all Gaul there are only two orders of men in any degree of honour and esteem: for the common people are little better than slaves; attempt nothing of themselves; and have no share in the public deliberations. As they are generally oppressed with debt, heavy tributes, or the exactions of their superiors, they make themselves vassals to the great, who exercise over them the same jurisdiction that masters do over slaves. The two orders of men with whom, as we have said, all authority and distinctions reside, are the Druids and nobles. The Druids preside in matters of religion, have the care of public and private sacrifices, and interpret the will of the gods. They have the direction and education of the youth, by whom they are held in great honour. In almost all controversies, whether public or private, the decision is left to them; and if any crime is committed, any murder perpetrated, if any dispute arises touching an inheritance, or the limits of adjoining estates, in all such cases they are supreme judges. They decree rewards and punishments; and if any one refuse to submit to their sentence, whether magistrate or private man, they interdict him the sacrifices. This is the greatest punishment that can be inflicted upon the Gauls; because, such as are under this prohibition, are considered as impious and wicked; all men shun them, and decline their conversation and fellowship, lest they should suffer from the contagion of their misfortunes. They can neither have recourse to the law for justice, nor are capable of any public office. The Druids are all under one chief. Upon his death, a successor is elected by suffrage; but sometimes they have recourse to arms before the election can be brought to issue. Once a year, they assemble at a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, whose country is supposed to be in the middle of Gaul. Hither such as have any suits depending, flock from all parts, and submit implicitly to their decrees. Their institution is supposed to have come originally from Britain; and even at this day, such as are desirous of being perfect in it, travel thither for instruction. The Druids never go to war; are exempt from taxes and military service, and enjoy all manner of immunities. These mighty encouragements induce multitudes of their own accord to follow that profession, and many are sent by their parents. They are taught to repeat a great number of verses

by heart, and often spend twenty years upon this institution; for it is deemed unlawful to commit their statutes to writing, though on other matters, private or public, they use Greek characters. They seem to have adopted this method for two reasons,—to hide their mysteries from the knowledge of the vulgar, and to exercise the memory of their scholars. It is one of their principal maxims, that the soul never dies, but after death, passes from one body to another. They teach likewise many things relative to the stars, the magnitude of the world and our earth, the nature of things, and the power and prerogative of the immortal gods.

“The other order of men is the nobles, whose study and occupation is war. Before Cæsar’s arrival in Gaul, they were almost every year at war, offensive or defensive; and they judge of the power and quality of their nobles by the vassals and number of men they keep in pay.

“The whole nation of the Gauls is extremely addicted to superstition, whence, in threatening distempers, and the imminent danger of war, they make no scruple to sacrifice men, or engage themselves by vow to such sacrifices; in which case, they make use of the ministry of the Druids; for it is a prevalent opinion amongst them, that nothing but the life of man can atone for the life of man, insomuch that they have established even public sacrifices of this kind. Some prepare huge Colossuses of osier twigs, into which they put men alive, and setting fire to them, those within expire amongst the flames. They prefer for victims such as have been convicted of theft, robbery, or other crimes, believing them the most acceptable to the gods: but when such are wanting, the innocent are made to suffer.

“The Gauls fancy themselves to be descended from the god Pluto, which, it seems, is an established tradition amongst the Druids; and for this reason they compute time by nights, not by days.

“The men have power of life and death over their wives and families; and when any father of a family of illustrious rank dies, his relations assemble, and upon the least ground of suspicion, put even his wives to the torture, like slaves. Their funerals are magnificent and sumptuous, according to their quality. Every thing that was dear to the deceased, even animals, are thrown into the fire; and formerly, such of their slaves and clients as they loved most, sacrificed themselves at the funeral of their lords.”

In this valuable account, the striking resemblance of the Druids to the Brahmins, must impress every one,—not the least their funeral rites, and doctrine of metempsychosis. But there are some other things equally curious. We have here the BAN,—that tremendous ecclesiastical engine, which the Romish church most probably borrowed of the Goths; and which we shall find it hereafter wielding to such appalling purpose. The tradition of the Druids, that they are descended of Pluto, is, too, a most remarkable circum-

stance; agreeing so perfectly with the theory of Bryant, that they were Cuths, the descendants of Ham, the Pluto of mythology.

Cæsar proceeds to give Roman names to Gallic gods. This was the common practice of the Romans; a fact, which, as it is known from other sources that the Druids never gave them such names, only proves that the Romans named them from their obvious attributes; again confirming Bryant's theory, that however the ethnic gods be named, they are essentially identical. Cæsar also adds, that the Germans differed widely from the Gauls, having no Druids, and troubling not themselves about sacrifices: but Tacitus, who is better evidence than Cæsar, where the Germans are concerned, assures us that they had priests and bards. That "jurisdiction is vested in the priests; it is theirs to sit in judgment on all offences. By them delinquents are put in irons, and chastised with stripes; the power of punishing is in no other hands." He adds, "to impress on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field of battle certain images and banners, taken from their usual depositories, the groves; and that one of these symbols was a ship—the emblem of Isis." This, from what we now know of mythologies, is a certain evidence of the eastern origin of their religion:—the ship being the ark, or ship of the world; and Isis, the great mother of all things, the earth. He assures us, that they had also human sacrifices.

The last European country we will now notice, shall be Scandinavia. M. Mallet's most interesting antiquities of those regions were written before our eastern knowledge was so much enlarged, and before Mr. Bryant had promulgated his theory of the origin of paganism; and, therefore, when we come to open his volumes, we are proportionably astonished and delighted to find all the curious particulars he has collected of the Scandinavian gods and religious rites so absolutely confirmatory of that theory. Here, again, we have the same gods, under the different names of Odin, Thor, Loke, with Frigga or Frea, the goddess of the earth, the great mother. Here, again, we have the same dominant caste of priests reigning amid the same assemblage of horrors and pollution.

The priests, he says, of these inhuman gods were called Drottes, a name equivalent to Druids. They were frequently styled prophets, wise men, divine men. At Upsal, each of the three superior deities had their respective priests, the principal of whom, to the number of twelve, presided over the sacrifices, and exercised an unlimited authority over every thing which seemed to have connexion with religion. The respect shown to them was suitable to their authority. Sprung, for the most part, *from the same family*, like those of the Jews, they persuaded the people that this family had God himself for its founder. They often united the priesthood and the sovereignty in their own persons, after the example of Odin their progenitor. The goddess Frigga was usually served by kings' daughters, whom they called prophetesses and goddesses. These pronounced oracles, devoted themselves to perpetual vir-

ginity, and kept up the sacred fire in the temple. The power of inflicting pains and penalties, of striking and binding a criminal, was vested in the priests alone; and men so haughty that they thought themselves dishonoured if they did not revenge the slightest offence, would tremblingly submit to blows, and even death itself, from the hand of a pontiff, whom they took for the instrument of an angry deity. In short, the credulity of the people, and the craft and presumption of the priests, went so far, that these pretended interpreters of the Divine will, dared even to demand, in the name of Heaven, the blood of kings themselves, and obtained it! To succeed in this, it was requisite only for them to avail themselves of those times of calamity, when the people, distracted with fear and sorrow, laid their minds open to the most horrid impressions. At these times, while the prince was slaughtered at one of the altars of the gods, the others were covered with the offerings, which were heaped up on all sides for their ministers.

But the general cause which regulated these sacrifices, was a superstitious opinion, which made the northern natives regard the number THREE as sacred, and peculiarly dear to the gods. Thus every ninth month they renewed this bloody ceremony, which was to last nine days, and every day they offered up nine victims, whether men or animals. But the most solemn sacrifices were those which were offered at Upsal in Sweden, every ninth year. Then the king, the senate, and all the principal citizens, were obliged to appear in person, and to bring offerings, which were placed in the great temple. Those who could not come, sent their presents by others, or paid their value in money to priests, whose business it was to receive the offerings. Strangers flocked there in crowds from all parts, and none were excluded except those whose honour was stained, and especially such as had been accused of cowardice. Then they chose amongst the captives in time of war, and amongst the slaves in time of peace, nine persons to be sacrificed. The choice was partly regulated by the opinion of by-standers, and partly by lot. The wretches upon whom it fell, were then treated with such honours by all the assembly; they were so overwhelmed with caresses for the present, and promises for the life to come, that they sometimes congratulated themselves on their destiny. But they did not always sacrifice such mean persons. In great calamities—in a pressing famine, for example, if the people thought they had some pretext to impute the cause of it to the king, they sacrificed him without hesitation, as the highest price they could pay for the Divine favour. In this manner the first king of Vermeland was burnt in honour of Odin, to put away a great dearth. The kings in their turn did not spare the blood of their people; and many of them even that of their children. Hacon, king of Norway, offered his son in sacrifice to obtain a victory over his enemy, Harold. Aune, king of Sweden, devoted to Odin the blood of his nine sons, to prevail on the god to prolong his life. The ancient history of the north abounds in similar examples.

These abominable sacrifices were accompanied with various ceremonies. When the victim was chosen, they conducted him towards the altar, where the sacred fire was kept burning night and day. It was surrounded by all sorts of iron and brazen vessels. Among them, one was distinguished by its superior size; in this they received the blood of their victim. When they offered up animals, they speedily killed them at the foot of the altar; then they opened their entrails and drew auguries from them, as among the Romans: but when they sacrificed men, those they pitched upon were laid upon a large stone, and quickly strangled or knocked on the head. Sometimes they let out the blood, for no presage was more respected than that which they drew from the greater or less degree of impetuosity with which the blood gushed out. The bodies were afterwards burnt, or suspended in a sacred grove near the temple. Part of the blood was sprinkled upon the people, on the grove, on the idol, altar, benches, and wall of the temple, within and without.

Sometimes the sacrifices were varied. There was a deep well in the neighbourhood of the temple; the chosen person was thrown headlong in, commonly in honour of Goya, or the earth. If it went at once to the bottom, it had proved agreeable to the goddess; if not, she refused it, and it was hung up in a sacred forest. Near the temple of Upsal there was a grove of this sort, every tree and every leaf of which was regarded as the most sacred thing in the world. This, which was named Odin's grove, was full of the bodies of men and animals which had been sacrificed. The temple at Upsal was as famous for its oracles as its sacrifices. There were also celebrated ones in Dalia, a province of Sweden, in Norway, and Denmark. It should seem that the idols of the gods themselves delivered the oracles *viva voce*. In an ancient Icelandic chronicle, we read of one Indred, who went from home to wait for Thorstein, his enemy. Thorstein, upon his arrival, went into the temple. In it was a stone, probably a statue, which he had been accustomed to worship. He prostrated himself before it, and prayed it to inform him of his destiny. Indred, who stood without, heard the stone chant forth these verses—"It is for the last time: it is with feet drawing near to the grave, that thou art come to this place, for it is most certain that before the sun seth the valiant Indred shall make thee feel his hatred."

The people persuaded themselves sometimes that these idols answered by a gesture, or nod of the head. Thus, in the history of Olave Tryggesson, king of Norway, we see a lord, named Hacon, who enters into a temple, and prostrates himself before an idol which held in its hand a great bracelet of gold. Hacon, adds the historian, easily conceiving that so long as the idol would not part with the bracelet, it was not disposed to be reconciled to him, and having made some fruitless efforts to take the bracelet away, began to pray afresh, and to offer it presents; then getting up a

second time, the idol loosed the bracelet, and he went away very well pleased.

But they had not only their bloody sacrifices, and their oracles, but their orgies of licentiousness. These occurred on the occasion of the feast of Frigga, the goddess of love and pleasure; and at Uulel, the feast of Thor, in which the licence was carried to such a pitch as to become merely bacchanalian meetings, where, amidst shouts, dancing, and indecent gestures, so many unseemly actions were committed, as to disgust the wiser part of the community.

CHAPTER V.

NORTHERN INDIANS, MEXICANS, AND PERUVIANS.

WE have just seen that the same baleful superstitions extended themselves from the east to the very extremities of Europe; but we must now share in the astonishment of the discoverers of America, to find them equally reigning and rendering miserable the people there. A new world was found, which had been hidden from the day of creation to the fifteenth Christian age; yet there, through that long lapse of time, it was discovered, the same dominant spirit, and the same terrible system of paganism had been existing. The learned of Europe, on this great event, were extremely puzzled for a time, to conceive how and whence this distant continent had been peopled. The proven proximity of Asia at Behring's Straits, solved the mystery. But had not this become apparent, so identical are the superstitions, the traditions, and practices of the Americans, with those of ancient Asia, that we might have confidently pronounced them to have come from that great seminary of the human race.

The North-American Indians, who preserved both most of their liberty, their simplicity of life and of sentiment, worshipping only the Great Spirit, and refusing to have any image of deity, having in general no priests, yet retained many, and very clear, traditions of the primeval world. So striking were these facts, combined with the Asiatic aspects of the Indians in their better days, before European oppressions and European vices had wasted and degraded them, that the early missionaries and visitants of America, Adair, Brainerd, Charlevoix, nay, William Penn himself, were strongly persuaded that they had found the lost ten tribes of Israel. When they saw them carrying before them to battle an ark; saw them celebrating feasts of new moons, and heard them talk of the times when the angels of God walked upon earth with their ancestors; talk of the two first people; of the two first brothers, one of whom slew the other; of the flood, and similar traditionary facts; it is not wonderful that they should have adopted such a notion,—not perceiving, as we do now, that these are familiar features of the Asiatic nations; and that, though they did not prove them to be Hebrews, they did, to a certainty, prove them to be Asiatics.

I must here passingly notice one inference, which seems unaccountably to have escaped the minds of antiquarians, connected with the peopling of this continent. In the North-American wilds,

exist strange mounds and foundations of old fortifications, cairns, or burying-places, in which earthen vessels and other artificial remains are found, which prove that some people occupied these forests long before the present race of Indians; a people who had more of the arts of civilized life amongst them than these ever possessed. In certain caves of Kentucky, mummies have even been found. Now, connecting these facts with the universal traditions of the Mexicans and South Americans, that they came originally from a country far to the north-west, does it not seem clear enough that these remains were the traces of the earlier Asiatics who entered America, and who, if the same as the Mexicans and Peruvians, unquestionably possessed more of civilization and its arts than the northern tribes?—that other tribes more savage and warlike followed them; and that they themselves gradually sought fresh settlements, in accordance with their own traditions? This simple theory seems to solve the problem which has so long puzzled both the European and American antiquarians.

The Natchez, who had advanced far before other tribes in their civil institutions, worshipped the sun, and maintained, like the Persians, the perpetual fire, his symbol, in their temples. They burnt, on the funeral pile of their chiefs, human victims; giving them, according to M. Dumont, large piles of tobacco to stupify them, as the Brahmins intoxicate their victims to the same hideous custom. Ministers were appointed to watch and maintain the sacred fire: the first function of the great chief, every morning, was an act of obeisance to the sun; and festivals, at stated periods, were held in his honour. Amongst the people of Bogota, the sun and moon were likewise the great objects of adoration. Their system of religion was more regular and complete, though less pure than that of the Natchez. They had temples, altars, priests, sacrifices, and that long train of ceremonies which superstition introduces, wherever she has fully established her influence over the human mind. But the rites of their worship were bloody and cruel: they offered human victims to their deities, and nearly resembled the Mexicans in the genius of their religion.

To the Mexicans and Peruvians we shall, indeed, principally confine our observations. These nations had grown to comparative greatness, and assumed a decided form of civil polity, and many of the rites of what is called civilized life; and in such nations, the combined power of kingcraft and priestcraft has been always found to be proportionably strong. In those conspicuous nations there were found all the great features of that superstition which they had brought with them from Asia, and which, we have already seen, spread and tyrannized over every quarter of the old world. They had their triads of gods; their worship of the sun; their worship of the evil and vindictive principle; and worship of serpents. They had the same dominant caste of priests and nobles; the same abject one of the common people; human sacri-

fices; the burning of slaves and dependants on the funeral pile; they had the ark; the doctrine of successive worlds; and the patriarchal traditions.

In the first place, their castes.—Robertson, on the authority of Herrera, says,—“In tracing the great lines of the Mexican constitution, an image of feudal policy rises to our view, in its most rigid form; and we discern, in their distinguishing characters, a nobility possessing almost independent authority; a people depressed into the lowest state of dejection; and a king intrusted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the new world in the same manner as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited; all real and effective authority was retained by the nobles. In order to secure full effect to these constitutional restraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit the crown to descend by inheritance, but disposed of it by election. The great body of the people was in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of *Mayeques*, could not change their place of residence without permission of the superior to whom they belonged. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were settled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and perform several kinds of servile work. Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestic servitude, and felt the utmost rigour of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed of so little value, that a person who killed one of them was not subjected to any punishment. Even those considered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior species. The nobles, possessed of ample territories, were divided into various classes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belonged. The people, not allowed to wear a dress of the same fashion, or to dwell in houses of a form similar to those of the nobles, accosted them with the most submissive reverence. In the presence of their sovereign they durst not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face. The nobles themselves, when admitted to an audience, entered barefooted, in mean garments, and, as slaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. The respect due from inferiors to those above them in rank, was prescribed with such ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with the language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The style and appellations used in the intercourse between equals, would have been so unbecoming in the mouth of an inferior to one of higher rank, that it would have been deemed an insult.”

What a lively picture of that system of domination in the few, and slavery in the multitude, which we have seen, or soon shall see, to have prevailed in all regions; in the feudal lands of Europe; in India and Egypt! and how perfect is the resemblance, when we find, as we shall, that at the head of all these were the priests, who, says Faber, formed a regular hierarchy, and dwelt together

in cloisters attached to their temples. So likewise in Peru, the royal family, that which constituted the nobility, were viewed as an entirely distinct race by the abject plebeians: and they studiously preserved the purity of their high blood, by intermarrying solely amongst themselves. With these in the government of the commonalty were associated the priesthood, who, as in Mexico, were no straggling body, but a well-organized fraternity.

With respect to their triads, the same author says, the Peruvians supposed Viracocha to be the creator of the gods: subordinate to him, they believed two triads; connecting, like the natives of the eastern continent, the triple offspring of the great father with the sun; and, as in the case of Jupiter, with the thunder. The first consisted of Chuquilla, Catuilla, and Intyllapa; or the father-thunder, the son-thunder, and the brother-thunder; the second, of Apomti, Churunti, and Inti-quaoqui; as the father-sun, the son-sun, and the brother-sun. Nor were they satisfied with these two principal triads. So strongly were they impressed with the notion of three deities inferior to that primeval god who sprung from the sea, that they had likewise three images of Chuquilla, himself a person of the first triad; as the Persian Mythras was not only one with Oromasdes and Ahriman, but was also said to have triplicated himself. They had also an idol Tanga-tanga, which they said was one-in-three and three-in-one. Added to these, they venerated, like the pagans of the eastern hemisphere, a great universal mother; and what shows further the genuine character of this great demiurgic man of the sea, Noah, the superior of their multiplied triad, the badge of the Inca, was a rainbow and two snakes; the one allusive to the deluge, the other the symbols of the two great parents of both gods and men. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimage*, quaintly calls this triad, an apish imitation of the Trinity brought in by the devil. Their worship was sufficiently diabolical, being debased with all the abominable impurities of the Arkite superstitions.

Remarks not dissimilar might be made on the deity of the Mexicans, believed to be the creator of the world. They call him Mexitli, or Vitzliputzli. His image was seated on an azure-coloured stool, placed in a litter; his complexion was also azure; and in his hand he held an azure staff, fashioned in the shape of a waving serpent. Their next deity they named Tlaloc; their third, Tezcallipuca. Him they esteemed the god of repentance. As for the superior divinity of this triad, he was placed on a high altar, in a small box, decked with feathers and ornaments of gold; and the tradition of the Mexicans was, that when they journeyed by different stations, from a remote country to the north-west, they bore this oracular image along with them, seated in a coffer made of reeds. Whenever they rested they placed the ark of their deity on an altar; and at length, by his special direction, they built their principal city in the midst of a lake.

They went forwards, says Purchas, "bearing their idol with

them in an ark of reeds, supported by four of their principal priests, with whom he talked, and communicated his oracles and directions. He likewise gave them laws, and taught them the sacrifices and ceremonies they still observe. And even as the pillar of cloud and of fire conducted the Israelites in their passage through the wilderness, so this apish devil gave them notice when to advance and when to stay."

Every particular of this superstition shows its diluvian origin; and proves the supposed demiurge to be no other than the great father. The ark of Mexitli is the same machine as that in which the Hammon, or Osiris, of Egypt was borne in his procession; the same as the ark of Bacchus, the ship of Isis, and the Argha of Iswara. His dark complexion is that of the Vishnu of the Indian, and Cneph of the Egyptian triads. He was oracular, like the ship Argo of the Greeks; the Baris of Hammon; the chief Arkite gods of all Gentile nations. He connects his city with a lake, like the ancient Cabiri, like that of Buto on the lake Chemmis in Egypt; and has evident connexion with the lake and floating islands of all the pagan mythologies.

It is a curious circumstance, that we find the doctrine of the succession of worlds, and of the death and revival of the hero-gods, also amongst the Mexicans. They doubtless brought it out of eastern Asia, with a mythology which is substantially the same as that of the larger continent, agreeably to their standing tradition respecting the route of their ancestors. They supposed the world to have been made by the gods, but imagined that, since the creation, four suns have successively appeared and disappeared. The first sun perished by a deluge; the second fell from heaven when there were many giants in the country; the third was consumed by fire; the fourth was dissipated by a tempest of wind. Three days after the last sun became visible, all the former gods died: then, in process of time, were produced those whom they have since worshipped. This resemblance to the tradition of the Hindoos, is striking enough, as well as to that of the Egyptians, who told Herodotus that the same sun had four times deviated from his course, having twice risen in the west, and twice set in the east.

When the Mexicans brought their Arkite god out of Asia, they also brought with him the ancient mysteries of that deity. Like the idolaters whom they had left behind, they sacrificed on the tops of mountains, in traditional commemoration of the sacrifice on Ararat; and adored their bloody gods in dark caverns, similar to those of the worship of Mythras. Their orgies, like all the other orgies of the Gentiles, appear to have been of a peculiarly gloomy and terrific nature; sufficient to strike with terror even the most undaunted hearts. Hence their priests, in order that they might be enabled to go through the dreadful rites without shuddering, anointed themselves with a peculiar ointment, and used various fantastic ceremonies to banish fear. Thus prepared, they boldly sallied forth to celebrate their nocturnal rites in wild mountains

and the deep recesses of obscure caves, much in the same manner as the nightly orgies of Bacchus, Ceres, and Ceridwen were celebrated by their respective nations. A similar process enabled them to offer up those hecatombs of human victims, by which their blood-stained superstition was more eminently distinguished than even those of Moloch, Cali, Cronus, or Jaggernath. They had also their vestal virgins; and both those women and the priests were wont frantically to cut themselves with knives while engaged in the worship of their idols, like the votaries of Baal and Bellona.

Of their bloody sacrifices, the Spanish writers are full; particularly Herrera, Acosta, and Bernal Diaz. Fear, says those authors, was the soul of the Mexican worship. They never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood, drawn from their own bodies. But of all offerings, human sacrifices were deemed the most acceptable. This belief, mingling with the spirit of vengeance, added more force to it; every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, and sacrificed with horrid cruelties. The head and the heart were devoted to the gods: the body was carried off by the warrior who took the captive, to feast himself and his friends. Hence, the spirit of the Mexicans became proportionally unfeeling; and the genius of their religion so far counteracted the influence of policy and arts, that, notwithstanding their progress in both, their manners, instead of softening, became more fierce. Those nations in the New World, who had made the greatest progress in the arts of social life, were, in several respects, the most ferocious; and the barbarity of their actions exceeded even those of the savage state.

The Spanish writers have been charged with exaggerating the number of human victims annually sacrificed by the Mexicans. Gomara says, there was no year in which twenty thousand were not immolated. The skulls of those unhappy persons were ranged in order, in a building erected for that purpose; and two of Cortes's officers who had counted them, told Gomara they amounted to a hundred and thirty-six thousand. Herrera declares that five and twenty thousand have been sacrificed in one day. The first bishop of Mexico, in a letter to the chapter-general of his order, states the annual average at twenty thousand. On the other hand, Bernal Diaz asserts that the Franciscan monks, who were sent into New Spain, immediately after the conquest, found, on particular inquiry, that they did not exceed annually two thousand five hundred. Probably the numbers varied with the varying circumstances of war and other occurrences; but from all authorities, it appears that their bloody rites were carried to an enormous extent.

But enough of these terrible and revolting trophies of priestcraft. We might follow the course of this pestilence into Africa and the South-sea Isles; but I shall rather choose to refer all those who may be curious on the subject, to the narratives of our

travellers and missionaries, in which they will see the same causes operating the same effects. I prefer to give a concluding page or two in this chapter, to the vivid picture of priestcraft which Mr. Southey has drawn in his noble poem of *Madoc*. No man has felt and described the true spirit of this terrible race of men more forcibly than Mr. Southey. His *Madoc* was a Welsh prince, who, according to Cambrian tradition, first discovered America, and there settled with a colony of his countrymen. On this foundation Mr. Southey has formed one of his most delightful poems; full of nature, of the working of strong affections, and of the spirit of the subject.

Madoc discovers land, and falls in with a native who had fled from his country to avoid being sacrificed by the priests. This youth, *Lincoya*, leads *Madoc* to his native land, where he is soon introduced to *Erillyab*, the widowed queen, who sits before her door, near the war-pole of her deceased husband;—a truly noble woman. *Madoc*, in his own narrative, says,—

She welcomed us
With a proud sorrow in her mien; fresh fruits
Were spread before us, and her gestures said
That when he lived whose hand was wont to wield
Those weapons,—that in better days,—that ere
She let the tresses of her widowhood
Grow wild, she could have given to guests like us
A worthier welcome. Soon a man approached,
Hooded with sable; his half-naked limbs
Smeared black: the people at his sight drew round;
The women wailed and wept; the children turned
And hid their faces in their mothers' knees.
He to the queen addressed his speech, then looked
Around the children, and laid hands on two,
Of different sexes, but of age alike,
Some six years old, who at his touch shrieked out.
But then *Lincoya* rose, and to my feet
Led them, and told me that the conqueror claimed
These innocents for tribute; that the priest
Would lay them on the altar of his god,—
Tear out their little hearts in sacrifice,
Yea, with more cursed wickedness, himself
Feast on their flesh.

Madoc defends the children; sends away the disappointed priest, and, in consequence, gets into war with the *Aztlacas*, the powerful tribe which has seized upon *Aztlan*, the city of the *Hoamen*, the people of queen *Erillyab*. He soon, however, obliges them to come to terms; to renounce their bloody rites; and, having put things into a fair train, returns to Europe for fresh stores and emigrants. In his absence, the priests of *Aztlan*, according to the wont of all priests, stir up the king of *Aztlan* again to war. They cry, if not exactly "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," Great is *Mexitli*

of the Aztecas. They pretend to hear voices and see prodigies; they pretend the gods cry out for the blood of their enemies, and forebode all manner of destruction from them, if they be not appeased. Madoc does but just arrive in time to save his colony. A desperate war is commenced; an occasion is given for the full display of the reckless atrocity, the perfidy, and vile arts of the priests, and for many noble and touching incidents arising out of the contact of better natures with the casualties of battle and stratagem. Hoel, a child, the nephew of Madoc, is carried off, at the instigation of the priests, to be sacrificed. Madoc, in following his captives, falls himself into an ambush, and is doomed a victim to Mexitli; but escapes through a national custom of allowing a great warrior to fight for his life at the altar-stone, by the timely arrival of his friends, and by the assistance of a native maiden, to whom also Hoel owes his rescue from the den of Tlaloc, where he was left to starve. The Aztecas are defeated, and finally abandon their territory, going onward and founding Mexico: calling it after the name of their chief deity.

To quote all the passages which seem especially made for our purpose, would fill this volume; but I must select one or two. The description of the idol:

On a huge throne, with four huge silver snakes,
As if the keeper of the sanctuary,
Circled, with stretching neck and fangs displayed,
Mexitli sat; another graven snake
Belted with scales of gold his monstrous bulk.
Around his neck a loathsome collar hung
Of human hearts; the face was masked with gold;
His specular eyes seemed fire; one hand upreared
A club, the other, as in battle, held
The shield; and over all suspended hung
The banner of the nation.

The chief priest, Tezozomoc, when about to present little Hoel to the idol, and the child, terrified at his hideous appearance, shrieks and recoils from him, is thus described:—

His dark aspect,
Which nature with her harshest characters
Had featured, art made worse. His cowl was white;
His untrimmed hair, a long and loathsome mass,
With cotton cords entwisted, clung with gum,
And matted with the blood which every morn
He from his temples drew before the god,
In sacrifice; bare were his arms, and smeared
Black; but his countenance a stronger dread
Than all the horrors of that outward garb
Struck, with quick instinct, to young Hoel's heart.
It was a face whose settled sullenness
No gentle feeling ever had disturbed:
Which when he probed a victim's living breast,
Retained its hard composure.

The whole work is alive with the machinations, arts, and fanatic deeds of the priesthood. The king of the Azticas, in an early conference with Madoc, says, speaking of the priests,—

Awe them, for they awe me :

and his queen, after he has been killed in battle, and she is about to perish on his funeral pile, calls out to his brother and successor,—

Take heed, O king !

Beware these wicked men ! They to the war
Forced my dead lord. . . Thou knowest, and I know,
He loved the strangers ; that his noble mind,
Enlightened by their lore, had willingly
Put down these cursed altars ! As she spake,
They dragged her to the stone. . . . Nay ! nay ! she cried,
There needs not force ! I go to join my lord !
His blood and mine be on you ! Ere she ceased,
The knife was in her breast. Tezozomoc,
Trembling with wrath, held up toward the sun
The reeking heart.

When the war is terminated, Madoc declares,

No priest must dwell among us,—that hath been
The cause of all this misery !

And that, indeed, has been the cause of at least half the miseries in the world, as I shall hereafter show. With this sentiment let us close this chapter.

CHAPTER VI.

EGYPT.

WE have now traversed an immense space of country, and of time; and found one great uniform spirit of priestcraft, one uniform system of paganism, presiding over and oppressing the semi-barbarous nations of the earth; it remains for us to inquire whether the three great nations of antiquity, Greece, Egypt, and India, so early celebrated for their science, philosophy, and political importance, were affected by the same mighty and singular influence; and here we shall find it triumphing in its clearest form, and existing in its highest perfection.

The priest-ridden condition of Egypt is notorious to all readers of history. Lord Shaftesbury calls it, "the mother-land of superstitions." So completely had the lordly and cunning priesthood here contrived to fix themselves on the shoulders of the people, so completely to debase and stupify them with an overwhelming abundance of foolish veneration, that the country swarmed with temples, gods, and creatures, which, in themselves most noxious, or loathsome, were objects of adoration. Juvenal laughs at them, as making gods of their onions; growing gods in their garden-beds by thousands—

O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

and dogs, cats, lizards, and other creatures, were cherished with extraordinary veneration. Diodorus Siculus says, that a Roman soldier having by accident killed a cat, the common people instantly surrounded his house, with every demonstration of fury. The king's guards were immediately despatched to save him from their rage, but in vain; his authority and the Roman name were equally unavailing.

The accounts we possess, of the extreme populousness of ancient Egypt; of the number and splendour of their temples; of the knowledge and authority of their priests; and the mighty remains of some of their sacred buildings; sufficiently testify to the splendour and absolute dominance of this order in this great kingdom.

To show that the priestcraft of this ancient realm was part of the same system that we have been tracing, a part of that still existing in India, will require but little labour. We shall see that the Greek philosophers themselves assert the derivation of their mythology from Egypt; and so strikingly similar are those of

India and Egypt, that it has been a matter of debate amongst learned men, which nation borrowed its religion from the other. The fact appears to be, that neither borrowed from the other, but that both drew from one common source, a source we have already pointed out—that of the Cuthic tribes. Egypt was peopled by the children of Ham: and by whomsoever India was peopled, the great priestly and military caste early found its way there, and introduced the very same superstitions, founded on the worship of Noah and his sons; and shadowed out with emblems and ceremonies derived from the memory of the flood. Both nations are of the highest antiquity; both arrived at extraordinary knowledge of astronomy, of architecture, of many of the mechanic arts, of government, and of a certain moral and theologic philosophy, which the priests retained to themselves, and made use of as a mighty engine to enslave the people. Their knowledge was carefully shrouded from the multitude; the populace were crammed with all sorts of fabulous puerilities; and were made to feel the display of science in the hands of the priesthood, as evidence of supernatural powers.

Dr. Robertson, in his *Disquisition on Ancient India*, and in his *History of America*, has endeavoured to explain the uniformity of pagan belief, by supposing that rude nations would every where be influenced by the same great powers and appearances of nature;—by the beneficial influence of the sun and moon; of the fruitful earth; by the contemplation of the awfulness of the ocean, of tempests, and thunder; and would come to adore those great objects as gods. But this will, by no means, account for the striking identity of the great principles and practices of paganism, as we have seen them existing. Different nations, especially under the different aspects of widely divided climates, would have imagined widely different deities; and the ceremonies in which they would have adored them, would have been as infinite as the vagaries of the human fancy. But would they have all produced gods so positively of the same family, that whoever went from one nation to another, however distant, amongst people of totally different habits and genius, would have immediately recognised their own gods, and have given them their own names? Would Cæsar and Tacitus have beheld Roman gods in Germany and Gaul? Herodotus, Plato, and Pythagoras, have found those of Greece in Egypt? Would these gods be, in every country, attended by the same traditional theory of origin,—the three sons of one great father, multiplying themselves into the eight persons of the original gods—the precise number of those enclosed in the ark? Would traditions of the flood in all countries, most full and remarkable, and, in the oldest Hindoo writings, almost word for word with the one in the Bible, have existed, as may be seen in the histories of the various countries; and as may be found carefully collected by Faber and Bryant in their works on the pagan mythologies? This could not be;—nor would so many nations, in different parts of

the world, retain the ark; nor celebrate mysteries, substantially the same, in the same terrific manner in caves; nor would they have all hit on the horrid sacrifice of men; nor the same doctrine of transmigration; nor have permitted an imperious caste of priests and nobles to rule over them with absolute domination. To suppose all this to happen, except from one great and universal cause, is as rational as to suppose the system of earth and heaven to be the work of chance: and the farther we go, the more clearly shall we see this demonstrated.

The Egyptians, like all other nations, had their triad of gods:—Horus, Osiris, and Typhon. This was the popular one; but the priests had another of a more intellectual nature, Emeph, Eicton, and Phtha. They had also their great mother, Isis, Ceres, or the earth: but they had besides many inferior deities, which we need not enumerate. Every god had his shrine; every shrine its train of priests; besides which there were the shrines of the oracles, so that there was plenty of influence and profit for the priesthood. They bore the ark of Osiris once a year in procession; setting it afloat on the Nile at a certain place, and lamenting it for a time as lost. It was taken up at another place, with great rejoicings that the god was found again. It was said to be pursued by the great evil serpent Typhon in the ocean; but in time was triumphant over him—a direct allusion to the going of Noah into the ark, and being driven by the great power of waters for a time; when he returned to land, and peopled the world anew.

Their doctrine of transmigration, Herodotus tells us, some of his countrymen, whom he could name, but does not choose, (meaning, however, Pythagoras and others,) carried thence into Greece. The Egyptians, says the venerable Greek, believe that, on the dissolution of the body, the soul immediately enters into some other animal: and that, after using as vehicles every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a second time into a human body. They affirm that it undergoes all these changes in the space of three thousand years.

This is precisely the doctrine of the Hindoos, and of those nations we have already noticed; and hence proceeded that excessive veneration of the people for every species of animal; fearing to hurt or destroy them, lest they should dislodge the soul of a relative or friend. We have noticed their fury about a cat: their veneration for dogs was equally extreme, till after the celebrated expedition of Cambyses the Persian, who, with the zeal of his country against all images of deity, threw down their idols, and slew their sacred animals, which the dogs devoured, and thereby became objects of abhorrence to the Egyptians.

Their laws, says Herodotus, compel them to cherish animals. A certain number of men and women are appointed to this office, which is esteemed so honourable that it descends in succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves

as supplicants to the divinity which is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are. They then cut off their children's hair; sometimes the whole; sometimes the half; at others a third. This they weigh in a balance against a piece of silver. As soon as the silver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beast. It is a capital offence to kill one of these animals. To destroy one accidentally is punishable by a fine paid to the priests; but he who kills an ibis or a hawk, however involuntarily, cannot by any means escape death. Whenever a cat dies, there is universal mourning in a family, and every member of it cuts off his eyebrows; but when a dog dies, they shave their heads and every part of their bodies. This, after the days of Cambyses, would, of course, be somewhat altered. The cats, when dead, are carried to sacred buildings, salted, and afterwards buried in the city of Bubastes. Female dogs are buried in sacred chests, wherever they happen to die, as are ichneumons; shrew-mice and hawks are buried at Buto; bears and wolves, where they die. Otters and eels also excited great veneration. The crocodile was held to be divine by one part of the kingdom; by another, it was execrated. Where it was revered, it had temples, a large train of attendants, and, after death, was embalmed. Maximus Tyrius says, a woman reared a young crocodile, and the Egyptians esteemed her highly fortunate, as the nurse of a deity. The woman had a child which used to play with the crocodile, till the animal one day turned fierce, and ate it up: the woman exulted, and counted the child's fate blessed in the extreme, to have been the victim of her domestic god. Such is the melancholy stupidity into which priestcraft can plunge the human mind!

I shall not pursue the superstitions of this people further, but refer my readers to Herodotus, Plutarch, Diodorus, and Porphyrius, for all further particulars; except to state that the Egyptians, were we to credit Herodotus, were singular in one respect—having no human sacrifices, save, perhaps, in the very earliest ages. This, however, is so remarkable an exception to the universality of the system, that we find it difficult of belief; and, on turning to Strabo, we are assured that they annually sacrificed to the Nile a noble virgin; a statement confirmed by the Arabian writer, Murtadi, who relates that they arrayed her in rich robes, and hurled her into the stream. Diodorus affirms, that they sacrificed red-haired men at the tomb of Osiris, because his mortal enemy, Typhon, was of that colour. Busiris sacrificed Thracians to appease the angry Nile; and three men were daily sacrificed to Lucina at Heliopolis; instead of which Amasis afterwards humanely substituted waxen images.

They not only practised these horrors, but the Phallic rites in all their loathsomeness; and ingrafted a vulgar and indecent character on the national manners. They propagated the abominations of Priapis, and the Bacchanalian and Saturnalian orgies amongst the Greeks. The priests had so fast bound the people

in the strongest bonds—knowledge in their own order, and ignorance in the multitude; in puerile forms and ceremonies, and the serpent-folds of sensuality; that they had established themselves in the most absolute manner on their shoulders. Rome and India can alone present similar examples.

As we have seen in all other countries, so here they were the lordly caste. The nation, say the authorities I have above quoted, is divided into three castes—priests, nobles, and people; the latter of whom are confined to mechanic or rural employments, utterly excluded from knowledge, advancement, and power. As in India, to this day, the son must succeed his father in his trade. “I know not,” says Herodotus, “whether the Greeks have borrowed this custom from them, but I have seen the same thing in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. It seems, indeed, to be an established prejudice amongst nations, even the least refined, to consider mechanics and their descendants as the lowest sort of citizens, and to esteem those most noble who are of no profession. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Egypt which are honourably distinguished; these, each of them, receive from the public a portion of land of twelve acres, free from all taxes: besides this, the military enjoy, in their turn, other advantages; one thousand are every year, in turn, on the king’s guard, and receive, besides their land, a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, and four austeres of wine.”

Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus agree with him in this particular. A prince, say they, cannot reign in Egypt if he be ignorant of sacred affairs. The king must be either of the race of priests or soldiers; these two classes being distinguished, the one by their wisdom, the other by their valour. When they have chosen a warrior for king, he is immediately admitted into the order of priests, who instruct him in their mysterious philosophy. The priests may censure the king; give him advice; and regulate his actions. By them is fixed the time when he shall walk, bathe, or even visit his wife. The sacred ministers possess, in return, many and great advantages. They are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property; each has a moiety of sacred viands, ready dressed, assigned him, besides a large daily allowance of beef, and geese, and wine.

What a striking illustration is this of what we find in Genesis, chap. xlvii. 22, of the doings of Joseph, who adopted a policy towards the Egyptians more despotic than one would have expected from his patriarchal character, or from a simple Canaanitish shepherd—first, of gathering up the corn from all the land of Egypt, and then selling it out, in the horrors of famine, to the people for their possessions, whereby the whole kingdom became the purchased property of Pharaoh, except that of the priests—“only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh.”

The priests, indeed, were too powerful for Joseph, or even for

Pharaoh himself. Darius wished only to place a statue of himself in a temple; the priests violently resisted it, and Darius was obliged to submit. Herodotus tells us that the priests showed him the images of their predecessors for three hundred and forty-one descents: and M. Larcher even supposes that these priests were, for many ages, the sole princes of this strange country; a most triumphant reign of priestcraft indeed! Let us now turn to Greece.

CHAPTER VII.

GREECE.

THE popular theology of this noble and celebrated nation, as it existed during its most enlightened ages, has been made familiar to every mind, by its literature being taught in all schools, and furnishing perpetual allusions and embellishments to all writers. Herodotus says that Hesiod and Homer invented the theogony of Greece; that is, they, no doubt, methodized the confused traditions of their ancestors, and organized them into that very beautiful system, which we still admire, when it has become the most fabulous of fables, more than the kindred creations of all other people. Though it had the same origin as all other mythologies, yet, passing through the glorious minds of these poets, it assumed all those characters of grace and beauty which they conferred on their literature, their philosophy, and on all the arts and embellishments of life. Familiar as Homer has made us all with that hierarchy of gods which figures so conspicuously in his writings, we are continually furnished by him with glimpses of a more ancient dynasty, and with theories of their origin, which clash with his more general one, and at first puzzle and confound us. When we come, however, to trace up these casual revealings, we soon find ourselves in a new world. These gods, which he at first taught us were all the offspring of Saturn, and of his three sons, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, we discover, to our astonishment, are the gods of all other nations,—gods assuming all the character of the highest antiquity, and deriving their being in a manner totally at variance with the more modern system. His Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo, Ceres, Venus, &c., instead of being the comparatively recent children of Jove, are found to blend and become synonymous with him or the great mother. Surprised at this strange discovery, we pursue the inquiry, and are led into those very regions where we have lately been—into central Asia, and to the period of the Flood. The tombs of the gods were existing in Greece; they were, therefore, but deified men,—and whence came these men? From the Flood. Traditions of floods were the most familiar of things in Greece; and they agreed, both that of Deucalion and others, with all the particulars of the real one. Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians, into whose religion he was initiated, invented the names of the twelve great gods; but we have already seen whence the Egyptians drew their deities. Plutarch contends that they came from Phœnicia. And who were the gods of the

Phœnicians? Ilus, or Ark-Ilus, or Hercules, i. e. Noah; and Dagon; the old man, On, or Oannes, who, according to Sanconiathon, came out of the sea, and taught them to plant corn and the vine. Others say, that the gods came into Greece from Samothrace, with the Pelasgi, an ancient wandering people, who bore in an ark with them, the Cabiri, or mighty ones. These Cabiri have been the subject of much contention; but all writers admit that they were three, or eight; that is, the three sons of Noah, or the eight people of the ark. It is most likely that from all these sources portions of the same great system of corrupted worship were derived. So conspicuous is the real origin of all the Grecian traditions, that I shall not dwell upon it. It is enough to state, that they celebrated the same mysteries, practised the same human sacrifices, were contaminated with the same Phallic abominations, as all the other nations of paganism; in fact, all the characters of the great Noachic superstitions were ingrafted upon them. The bold and free genius of the nation; that splendid and extraordinary emanation of intellect, which not only made it the wonder of the ancient world, but has constituted it the well-spring of knowledge to all ages, and almost the creator of the universal modern mind, saved it from the utmost horrors and degradations of priestcraft. The national spirit operating in the soul of Homer, again, through him, operated with tenfold force on the minds of his countrymen. In all other countries the priests were the monopolists of knowledge. "Immured," says Maurice, in his *Indian Antiquities*, "in the errors of polytheism, as was the great body of the Egyptian nation, it has been incontestably proved by the immortal Cudworth, that the hierophant, or arch-priest, in the secret rites of their religion, taught the doctrine of the unity of the Godhead; but this noble sentiment, though they had the magnanimity to conceive, they wanted the generosity to impart to the deluded populace; for it was thought dangerous both to the church and state, to shake the foundations of the reigning superstitions." This, if I have not already shown, it would be easy to show, was the practice the world over; but this knowledge falling on the mind of Homer, he disdained to make it an instrument of slavery, but poured it abroad like light through the earth; and his countrymen, listening to his glorious poems with enthusiasm, became imbued with the same dauntless, untameable spirit, alike intolerant of the despotism of the throne or the altar. Many of his more timid compatriots, indeed, were terrified at the freedom of his treatment of the gods. Every where we perceive that he regarded them but as convenient poetical machinery. Ever and anon we find him rising into such sublime notions of Deity and the Divine government, that we feel that he possessed that true knowledge of the Creator, which Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero, in Rome, afterwards displayed. So strikingly, indeed, does he evince this, that many have thought that in his wanderings he had come in contact with the Hebrew doctrines. I doubt this. I be-

lieve, rather, it came to him from the earliest ages, by other sources; but be it as it may, his description of the gods exerting their power is almost worthy of Isaiah.

Mars shouts to Simois from his beauteous hill :
The mountain shook, the rapid stream stood still.
Above, the sire of gods his thunder rolls,
And peals on peals redoubled rend the poles.
Beneath, stern Neptune shakes the solid ground ;
The forests wave, the mountains nod around :
Through all their summits tremble Ida's woods,
And from their sources boil her hundred floods.
Troy's turrets totter on the rocking plain,
And the tossed navies beat the heaving main.

Pope's Translation. B. xx.

The sentiments that abound in the *Odyssey* are worthy, not merely of a Hebrew, but of a Christian;—as this fine and just opinion of slavery:—

Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.—B. xviii.

This noble description of the power of conscience:—

Pirates and conquerors of hardened mind,
The foes of peace, and scourges of mankind,
To whom offending men are made a prey,
When Jove in vengeance gives a land away :
Even these,—when of their ill-got spoils possessed,
Find sure tormentors in the guilty breast ;
Some voice of God, close whispering within—
“Wretch ! this is villany ; and this is sin !”

And those many declarations of God's guardianship of the poor and the stranger:—

’Tis Jove unfolds our hospitable door ;
’Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor.—B. xiv.

Let first the herald due libations pay
To Jove, who guides the wanderer on his way.—B. vii.

By Jove the stranger and the poor are sent,
And what to them we give, to Jove is lent.

Low at thy knee, thy succour we implore ;
Respect us human, and relieve us poor ;
At least some hospitable gifts bestow,
’Tis what the happy to the unhappy owe,
’Tis what the gods require :—those gods revere,—
The poor and stranger are their constant care.
To Jove their cause, and their revenge belongs—
He wanders with them, and he feels their wrongs.—B. ix.

From Homer's mind, truth glanced abroad with a divine and dreadless honesty; unlike that of poor Herodotus, who, at the utterance of a bolder sentiment, hopes he has not given offence to gods or men.

We see in his writings not only continual indications of great moral truths, but the same integrity evinced in sketching the manners of the early ages of his country. We see his favourite hero dragging his noble foe at his chariot, and immolating men at the funeral of his friend—traits of savage character with which he would not have invested him, but from regard to a genuine representation of Grecian mind and manners at that epoch. What Greece would have been in the hands of priests, but for its own elastic spirit, and for the mighty influence of its poets and sages, we have seen pictured in other nations; what it was, we have now to see. Priestcraft here did not rule with the same unmasked mien and unrestrained hand, as in other countries;—it adapted its policy to the spirit of the people. It gratified their curiosity after philosophic knowledge, and after the future, by mysteries and oracles; their love of grace and festivity, by beauteous processions and joyous festivals; it captivated and awed their sensitive imaginations, by calling to its aid the fine arts, as the papal church did afterwards by its adherents,—erecting the most magnificent temples, and setting before their eyes those miracles of paintings, now lost, except in the eulogiums of antiquity; and of sculpture, some of which remain to command the admiration, if not the worship of the world. By these means they attained their end,—immense wealth and influence,—an influence, the strength of which, on the common mind, may be estimated by facts about to be given, but perhaps more by the circumstance of Socrates, the most sagacious of their philosophers, at the hour of his death, and when he was delivering the most sublime sentiments, enjoining his friends to sacrifice on his behalf a cock to Æsculapius. This influence the witty enemy of Socrates, Aristophanes, shook not a little by his free and resistless ridicule of the popular gods in his comedies.

Let us now briefly run over the great features of priestcraft in Greece; and first, of human sacrifices. Archbishop Potter, in his *Antiquities of Greece*, chap. iv., says, "Neither was it lawful to sacrifice oxen only, but also men. Examples of this sort of inhumanity were very common in most of the barbarous nations. Among the primitive Grecians it was accounted an act of so uncommon cruelty and impiety, that Lycaon, king of Arcadia, was feigned by the poets to have been turned into a wolf, because he offered a human sacrifice to Jupiter. In latter days it was undoubtedly more common and familiar. Aristomenes, the Messinian, sacrificed three hundred men, among whom was Theopompus, one of the kings of Sparta, to Jupiter of Ithome. Themistocles, in order to procure the assistance of the gods against the Persians, sacrificed some captives of that nation, as we find in Plutarch. Bacchus had an altar in Arcadia, upon which young damsels were

beaten to death with bundles of rods; something like to which was practised by the Lacedemonians, who scourged the children, sometimes to death, in honour of Diana Orthia. To the Manes and infernal gods, such sacrifices were very often offered. Hence we read of Polyxena's being sacrificed to Achilles; and Homer relates how that hero butchered twelve Trojan captives at the funeral of Patroclus. Æneas, whom Virgil celebrates for his piety, is an example of the same practice:—

Sulmone creatos

Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
Viventes rapit; inferias quos immolet umbris,
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammæ.—*Líb. x.*

“Whoever desires to see more instances of human sacrifices, may consult Clemens of Alexandria, Eusebius, and other Christian apologists.”

To this we may add, the well-known sacrifice of Iphigenia, by the assembled Grecian powers on their way to Troy; the sacrifice of two children by Menelaus, related by Herodotus; and what Plutarch says, that the Greeks sacrificed many children annually to Saturn: so that we see this famous people was sufficiently infected by this bloody superstition.

Of their Phallic rites we shall, for decency's sake, say no more than refer to their own writers, whose descriptions of the Bacchic and Priapic orgies are astonishing.

For their religious festivals and processions, we refer to Potter; and shall only say that, in these, every charm of grace, every intoxication of festivity was exhausted, to fascinate a people so alive to such influences; and they were made to contribute abundantly to the coffers of the priests.

Another potential source of power and wealth was augury. Augurs were a class of men frequently priests, but always bearing much the same relation to the pagan priesthood, that the monks did to those of the papal hierarchy. They were but varieties of the same class of animals of prey. They pretended to discern and declare the will of the gods, by the flight of birds, by the intestines of animals, and by various other signs; but it was through the medium of the oracles that priestcraft awed, and practised on, the public mind most effectually. These were situated in solemn temples, or fearful, sacred groves; were surrounded by every thing which could terrify and confound the imagination; and, accompanied by dread and mysterious sounds, and by the cries and contortions of the priest or priestess, were supposed to proclaim the dicta of the gods. They were, consequently, a mine of wealth and power to the priests. “Of all sorts of divination,” says Potter, “oracles had always the greatest repute, as being thought to proceed in an immediate manner from the gods; whereas, others were delivered by men, and had a greater dependence on them, who might, either out of ignorance, mistake, or out of fear, hope,

or other unlawful and base ends, conceal or betray the truth; whereas, they thought the gods, who were neither obnoxious to the anger, nor stood in need of the rewards, nor cared for the promises of mortal, could not be prevailed upon to do either of them. Upon this account, oracles obtained so great credit and esteem, that, in all doubts and disputes, their determinations were held sacred and inviolable. Whence, as Strabo reports, vast numbers flocked to them to be resolved in all manner of doubts, and to ask counsel about the management of their affairs; insomuch, that no business of great consequence was undertaken, scarce any war waged, peace concluded, new form of government instituted, or new laws enacted, without the advice and approbation of an oracle. Cræsus, before he durst venture to declare war against the Persians, consulted not only all the most famous oracles of Greece, but sent ambassadors to Libya, to ask advice of Jupiter Hammon. Minos, the Cretan lawgiver, conversed with Jupiter, and received instructions from him, how he might new-model his government. Lycurgus also made visits to the Delphian Apollo, and received from him that platform which he afterwards communicated to the Lacedæmonians. Nor does it matter whether these things were true or not, when lawgivers, and men of the greatest authority, were forced to make use of these methods to win them into compliance. My author also goes higher, and tells us, that inspired persons were thought worthy of the greatest honour and trusts: insomuch, that we sometimes find them advanced to the throne, and invested with the royal power;—for that, being admitted to the councils of the gods, they were best able to provide for the welfare of men.

“This representation stood the priests, who had their dependence on the oracle, in no small stead; for finding their credit thus thoroughly established, they allowed no man to consult their gods before he had offered costly sacrifices, and made rich presents to them. Whereby it came to pass, that few besides great and wealthy men were admitted to ask their advice, the rest being unable to pay the charges required on that account, which contributed very much to raise the esteem of oracles among the common people; men being generally apt to admire the things they are kept at some distance from, and, on the other hand, to contemn what they are familiarly acquainted with. Wherefore, to keep up their esteem with the better sort, even they were only admitted on a few stated days: at other times, neither the greatest prince could purchase, nor persons of the greatest quality any way obtain an answer. Alexander himself was peremptorily denied by the Pythia, till she was by downright force compelled to ascend the tripes, when, finding herself unable to resist any longer, she cried out, ‘Thou art invincible!’ which words were thought a very lucky omen, and accepted instead of a further oracle.”

Thus we see how artfully and triumphantly the priests had managed to enslave this great and most intelligent of people,

holding them in abject and utter thralldom even while they imagined themselves free. To the priests they were obliged to come for their original civil constitutions, and these they took care so to frame as to make themselves necessary in every act and hour of existence, as they have done through the universal world. Our author might have told us, however, what tricks statesmen were suffered to play with the oracles when it suited them so to do; he might have added what prodigies and portents Themistocles caused to appear in these oracular temples, when he wished to rouse the Greeks against Persia. The arms of the temple at Delphi were shifted from the interior to the front of the fane in the night, as if done by Divine hands; they were heard to clash as if by invincible power; rocks fell, and thundered down in the faces of the enemy as they approached these sacred defiles, and friends and foes were impressed with an idea that the gods were present to defend their sanctuaries. These and similar facts he might have told us;—but let us proceed.

Their sacred festivals, games, and celebration of mysteries, we have already heard were almost innumerable; some occurring yearly, others monthly, so that they were seldom without something of the kind to occupy their attention, and bind them to the national religion. To their mysteries only can we devote a few passages.

These have occupied much of the curiosity of the learned; and their researches have shown incontestably, that the mysteries celebrated in all ages and nations were substantially the same. Whether they were celebrated in Egypt, in honour of Isis and Osiris; in Syria, of Baal; in Phrygia, in Crete, in Phenicia, in Lemnos, in Samothrace, in Cyprus, in India, or the British Isles, or in the Mythracic caves of Persia; they had all the same object, and were attended by the same ceremonies. In Greece there might be differing particulars in the orgies of Bacchus, Ceres, Jupiter, Pan, Silenus, Rhea, Venus, or Diana, yet their leading traits were the same. Their objects have been stated variously; but they appear, in fact, to have been various, yet all subservient to one great object,—which was, to teach the primal unity of the Deity, notwithstanding the popular multitude of gods, and to shadow out the grand doctrine of the fall and repurification of the human soul. They appear evidently derived from the flood; representing a descent into the darkness of that death which Noah's entrance into the ark indicated to the world, and his subsequent return to life. In all, there was a person lost, and sought after with lamentation; whether Isis was seeking Osiris, Ceres seeking Proserpine; or Thammuz, Bacchus, Pan, Jupiter, or some other, was lamented with tears, and sought through terrors; and afterwards rejoiced in as found. In all, the aspirants descended to darkness as of death, passed over a water in an ark or boat, and came into Elysium. The accounts in Homer and Virgil of the descent of Hercules, Ulysses, and Æneas into hell, are considered to be but

details of what is represented in the mysteries. In whatever mode they were celebrated, we invariably find a certain door or gate, viewed as of primary importance. Sometimes it was the door of the temple; sometimes the door of the consecrated grotto; sometimes it was the hatchway of the boat within which the aspirant was enclosed; sometimes a hole, either natural or artificial, between rocks; and sometimes a gate in the sun, moon, or planets. Through this the initiated were born again; and from this the profane were excluded. The notion evidently originated from the door in the side of the ark through which the primary epopts were admitted, while the profane antediluvians were shut out. So sacred and secret were these mysteries in all countries, that whoever revealed any portion of them was instantly put to death. The scrupulosity of the Romans with regard to the orgies of the Bona Dea, at which women only were admitted, is familiar to every reader of Cicero, by his harangue against Clodius, who violated this custom. Those who consulted the oracle of Trophonius had to pass through darkness, and descend, by a ladder into the cave, with offerings of cakes of honey; and drank of the waters of oblivion, to forget all past cares, and of the waters of remembrance, to recollect what they were about to see.

They who had been initiated into the mysteries were held to be extremely wise, and to be possessed of motives to the highest honour and purity of life; yet it cannot be denied that they were made, by the introduction of the Phallic obscenities, a means as much of debauchery as of refining the people. A little reflection, says Mr. Maurice, will soon convince us, that as persons of either sex were promiscuously allowed to be initiated, when the original physical cause came to be forgotten, what a general dissipation—what a boundless immorality, would be promoted by so scandalous an exhibition as awaited them. The season of nocturnal gloom in which these mysteries were performed, and the inviolable secrecy which accompanied the celebration of them, added to the inviting solitude of the scene, conspired at once to break down all the barriers of restraint, to overturn all the fortitude of manly virtue, and to rend the veil of modesty from the blushing face of virgin innocence. At length licentious passion trampled upon the most sacred obstacles which law and religion united to raise against it. The bacchanal, frantic with midnight intemperance, polluted the secret sanctuary, and prostitution sat throned upon the very altars of the gods.

The effect upon the vulgar multitude cannot be doubted, however different it might be upon the few of higher intellect and higher pursuit. By them the most sublime portions of the ancient mysteries would be awfully felt. Nothing can be conceived more solemn than the rites of initiation into the greater mysteries, as described by Apuleius and Dion Chrysostome, who had both gone through the awful ceremony,—nothing more tremendous than the scenery exhibited before the eyes of the terrified aspirant. After

entering the grand vestibule of the mystic shrine, he was led by the hierophant, amid surrounding darkness and incumbent horrors, through all those extended aisles, winding avenues, and gloomy adyta, equally belonging to the mystic temples of Egypt, Eleusis, and India. "It was," says Stobæus, as quoted by Warburton, in his *Divine Legation of Moses*, "a wide and fearful march through night and darkness. Presently the ground began to rock beneath his feet, the whole temple trembled, and strange and dreadful voices were heard through the midnight silence. To these succeeded other louder and more terrific noises, resembling thunder; while quick and vivid flashes of lightning darted through the cavern, displaying to his view many ghastly sights and hideous spectres, emblematical of the various vices, diseases, infirmities, and calamities, incident to that state of terrestrial bondage from which his struggling soul was now going to emerge, as well as of the horrors and penal torments of the guilty in a future state. The temple of the Cecropian goddess roared from its inmost recesses; the holy torches of Eleusis were waved on high by mimic furies; the snakes of Triptolemus hissed a loud defiance, and the howling of the infernal dogs resounded through the awful gloom, which resembled the malignant and imperfect light of the moon when partially obscured by clouds. At this period, all the pageants of vulgar idolatry—all the train of gods, supernal and infernal, passed in awful succession before him; and a hymn, called the *Theology of Idols*, recounting the genealogy and functions of each, was sung: afterwards the whole fabulous detail was solemnly recanted by the mystagogue; a divine hymn, in honour of ETERNAL AND IMMUTABLE TRUTH, was chanted, and the profounder mysteries commenced. And now, arrived on the verge of death and initiation, every thing wears a dreadful aspect: it is all horror, trembling, and astonishment. An icy chillness seizes his limbs: a copious dew, like the damp of real death, bathes his temples: he staggers, and his senses begin to fail, when the scene is of a sudden changed, and the doors of the interior and splendidly illumined temple are thrown wide open. A miraculous and divine light discloses itself, and shining plains and flowering meadows open on all hands before him. '*Accessi confinium mortis,*' says Apuleius, '*et calcato Proserpinæ limine, per omnia vectus elementa remeavi; nocte medio solem candido coruscantem lumine.*' Arrived at the bourn of mortality, after having trod the gloomy threshold of Proserpine, I passed rapidly through all the surrounding elements, and, at deep midnight, beheld the sun shining in meridian splendour. The clouds of mental error and the shades of real darkness being now alike dissipated, both the soul and the body of the initiated experienced a delightful vicissitude; and while the latter, purified with lustrations, bounded in a blaze of glory, the former dissolved in a tide of overwhelming transport. At that period of virtuous and triumphant exaltation, according to the divine Plato, they saw celestial beauty in all the dazzling radi-

ance of its perfection; when, joining with the glorified chorus, they were admitted to the *beatific vision*, and were initiated into the most blessed of all mysteries."

The author of the apocryphal *WISDOM OF SOLOMON* has preserved a most curious Jewish tradition, relative to the nature of the Egyptian plague of darkness, which intimates that the votaries of Osiris were visited with the very terrors which they employed in his mysteries. The passage is not only strikingly illustrative of what is gone before, but is extremely sublime:—

"When unrighteous men thought to oppress the holy nation, they, being shut up in their houses, the prisoners of darkness, and fettered with the bonds of a long night, lay there, fugitives from the Eternal Providence. For, while they were supposed to lie hid in their secret sins, they were scattered under a dark veil of forgetfulness, being horridly astonished, and troubled with strange apparitions. For, neither might the corner that held them keep them from fear, but noises, as of waters falling down, sounded about them, and sad visions appeared unto them with heavy countenances. No power of the fire might give them light, neither could the bright flames of the stars endure to lighten that horrible night. Only there appeared unto them a fire kindled of itself, very dreadful; for being much terrified, they thought the things they saw to be worse than the sight they saw not. As for the illusions of art-magic, they were put down, and their vaunting in wisdom was re-proved with disgrace: for they who promised to drive away terrors and troubles from a sick soul, were sick themselves of fear, worthy to be laughed at. For though no terrible thing did fear them, yet being scared with beasts that passed by, and hissing of serpents, they died for fear, refusing to look upon the air, which could on no side be avoided; they, sleeping the same sleep that night, wherein they could do nothing, and which came upon them out of the bottoms of inevitable hell, were partly vexed with monstrous apparitions, and partly fainted, their heart failing them,—for sudden fear, and unlooked-for, came upon them. So, then, whosoever fell down, was straitly kept, shut up in a prison without iron bars. Whether it were a whistling wind, or a melodious noise of birds among the spreading branches, or a pleasing fall of water running violently, or a hideous noise of stones cast down, or a running that could not be seen of skipping beasts, or a roaring voice of most savage wild beasts, or a rebounding echo from the hollow mountains; these things made them to swoon for fear. For the whole world shined with light, and none were hindered in their labour; over them only was spread a heavy night, an image of that darkness which should afterwards receive them."

On this interesting subject it would be easy to follow through the mysteries of all nations, and write a volume; but after stating that the initiatory ceremonies of Freemasons, and those of the *Vehme Gericht*, or secret tribunal, once existing in Germany, seem to derive their origin from this source, I shall merely give a

few words of Taliesin, relative to their celebration in Britain, and return to the regular order of my subject.

Among the apparatus of the *art-magic* which the Druids used in this ancient ceremony of being born again, was a cauldron; and, as in all other mysteries, and in the initiation of a Freemason, men with naked swords stood within the portal to cut down every coward who would fain turn back before he had passed through the terrors of inauguration; the Druids also, it appears, had to sail over the water in this ceremony.

"Thrice the number," says Taliesin, "that would have filled Prydwen, (the magic shield of Arthur, in which he sailed with seven champions,) we entered upon the deep,—excepting seven, none have returned from *Caer Sidi*. Am I not contending for the praise of that lore which was four times reviewed in the quadrangular enclosure? As the first sentence, was it not uttered from the cauldron? Is not this the cauldron of the ruler of the deep? With the ridge of pearls around its border, it will not boil the food of a coward who is not bound by his oath. Against him will be lifted the bright gleaming sword, and in the hand of the sword-bearer shall he be left; and before the gates of hell shall the horns of light be burning. When we went with Arthur in his splendid labours, excepting seven, none returned from *Caer Vediwid*. Am I not contending for the honour of a lore which deserves attention? In the quadrangular enclosure, in the island with the strong door, the twilight and the pitchy darkness were mixed together, while bright wine was the beverage placed before the narrow circle. Thrice the number that would have filled Prydwen we embarked upon the sea;—excepting seven, none returned from *Caer Rigor*. I will not redeem the multitudes with the ensign of the governor. Beyond the enclosure of glass they beheld not the prowess of Arthur. They knew not on what day the stroke would be given, nor at what hour in the serene day the agitated person would be born, or who preserved his going into the dales of the possession of the waters. They knew not the brindled ox with the thick headband. When we went with Arthur of mournful memory, excepting seven, none returned from *Caer Vandwy*."

Caer Rigor, *Sidi*, *Vediwid*, etc., are but different names for the Druidical enclosure of Stonehenge, or, as they styled it, the Ark of the World. The numbers seven have evidently reference to the seven persons of the ark; Noah himself being represented, according to custom, by Arthur.

In another place, Taliesin alludes to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, which was taught in those mysteries. "I was first modelled in the form of a pure man, in the hall of *Ceridwen*, (the ship goddess,) who subjected me to penance. Though small within my ark and modest in my deportment, I was great. A sanctuary carried me above the surface of the earth. Whilst I was enclosed within its ribs the sweet awen rendered me complete; and my law, without audible language, was imparted to me by the

old giantess darkly smiling in her wrath; but her claim was not regretted when she set sail. I fled in the form of a fair grain of pure wheat; upon the edge of a covering cloth she caught me in her fangs. In appearance she was as large as a proud mare, which she also resembled (the Ceres-Hippa of the Greeks, who similarly received Bacchus into her womb); then was she swelling-out, like a ship upon the waters. Into a dark receptacle she cast me. She carried me back into the sea of Dylan. It was an auspicious omen to me when she happily suffocated me; God, the Lord, freely set me at large."

To a timid aspirant, the hierophant says, "Thy coming without external purity, is a pledge that I will not receive thee. Take out the gloomy one. Out of the receptacle which is thy aversion, did I obtain the rainbow."—See *Davis's Celtic Mythology*.

It may seem widely wandering from Greece to Britain; but it only shows more strikingly the oneness of the pagan faith.—And now to return.

The priests thus providing for the tastes of all parties, wealth, power, and unlimited influence became their own. All these things were sources of gain; and whoever would form some idea of the wealth of the Grecian priesthood, let him read in Herodotus of the immense riches conferred on the oracular temples by Cræsus and other monarchs. Let him also learn the following particulars from Diodorus Siculus: "The principal hoards of treasure, both in bullion and coined money, were in their temples, which were crowded with presents of immense value, brought by the superstitious from every part of Greece. These temples were considered as national banks; and the priests officiated as bankers,—not always, indeed, the most honest, as was once proved at Athens, where the state treasurers, having expended or embezzled the public money, had the audacity to set fire to that part of the temple of Minerva where the treasure was contained; by which sacrilegious act that magnificent fane was near being wholly consumed. Their purpose, however, was fully answered, since the registers of the temple were reported to have perished with the treasures, and all responsibility precluded."

The temple just mentioned, the superb fane of Jupiter Olympius at Elis, and that of Apollo at Delphi, were the principal of the three sacred depositories. The priests at all times concealed the total sum of the treasures lodged in them with too much caution for us to know the amount; yet, when the Phocenses, urged to despair by the exactions of the Thebans, seized on the treasures of Delphi, they amounted to 10,000 talents—above 2,250,000*l.* sterling—and probably that was but a small portion of what holy perfidy had previously secured. The deposits at the great temple of Ephesus, considered through all ages as inviolable, probably far exceeded those of the three last mentioned.

The spirit of avarice, which in all times characterized the priesthood, and prompted them to such immense accumulation, is not

more detestable than dangerous; for, let any one reflect what must be the consequence to a nation where the monarch and the priest are in coalition, as is usually the case, and the monarch, as is usually the case too, is watching to extinguish every spark of popular freedom;—what, I say, must be the consequence when such overwhelming resources are within his reach? The fate of Greece is a melancholy warning on the subject. These immense treasures were eventually seized upon by rapacious conquerors, and their soldiers paid by them to enslave these renowned states; and thus the coin drained from the people by the hands of priestcraft, became in the hands of kingcraft the means of their destruction. So has it been in every country. So was it in Palestine—so in ancient Rome—in Constantinople; and so pre-eminently in India. To that country let us now proceed.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDIA.

THE ancient and venerable Hindostan furnishes our last and most triumphant demonstration of the nature of *pagan* priestcraft. In Greece we have seen that, notwithstanding the daring, restless, and intellectual character of the people, it contrived to obtain a most signal influence; but in India, with a people of a gentler temperament, and where no bold spirits, like Homer and the philosophers of Greece, had ventured to make the national theology popularly familiar, priestcraft assumed its most fearless and determined air. In all other lands it did not fail to place itself in the first rank of honour and power; in this it went a step further,—and promulgating a dogma diametrically opposite to the humanizing doctrine of the Bible, that, “God made of one blood all the nations of the earth;” it riveted its chains indissolubly on the mind of that mighty empire. Priestcraft here exhibits a marvellous spectacle. The perfection of its craft, and the utter selfishness of its spirit, are proclaimed by the fact of millions on millions bound, from the earliest ages to the present hour, in the chains of the most slavish and soul-quelling castes, and in the servility of a religious creed so subtly framed, that it almost makes hopeless the moral regeneration of the swarming myriads of these vast regions. I have already repeatedly stated that it partakes, in common with the whole pagan world, in one general mythological system, and I shall not dwell on its features more particularly. In Maurice’s copious *Indian Antiquities*, whence I shall chiefly draw what I have to say, may be found ample details of the Hindoo religion. It is well known, from a variety of works, that this venerable empire claims the highest antiquity, not merely of national existence, but of the possession of knowledge in philosophy, literature, and the arts; it is equally known, too, since Sir William Jones laid open the antique stores of the Sanscrit language, that this religion has all the common features of those mythologies, on which I have already dwelt. It has its triad of gods, its doctrine of metempsychosis, its practice of the Phallic licentiousness, and the horrors of human sacrifice and self-immolation. Who has not heard of the burning of Indian widows—of the bloody and wholesale self-slaughter at the temple of Jaggernath—of the destruction of children, now restrained by British interference—and of the absolute dominance of the

Brahmins? I shall pass, therefore, hastily over these matters, and confine myself principally to the task of displaying, in the Brahminical hierarchy, an example of priestcraft in its most decided, undisguised, subtle, and triumphant character,—priestcraft, at once in full flower and full fruit; in that state at which it has always aimed, but never, not even in the bloody reign of the papal church, ever attained elsewhere,—stamping itself on the heart of a great nation in its broadest and most imperishable style, in all its avowed despotism, icy selfishness, imperturbable pride, and cool arrogance of fanatical power.

Two great sects once existed here,—those of Buddh and Brahma, which preserved an inviolable separation, except in the temple of Jaggernath, where, seeming to forget all their former prejudices, they united in the commission of lust and cruelty.

It is the Brahminical sect only which will now demand notice. These profess the mildest of doctrines, refuse to kill any living creature for food, and subsist on milk, fruit, and vegetables. Yet, what is at first sight most remarkable, and which cannot be accounted for by any other means than that of the immutable nature of corrupted religion, they not only inflict on themselves, under the character of Yogeas, the most horrible austerities; but have for ages encouraged the destruction of female children; did till restrained by British power, and that but recently, encourage, and, under the influence of the most powerful social causes, render almost necessary, the immolation of widows; sanction and stimulate, annually, thousands of simple victims to destroy themselves at the shrine of the monstrous Jaggernath; and, till recently, sacrificed not only animals but men. In fact, the ambitious Brahmins, by the greatest cruelties, crushed, before A. D. 1000, the rival sect of Buddh, which now exists chiefly in Burmah and China.

Of human sacrifices, the express ordination of the Rudhiradhyaya, or sanguinary chapter of the Calica Pûrana, in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, is sufficient testimony. No precepts can be conceived more express, nor, indeed, more horrible, than those which this tremendous chapter enjoins.

"By a human sacrifice, attended with the forms here laid down, Deva, the goddess Cali, the black goddess of destruction, is pleased 1000 years.

"By a human sacrifice, Camachya, Chandica, and Bhairava, who assume any shape, are pleased 1000 years. An oblation of blood which has been rendered pure by holy texts, is equal to ambrosia; the head and flesh also afford much delight to Chandica. Let, therefore, the learned, when paying adoration to the goddess, offer blood and the head; and when performing the sacrifice to fire, make oblations of flesh."

Here follow numerous minute directions, none of which I shall quote, except one;—itself sufficiently horrid.

"Let the sacrificer say, Hrang, hring! Cali, Cali! O, horrid-

toothed goddess! eat, cut, destroy all the malignant; cut with this axe; bind, bind; seize, seize; drink blood! spheng, spheng! secure, secure! salutations to Cali!"

For the Phallic contaminations, let this passage from Maurice suffice. Abundant matter of the like nature might be added; but the less said on this subject the better. Of the recent existence of such things, Buchanan's account of the temple of Jaggernath may satisfy the curious reader.

"What I shall offer on this head will be taken from two authentic books, written at very different periods, and therefore fully decisive as to the general prevalence of the institution from age to age,—the *Anciennes Relations*, and *Les Voyages de M. Tavernier*,—the former written in the 9th, the latter in the 17th century.

"Incited, unquestionably, by the hieroglyphic emblems of vice so conspicuously elevated and strikingly painted in the temple of Mahadeo, the priests of that deity industriously selected the most beautiful females that could be found, and, in their tenderest years, with great pomp and solemnity, consecrated them, as it is impiously called, to the service of the divinity of the pagoda. They were trained in every art to delude and delight; and, to the fascination of external beauty, their artful betrayers added the attractions arising from mental accomplishments. Thus was an invariable rule of the Hindoos, that *women have no concern with literature*, dispensed with on this infamous occasion. The moment these hapless creatures reached maturity, they fell victims to the lust of the Brahmins. They were early taught to practise the most alluring blandishments, to roll the expressive eye of wanton pleasure, and to invite to criminal indulgence by stealing upon the beholder the tender look of voluptuous languishing. They were instructed to mould their elegant and airy forms into the most enticing attitudes and the most lascivious gestures, while the rapid and most graceful motion of their feet, adorned with golden bells and glittering with jewels, kept unison with the exquisite melody of their voices. Every pagoda has a band of these young syrens, whose business on great festivals is to dance in public before the idol, to sing hymns in his honour, and in private to enrich the treasury of the pagoda by the wages of prostitution. These women are not, however, regarded in a dishonourable light; they are considered as *wedded to the idol*, and they partake the veneration paid to him. They are forbidden ever to desert the pagoda where they are educated, and are never permitted to marry; but the offspring, if any, of their criminal embraces, are considered sacred to the idol: the boys are taught to play on the sacred instruments used at the festivals; and the daughters are devoted to the abandoned occupation of their mothers.

"The reader has, doubtless, heard and read frequently of the degeneracy and venality of PRIESTS; and we know from Herodotus what scandalous prostitutions were suffered in honour of Mylitta; but a system of corruption, so systematical, so deliberate,

and so nefarious,—and that professedly carried on in the name, and for the advantage of religion,—stands perhaps unrivalled in the history of the world, and the annals of infamy. It was by degrees that the Eleusinian worship arrived at the point of its extreme enormity; and the obscenities, finally prevalent, were equally regretted and disclaimed by the institutors; but in India we see an avowed plan of shameless seduction and debauchery; the priest himself converted into a base procurer; and the pagoda itself a public brothel. The devout Mahometan traveller, whose journey in India, in the ninth century, has been published by M. Renaudot, and from which account this description is partly taken, concludes the article by a solemn thanksgiving to the Almighty, that he and his nation were delivered from the errors of infidelity, and were unstained by the enormities of so criminal a devotion.

In a country so immensely rich, and so obedient to the dictations of priestcraft, the avarice of the sacerdotal tribe would accumulate enormous treasures. We have recently alluded to the hoards gathered by priestly hands into the temples of Greece. In the temple of Belus in Assyria, there were three prodigious statues, not of cast, but of beaten gold, of Jupiter, Juno, and Rhea. That of Jupiter was erect, in a walking attitude, forty feet in height; and weighed a thousand Babylonian talents. The statue of Rhea was of the same weight, but sitting on a throne of gold, with two lions standing before her, and two huge serpents in silver, each weighing thirty talents. Juno was erect; weighed eight hundred talents; her right hand grasped a serpent by the head, and her left a golden sceptre, incrustated with gems. Before these statues stood an altar of beaten gold, forty feet long, fifteen broad, and five hundred talents in weight. On this altar stood two vast flagons, each weighing thirty talents; two censers for incense, each five hundred talents; and finally, three vessels for the consecrated wine, weighing nine hundred talents.

The statue of Nebuchadnezzar, in the plain of Dura, formed of the gold heaped up by David and Solomon, Dr. Prideaux calculated at one thousand talents of gold, in value three millions and a half sterling.

Herodotus tells us, that Croesus frequently sent to Delphi amazing presents; and burnt, in one holocaust, beds of gold and silver, ornamental vessels of the same metals, purple robes, silken carpets, and other rich furniture, which he consumed in one pile, to render that oracle propitious; while the wealthiest citizens of Sardis threw into the fire their most costly furniture: so that out of the melted mass, one hundred and seventeen golden tiles were cast; the least, three spans long, the largest six, but all one span in thickness; which were placed in the temple.

When Cambyses burnt the temple of Thebes in Egypt, there were saved from the flames three hundred talents of gold, and two thousand three hundred talents of silver; and amongst the spoils of that temple was a stupendous circle of gold, inscribed with the

zodiacal characters, and astronomical figures, which encircled the tomb of Oxymandias. At Memphis he obtained still greater sacred wealth.

These seem astounding facts; but before the sacerdotal wealth and templar splendour of India, they shrink into insignificance. The principal use which the Indians seem to have made of the immense quantities of bullion, from age to age, imported into their empire, was to melt it down into statues of their deities; if, indeed, by that title we may denominate the personified attributes of the Almighty, and the elements of nature. Their pagodas were crowned with these golden and silver statues; they thought any inferior metal must degrade the divinity. Every house, too, was crowded with statues of their ancestors; those ancestors that were exalted to the stars for their piety, or valour. The very altars of the temples were of massy gold; the incense flamed in censers of gold, and golden chalices bore their sacred oil, honey, and wine. The temple of Auruna, the day-star, had its lofty walls of porphyry internally covered with broad plates of gold, sculptured in rays, that, diverging every way, dazzled the beholder; while the radiant image of the deity burned in gems of infinite variety and unequalled beauty, on the spangled floor. The floor of the great temple of Naugracut, even so late as in the time of Mandesloe, was covered with plates of gold; and thus the Hindoo, in his devotion, trampled upon the god of half mankind.

In the processions also, made in honour of their idols, the utmost magnificence prevailed. They then brought forth all the wealth of the temple; and every order of people strove to outvie each other in displaying their riches, and adding to the pomp. The elephants marched first, richly decorated with gold and silver ornaments studded with precious stones; chariots overlaid with those metals, and loaded with them in ingots, advanced next; then followed the sacred steers, coupled together with yokes of gold, and a train of the noblest and most beautiful beasts of the forest, by nature fierce and sanguinary, but rendered mild and tractable by the skill of man: an immense multitude of priests, carrying vessels, plates, dishes, and other utensils, all of gold, adorned with diamonds, rubies, and sapphires, for the sumptuous feast of which the gods were to partake, brought up the rear. During all this time, the air was rent with the sound of various instruments, martial and festive; and the dancing girls displayed in their sumptuous apparel, the wealth of whole provinces, exhausted to decorate beauty devoted to religion.

The Arabians burst upon India like a torrent;—their merciless grasp seized the whole prey! The western provinces first felt their fury. The rajah of Lahore, when taken, had about his neck sixteen strings of jewels; each of which was valued at a hundred and eighty thousand rupees; and the whole at three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. A sum, however, comparatively trifling, when compared with that of which the sultan of Gazna

afterwards became master in his eruption into that province ; and which Mirkhond states at seven millions of coin in gold, seven hundred maunds of gold in ingots, together with an inestimable quantity of pearls and precious stones. The maund is a Persian weight, never estimated at less than forty pounds.

Let us attend this valiant marauder on another or two of his plundering expeditions into Hindostan. At the holy fane of Kreeshna, at Mathura, he found five great idols of pure gold, with eyes of rubies, of immense value. He found also three hundred idols of silver, which, being melted down, loaded as many camels with bullion ; the usual load of a camel being from seven hundred to one thousand two hundred pounds weight. At the great temple of Sumnaut, he found many thousands of gold and silver idols of smaller magnitude ; a chain of gold, which was suspended from the roof, and weighed forty maunds ; besides an inestimable hoard of jewels of the first water. This prince, a day or two before his death, ordered his whole treasury to be placed before him ; and having for some time, from his throne, feasted his eyes on the innumerable sacks of gold, and caskets of precious stones, burst into tears—perhaps from the recollection of the bloodshed and atrocities by which they had been accumulated—but more probably from the feeling of the vanity of all human cupidity and power,—a dismal conviction that they could not save him, but that they must pass to other hands, and he to the doom of eternity.

Immense quantities of the beautiful coins of Greece and Rome are supposed to have passed to India in the great trade of the ancients with it, for spices, silks, gems, and other precious articles, and to have been melted down in the crucible, without the least regard to the grandeur of their design, the majesty of the characters impressed, or the beauty of their execution, and went to swell the magnificence of the pagodas. We are well assured, that all the great pagodas of India had complete sets, amounting to an immense number, of the avatars and deities, which were deemed degraded if they were of baser metal than silver and gold ; except in those instances where their religion required their idol to be of stone, as Jaggernath ; which had, however, the richest jewels of Golconda for eyes ; and Vishnu, in the great basin of Catmandu, in Nepaul. Such was the wealth gathered by the Tartars in this wonderful country, that Mahmoud of Gazna made feasts that lasted a month ; and the officers of his army rode on saddles of gold, glittering with precious stones ; and his descendant, Timur, made a feast on a delightful plain, called Canaugha, or the treasury of roses, at which was exhibited such a display of gold and jewels, that, in comparison, the riches of Xerxes and Darius were trifling. The treasures which Timur took in Delhi were most enormous ;—precious stones, pearls, rubies, and diamonds, thousands of which were torn from the ears and necks of the native women ; and gold and gems from their arms, ancles, and dress : gold and silver vessels, money, and bullion, were carried away in such profusion by the army, that the

common soldiers absolutely refused to encumber themselves with more; and an abundant harvest of plunder was left to future invaders.

Mahmoud of Gazna, hearing astonishing accounts of the riches of the great pagoda of Sumnaut, whose roof was covered with plates of gold, and encircled with rubies, emeralds, and other precious stones, besieged the place, and took it. On entering the temple, he was struck with astonishment at the inestimable riches it contained. In the fury of his Mahommedan zeal against idols, he smote off the nose of the great image. A crowd of Brahmins, frantic at his treatment of their god, offered the most extravagant sums for his desistance; but the soldiers of Mahmoud only proceeded with greater ardour to demolish it, when, behold! on breaking its body, it was found to be hollow, and to contain an infinite variety of diamonds, rubies, and pearls of a water so pure, and a magnitude so uncommon, that the beholders were overwhelmed with astonishment. But the riches accumulated by the priests of this affluent region were so immense, that they exceed the power of the imagination to grasp them; and I shall leave this subject with what Mr. Orme, in his *History of Hindostan*, tells us:—that the Brahmins slumbered in the most luxuriant repose in these splendid pagodas; and that the numbers accommodated in the body of the great ones, was astonishing. He acquaints us that pilgrims came from all parts of the Peninsula to worship at that of Seringham, but none without an offering of money; that a large part of the revenue of the island is allotted for the maintenance of the Brahmins who inhabit it; and that these, with their families, formerly composed a multitude, not less in number than forty thousand souls, supported without labour, by the liberality of superstition.

So much for the ease and affluence of the Brahminical life; now for a glance at that system which they had rendered so prolific of good things;—a system, the most awful that ever proceeded from the genius of priestcraft, fertile in cunning and profitable schemes. I have already shown, that in all nations the priests placed themselves at the head, and even controlled the king, as they often chose him. But in India, the Brahmins went, as I have remarked, still further. Here, in order to rivet for ever their chains on the people, they did not merely represent themselves as a noble and inviolable race, but they divided the whole community into four castes. They wrote a book, and entitled it, "*The Institutes of Menu*," the son of Brahma. This book contained the whole code of their religious laws, which, as proceeding from the divinity, were to last for all time,—be for ever and indissolubly binding on every Hindoo; and not to be violated in the smallest degree, except on pain of forfeiting all civil privileges and enjoyments, of life itself, and of incurring the torments of hell. These castes were to preserve for ever their respective stations. Those born in one, were not only not to pass into another, but every man was bound

to follow the profession of his father. Whatever might be the difference of genius, it must be crushed; whatever desire to amend the condition of life, it must be extinguished; all variety of mind, all variations of physical constitution, all unsuitness for one trade, station, or pursuit, went for nothing:—to this most infernal of priestly impositions, man, with all his hopes and desires, his bodily weaknesses, his mental aspirations or repugnances, must succumb, and be lulled, or rather, cramped into an everlasting stupor, that the privileged Brahmin might tax him and terrify him, and live upon his labours, in the boundless enjoyment of his own pride, and insolence, and lust. "By this arrangement," says Mr. Maurice, "it should be remembered the happiness and security of a vast empire was preserved through a long series of ages under their early sovereigns; by curbing the fiery spirits of ambitious individuals, intestine feuds were, in a great measure, prevented; the wants of an immense population were amply provided for by the industry of the labouring classes, and the several branches of trade and manufacture were carried to the utmost degree of attainable perfection." A singular kind of happiness, and one which none but a priest could have a conception of. To plunge a great nation into the everlasting sleep and sluggishness of ecclesiastical despotism, is to secure its happiness!—the happiness of beasts maintained for the value of their labour, and fattened for the butcher!—a happiness, which, in the very sentence preceding, the writer terms "a barbarous attempt to chain down the powers of the human soul, to check the ardour of emulation, and damp the fire of genius."

To establish this system, the Brahmins resorted to the daring fraud of representing Menu—supposed to be Noah—as not "making all men of the same blood," but as producing four different tribes of men. The first, the Brahmins, from his mouth; the second, the Kettri, or rajahs, from his arm; the third, the Bice, or merchants, from his thigh; and the fourth, the Sooder, or labouring tribe, from his foot! Thus, this doctrine once received as true, an everlasting and impassable bar was placed between each tribe by divine authority. That it should not be endangered, the land of India was declared holy; and the Hindoos were forbidden, by all the terrors of temporal and eternal penalties, to go out of it. The Brahmins having thus, in the early ages of superstitious ignorance, taken this strong ground, proceeded to fortify it still further. The rajahs, or provincial rulers, were all chosen from their own, or the war tribe; and the marajah, or supreme king, was always chosen by them, often from themselves, and was entirely in their hands. By them he was educated, and moulded to their wishes; they were appointed, by these divine institutes, his guardians, and perpetual, inalienable counsellors.

Having thus firmly seized and secured the whole political power, they had only to rule, and enrich themselves out of a nation of slaves, at their pleasure; paying them with promises of future happiness, or terrifying them by threats of future vengeance, into

perfect passiveness: and so completely had this succeeded, that for thousands of years their system has continued; and it is the opinion of Sir William Jones, that so ingeniously is it woven into the souls of the Hindoos, that they will be the very last people converted to Christianity. For what, indeed, can be done with a nation who, from time immemorial, have been accustomed to regard their priests as beings of a higher nature,—their laws as emanations from Heaven,—and themselves as the creatures of an unescapable destiny; who, on the one hand, are stunned with fear of future torments, and, on the other, are exposed to the dagger of the first man they meet, authorized by those pretendedly divine institutes to cut down every apostate that he encounters? From such a consummate labyrinth of priestly art, nothing short of a miracle seems capable of rescuing them.

The Brahmins, like the popish priests, for the arts of priests are the same every where, reserve to themselves the inviolable right of reading the Vedas, or holy books, and thus impose on the people what doctrines they please. So scrupulously do they guard against the exposure of their real contents, that it is only in comparatively modern times that they have become known. A singular story is told of the emperor Akbar, which, although considered by many apocryphal, is equally indicative of Brahminical secrecy on this subject. Desiring to learn the Hindoo tenets, he applied to the Brahmins and was refused. Hereupon he had the brother of his faithful minister, Abul Fazil, a youth, brought up with a Brahmin, under a feigned character: but, after a residence of ten years, and at the moment of being about to return to court, owing to his attachment to the Brahmin's daughter, he confessed the fraud, and would have been instantly stabbed by his preceptor, had he not entreated him for mercy on his knees, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths, not to translate the Vedas, nor reveal the mysteries of the Brahmin creed. These oaths he faithfully kept during the life of the old Brahmin; but afterwards he conceived himself absolved from them, and to him has been attributed the first publication of the real contents of those sacred volumes.

But let us look at the system a little more at large. "Though," says Maurice, "the functions of government by the laws of Menu devolved on the Kettri, or rajah tribe; yet it is certain that, in every age of the Indian empire, aspiring Brahmins have usurped and swayed the imperial sceptre. But, in fact, there was no necessity for the Brahmin to grasp at empire,—he wielded both the empire and the monarch. By an overstrained conception of the priestly character, artfully encouraged, for political purposes, by the priest himself, and certainly not justified by any precept given by Noah to his posterity, the Brahmin stood in the place of Deity to the infatuated sons of Indian superstition; the will of Heaven was thought to issue from his lips; and his decision was revered as the fiat of destiny. Thus, boasting the positive interposition of

the Deity in the fabrication of its singular institutions; guarded from infraction by the terror of exciting the divine wrath; and directed principally by the sacred tribe, the Indian government may be considered as a theocracy—a theocracy the more terrible, because the name of God was perverted to sanction and support the most dreadful species of despotism:—a despotism which, not content with subjugating the body, tyrannized over the prostrate faculties of the enslaved mind.

“An assembly of Brahmins sitting in judgment on a vicious, a tyrannical king, may condemn him to death; and the sentence is recorded to have been executed; but no crime affects the life of a Brahmin. He may suffer temporary degradation from his caste, but his blood must never stain the sword of justice; he is a portion of the Deity. He is inviolable! he is invulnerable! he is immortal!

“In eastern climes, where despotism has ever reigned in its meridian terror, in order to impress the deeper awe and respect upon the crowd that daily thronged around the tribunal, the hall of justice was anciently surrounded with the ministers of vengeance, who generally inflicted in presence of the monarch the sentence to which the culprit was doomed. The envenomed serpent which was to sting him to death; the enraged elephant that was to trample him beneath its feet; the dreadful instruments that were to rend open his bowels, to tear his lacerated eye from the socket, to impale alive, or saw the shuddering wretch asunder, were constantly at hand. The audience chamber, with the same view, was decorated with the utmost cost and magnificence, and the East was rifled of its jewels to adorn it. Whatever little credit may in general be due to Philostratus, his description of the palace of Musicanus too nearly resembles the accounts of our own countrymen, of the present magnificence of some of the rajahs, to be doubted, especially in those times when the hoarded wealth of India had not been pillaged. The artificial vines of gold, adorned with buds of various colours in jewellery, and thick set with precious stones, emeralds, and rubies, hanging in clusters to resemble grapes in their different stages to maturity; the silver censers of perfume constantly borne before the ruler as a god; the robe of gold and purple with which he was invested; and the litter of gold fringed with pearls, in which he was carried in a march, or to the chase,—these were the appropriate ornaments and distinctions of an Indian monarch.

“In short, whatever could warmly interest the feelings, and strongly agitate the passions of men; whatever influences hope; excites terror; all the engines of a most despotic superstition and a most refined policy, were set at work for the purpose of chaining down to the prescribed duties of his caste, the mind of the bigoted Hindoo. Hence his unaltered, unalterable attachment to the national code and the Brahminical creed. As it has been in

India from the beginning, so will it continue to the end of time. For the daring culprit who violates either, heaven has no forgiveness, and earth no place of shelter or repose!

"An adulteress is condemned to be devoured alive by dogs in the public market-place. The adulterer is doomed to be bound to an iron bed, heated red-hot, and burned to death. But what is not a little remarkable, for the same crime a Brahmin is only to be punished with ignominious tonsure.

"For insulting a Brahmin, an iron stile, ten fingers long, shall be thrust, red-hot, down the culprit's mouth. For offering only to instruct him in his profession, boiling oil shall be dropped in his mouth and ears. For stealing kine belonging to priests, the offender shall instantly lose half one foot. An assaulter of a Brahmin, with intent to kill, shall remain in hell for a hundred years; for actually striking him, with like intent, a thousand years. But though such frequent exceptions occur in favour of Brahmins, none are made in favour of kings! The Brahmin,—eldest-born of the gods,—who loads their altars with incense, who feeds them with clarified honey, and whose, in fact, is the wealth of the whole world, ever keeps his elevated station. To maintain him in holy and voluptuous indolence, the Ketttri, or rajah, exposes his life in front of battle; the merchant covers the ocean with his ships; the toiling husbandman incessantly tills the burning soil of India. We cannot doubt, after this, which of the Indian castes compiled this volume from the *remembered Institutes* of Menu.

"The everlasting servitude of the Soodra tribe is riveted upon that unfortunate caste by the laws of destiny; since the Soodra was born a slave, and even when emancipated by his indulgent master, a slave he must continue: *for, of a state which is natural to him, by whom can he be divested?* The Soodra must be contented to *serve*; this is his unalterable doom. To serve in the family of a Brahmin is the highest glory, and leads him to beatitude."

There is, however, a fifth tribe,—that of the outcasts from all the rest,—the Chandelahs; those who have lost caste, and the children of mixed marriages, that abhorrence of the Hindoo code; for, if once permitted, it would overturn the whole artful system. It is ordained that the Chandelahs exist remote from their fellow creatures, amid the dirt and filth of the suburbs. Their sole wealth must consist in dogs and asses; their clothes must be the polluted mantles of the dead; their dishes for food, broken pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; their food must be given them in potsherds, at a distance, that the giver may not be defiled by the shade of their outcast bodies. Their business is to carry out the corpses of those who die without kindred; they are the public executioners; and the whole that they can be heirs to, are the clothes and miserable property of the wretched malefactors. Many other particulars of this outcast tribe are added by authors on

India, and they form in themselves no weak proof of the unrelenting spirit of the Hindoo code, that could thus doom a vast class of people,—a fifth of the nation,—to unpitied and unmerited wretchedness. An Indian, in his bigoted attachment to the metempsychosis, would fly to save the life of a noxious reptile; but were a Chandelah falling down a precipice, he would not extend a hand to save him from destruction. In such abomination are the Chandelahs held on the Malabar side of India, that if one chance to touch one of a superior tribe, he draws his sabre and cuts him down on the spot. Death itself, that last refuge of the unfortunate, offers no comfort to him, affords no view of felicity or reward. The gates of Jaggernath itself are shut against him; and he is driven, with equal disgrace, from the society of men and the temples of the gods.

Such is the picture of priestcraft in India; such the terrible spectacle of its effects, as they have existed there from nearly the days of the Flood. Towards this horrible and disgusting goal, it has laboured to lead men in all countries and all ages; but here alone, in the whole pagan world, it succeeded to the extent of its diabolical desires. We might add numberless other features: the propitiatory sacrifice of cows, and trees of gold, prescribed by the avaricious Brahmins; the immunities and privileges with which they have surrounded themselves; the bloody rites they have laid on others, especially among the Mahrattas, where, even at the present day, human sacrifices are supposed to abound; the tortures they have induced the infatuated Yogees to inflict on themselves—some going naked all their lives, suffering their hair and beard to grow till they cover their whole bodies,—standing motionless, in the sun, in the most painful attitudes, for years, till their arms grow fast above their heads, and their nails pierce through their clenched hands,—scorching themselves over fires,—enclosing themselves in cages,—and enacting other incredible horrors on themselves, for the hope, inspired by the Brahmins, of attaining everlasting felicity. But the subject is too revolting; I turn from it in indignation, and here close my review of priestcraft in the pagan world.

Since the former editions appeared, a gentleman who has long resided in India has pointed out to me various particulars in this chapter which do not exactly accord with the present state of things there. Some I have, accordingly, altered; and others, appearing in the shape of extracts from other writers, I have suffered to remain. The whole may be regarded as a true picture of India while the Brahmins retained their power there. The British have now relieved them of much of their power, as well as of their wealth; but, as regards priestcraft, this chapter exhibits its operations in India so long as the Brahmins ruled, and so far as they yet retain their influence.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HEBREWS.

WE have now gone to and fro in the earth, and have walked up and down in it; not, like a certain celebrated character, seeking whom we might devour, but inquiring who have been devoured of priests; and every where we have made but one discovery; every where, in lands however distant, and times however remote, a suffering people and a proud and imperious priesthood have been found. Sinbad the sailor, in his multifarious and adventurous wanderings, once chanced to land in a desert island, in which a strange creature, the Old Man of the Sea, leapt upon his shoulders, and there, spite of all his efforts to dislodge him, night and day, for a long time, maintained his station. By day, he compelled poor Sinbad, by a vigorous application of his heels to his ribs, to go where he pleased,—beneath the trees, whence he plucked fruit, or to the stream, where he drank. By night, he still elung, even in his sleep, with such sensitiveness to his neck, that it was impossible to unseat him. At length, a successful stratagem presented itself to Sinbad. He found a gourd, and squeezed into it the juice of the grape, and set it in a certain place till it had fermented, and became strong wine. This he put to the mouth of the Old Man of the Sea, who drank it greedily, became drunk, and fell asleep so soundly, that Sinbad unfolded his clinging legs from his breast, hurled him from his shoulders, and, as he lay, crushed his head with a stone. The adventure of Sinbad was awkward enough, but that of poor human nature has been infinitely worse. THE OLD MAN OF THE CHURCH, from age to age, from land to land, has ridden on the shoulders of humanity, and set at defiance all endeavours and all schemes to dislodge him. Unlike the Old Man of the Sea, whose best beverage was a brook, he is too well inured to strong drinks to be readily overcome by them. He is one of those drinkers called deep-stomached and strong-headed; who sit out all guests, dare and bear all spirituous potations, and laugh, in invulnerable comfort, over the intoxication of the prostrated multitude. And what wonder? His seat has ever been at the boards of princes. The most sparkling cup has not passed him by untasted; the most fiery fluid has not daunted him. He has received the vintages reserved solely for kings and their favourites; and though there was blood in it, he has not blenched. The tears of misery dropped into it, could not render it too bitter; the bloody sweat-drops of despair, too poisonous: though the sound

of battle was in his ears, he ceased not to grasp the flagon—it was music,—though martyrs burned at their stakes before him, and the very glow of their fires came strongly upon him, he interrupted not his carouse, but only cooled more gratefully his wine. He has quaffed the juice of all vines; presided at the festivities of all nations; poured libations to all gods; in the wild orgies of the ancient German and British forests he has revelled; in the midnight feast of skulls he has pledged the savage and the cannibal; the war feast of the wilderness, or the sacred banquet of the refined Greek, alike found him a guest: he has taken the cup of pollution from the hand of the Babylonian harlot; and pledged, in the robes of the Gallic primate, renunciation of the Christian religion with the atheist. Lover of all royal fêtes; delighter in the crimson-cushioned ease of all festivals in high places; soul of all jollity where the plunderers and the deluders of man met to rejoice over their achievements; inspirer of all choice schemes for the destruction of liberty and genuine knowledge, when the vintage of triumphant fraud ferments in his brain, till the wine of God's wrath, in the shape of man's indignation, confound him,—what shall move him from his living throne? From the days of the Flood to those of Queen Victoria of England he has ridden on, exultingly, the everlasting incubus of the groaning world.

We have perambulated the prime nations of paganism. It would have been easy to have extended our researches further, to have swelled our details to volumes; but the object was only to give a sample from the immense mass of ecclesiastical enormities. We now come to the Holy Land; and to the only priesthood ever expressly ordained of Heaven. It might have been expected that this would prove a splendid exception to the general character of the order; but alas!—as the Jewish dispensation was formed under the pressing necessity of guarding against the idolatry of surrounding nations, and as merely preparatory to a more spiritual one, so it would seem as if one design of the Almighty had been to show how radically mischievous and prone to evil an ecclesiastical order is, under any circumstances. The Jewish priests had this advantage over all others whatever, that they were one tribe of a great family, to whom, in sharing out the land given to them of God, the altar was made their sole inheritance,—the whole country being divided amongst the other eleven tribes. But, notwithstanding this fair title, so strongly did the universal spirit of priestcraft work in them, that their history may be comprised in a few sentences, and is one of the most striking in the world. It began in Aaron with idolatry, accompanied by most pitiful evasions; it showed itself in its prime, in the sons of Eli, in shameless speculation and lewdness; and it ended in the crucifixion of Christ! Such a beginning—a middle—and an end—the world besides cannot show.

When we hear Aaron telling the people, in the face of the most

astounding miracles,—when the sound of God's trumpets, which had shaken them to the earth in terror, had yet scarcely ceased to ring in their ears,—when God himself, in a fiery majesty, that made the mountain before them smoke and tremble to its base, was at hand delivering to Moses his eternal law—hear him telling them to bring their golden ornaments, and he would make a god to go before them; and, in the next moment, telling Moses that the people constrained him, and he threw the gold into the fire, and “out came this calf,” as if by accident,—we are filled with contempt for sacerdotal sycophancy and time-serving.

When we read that “the sons of Eli were the sons of Belial,—they knew not the Lord:—and the priests’ custom was, that when any man offered sacrifice, the priest’s servant came while the flesh was in seething, with a flesh-hook of three teeth in his hand; and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or cauldron, or pot;—all that the flesh-hook brought up, the priest took for himself. So they did in Shiloh, to all the Israelites that came thither. Also, before they burnt the fat the priest’s servant came, and said to the man that sacrificed, ‘Give flesh to roast for the priest, for he will not have sodden flesh of thee, but raw.’ And if any man said unto him, ‘Let them not fail to burn the fat presently, and then take as much as thy soul desireth;’ and then he would answer him,—‘Nay, but thou shalt give it me *now*; and if not, I will take it by force.’ Therefore the sin of the young men was very great before the Lord; for men abhorred the offering of the Lord. Now Eli was very old, and heard all that his sons did unto all Israel, and how they lay with the women that assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation.” When we read this, we are on fire with indignation. But when we hear the chief priests crying out against Christ—the hope, nay, the great object of the formation of their nation,—the most meek, and pure, and beneficent being that ever existed—“Away with this fellow! he is not fit to live! Away with him! crucify him!” we are thunderstruck with astonishment!—we are silenced, and satisfied for ever, of the rooted and incurable malignancy of priestcraft. If God himself descended from heaven, and charged a priestly hierarchy with corruption, they would tell him to his face, that he lied. They would assail him as a slanderer and misrepresenter of the good, and raise, if possible, his own world in arms against him! If the fate of all other nations spoke to us in vain—that of the Jews should be an eternal warning. The very priests which God ordained, first corrupted, and then destroyed the kingdom. They began with idolatry, and ended with killing the Son of God himself. Their victims, the Jews, still walk before our eyes, a perpetual and fearful testimony against them. It was the priests who mainly contributed to annihilate them for ever as a people, and to disperse them through all regions, the objects of the contempt, the loathing, and the pitiless persecution of all ages, and of every race.

CHAPTER X.

POPEERY.

Oh that the free would stamp the impious name
 Of Pope into the dust! or write it there,
 So that this blot upon the page of fame
 Were as a serpent's path, which the light air
 Erases, and the flat sands close behind!
 Ye the oracle have heard;
 Lift the victory-flashing sword,
 And cut the snaky knots of this foul Gordian word,
 Which, weak itself as stubble, yet can bind
 Into a mass, irrefragably firm,
 The axes and the rods which awe mankind.
 The sound has poison in it—'t is the sperm
 Of what makes life foul, cankerous, and abhorred;
 Disdain not then, at thine appointed term,
 To set thine armed heel on this reluctant worm.

SHELLEY.

CHRIST appeared;—the career of paganism was checked;—the fate of Judaism was sealed. A character and a religion were placed before the eyes of men hitherto inconceivable in the beauty and philanthropy of their nature. Unlike all other founders of a religious faith, Christ had no selfishness, no desire of dominance; and his system, unlike all other systems of worship, was bloodless, boundlessly beneficent, inexpressibly pure, and, most marvellous of all, went to break all bonds of body and soul; and to cast down every temporal and every spiritual tyranny. It was a system calculated for the whole wide universe;—adapted to embrace men of all climes, all ages, all ranks of life, or intellect; for the rich and for the poor; for the savage and the civilized; for the fool and the philosopher; for man, woman, and child;—which, recognising the grand doctrine, that "God made of one blood all the nations of the earth," represented the Almighty as the Father, and all men as brethren born to one universal love,—to the same inalienable rights,—to the same eternal hope. He himself was the living personification of his principles. Demolishing the most inveterate prejudices of men, by appearing a poor man amongst the poor; by tearing from aristocratic pride and priestly insolence, their masks of most orthodox assurance; by proclaiming, that the truth which he taught should make all men free; by declaring that the Gentiles lorded it over, and oppressed one another, but that it

should not be so with his followers; by pulling down with indignation spiritual pride in high places, and calling the poor and afflicted his brethren, and the objects of his tenderest regard,—he laid the foundations of civil and religious freedom, of mental power growing out of unrestrained mental energies, and of love and knowledge co-equal in extension with the world. This perfect freedom of universal man he guarded by leaving no DECREES; but merely great and everlasting principles, intelligible to the mind and conscience of the whole human race; and on which men, in all countries, might found institutions most consonant to their wants. By declaring that “wherever two or three were met together in his name, he would be in the midst of them,” he cut off, for ever, every claim, the most specious, of priestly dominance; and by expressing his unqualified and indignant abhorrence of every desire of his disciples “to call down fire from heaven upon his enemies,” or to forbid those to preach and work miracles in his name, who did not immediately follow him, and conform to their notions, he left to his church a light more resplendent than that of the sun, on the subject of non-interference with the sacred liberty and prerogatives of conscience.

One would have thought that, from this epoch, the arm of priestcraft would have been broken; that it would never more have dared to raise its head;—but it is a principle of shameless avidity and audacity; and it is exactly from this time that we trace the most amazing career of its delusions and atrocities, down to the very day of our own existence.

Who is not familiar with the horrors and arrogant assumptions of the papal church? Scarcely had the persecutions of the pagan emperors ceased, when the Christian church became inundated with corruptions and superstitions of every kind. Constantine embraced Christianity; and almost the whole world embraced it nominally with him. From a conversion of such a kind, the work of regal example and popular interested hopes, what effects were to be expected? The martial tyranny of ancient Rome, which had subdued the world, was coming to an end. The wealth of which a thousand states had been stripped, had turned to poison in her bosom, and brought upon the stern mistress of bloodshed and tears, that retribution from which national rapine and injustice never eventually escape. But, as if the ghost of departed despotism hovered over the Seven Hills, and sought only a fresh body to arise in a worse shape, a new tyranny commenced in the form of priestcraft, ten times more terrible and hateful than the old,—because it was one which sought to subjugate not merely the persons of men, but to extinguish knowledge; to crush into everlasting childishness the human mind; and to rule it, in its fatuity, with mysteries and terrors. The times favoured the attempt. With the civil power of the Roman empire, science and literature were disappearing. A licentious army controlled the destiny of a debauched and effeminated people; and the Gothic and Hunnish nations, rushing in

immense torrents over the superannuated states of Europe, scattered, for a time, desolation, poverty, and ignorance. At this crisis, while it had to deal with hordes of rough warriors, who, strong in body, and boisterous in manner, had yet minds not destitute of great energies, and many traditional maxims of moral and judicial excellence, but clothed in all the simple credulity of children,—up rose the spirit of priestcraft in Rome, and assumed all its ancient and inflated claims. As if the devil, stricken with malice at the promulgation of Christianity, which threatened to annihilate his power, had watched the opportunity to inflict on it the most fatal wound, and had found no instrument so favourable to his purpose as a priest,—such a glorious and signal triumph never yet was his from the creation of the world! Had he devised a system for himself, he could not have pitched upon one like popery;—a system which, pretending to be that of Christ, suppressed the Bible,—extinguished knowledge,—locked up the human mind,—amused it with the most ludicrous baubles,—and granted official licences to commit all species of crimes and impurity. Satan himself became enthroned on the Seven Hills in the habit of a priest, and grinned his broadest delight amidst the public and universal reign of ignorance, hypocrisy, venality, and lust.

As if the popes had studied the pagan hierarchies, they brought into concentrated exercise all their various engines of power, deception, and corruption. They could not, indeed, assert, as the pagan priesthood had done, that they were of a higher origin than the rest of mankind; and therefore entitled to sit as kings, to choose all kings, and rule over all kings; for it was necessary to preserve some public allegiance to the doctrines of Christianity;—but they took ground quite as effective. They declared themselves the authorized vicegerents of Heaven; making Christ's words to Peter their charter—"On this rock I will build my church,"—hence asserting themselves to be the only true church, though they never could show that St. Peter ever was at Rome at all. On this ground, however—enough for the simple warriors of the time—they proceeded to rule over nations and kings. On this ground they proclaimed the infallibility of the pope and his conclave of cardinals, and thus excluded all dissent. Their first act, having once taken this station, was that which had been the practice of priests in all countries,—to shut up the true knowledge amongst themselves. As the priests of Egypt and Greece enclosed it in mysteries, they wrapt the simple truths of the gospel in mysteries too: as the Brahmins forbid any except their own order to read the sacred Vedas, they shut up the Bible,—the very book given to enlighten the world;—the very book which declared of its own contents, that "they were so clear that he who ran might read them;" that they taught a way of life so perspicuous that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, could not err therein." This was the most daring and audacious act the world had then seen; but this act once successful, the whole earth was in their power. The

people were ignorant; they taught them what they pleased. They delivered all sorts of ludicrous and pernicious dogmas as Scripture; and who could contradict them? So great became the ignorance of even their own order, under this system, so completely became the Bible a strange book, that when, in after ages, men began to inquire, and to expose their delusions, a monk warned his audience to beware of these heretics, who had invented a new language, called Greek, and had written in it a book called the New Testament, full of the most damnable doctrines. By every act of insinuation, intimidation, forgery, and fraud, they not only raised themselves to the rank of temporal princes, but lorded it over the greatest kings with insolent impunity. The BAN, which we have seen employed by the priests of Odin in the north, they adopted, and made its terrors felt throughout the whole Christian world. Was a king refractory—did he refuse the pontifical demand of money—had he an opinion of his own—a repugnance to comply with papal influence in his affairs?—the thunders of the Vatican were launched against him; his kingdom was laid under the ban; all people were forbidden, on pain of eternal damnation, to trade with his subjects; all churches were shut; the nation was of a sudden deprived of all exterior exercise of its religion; the altars were despoiled of their ornaments; the crosses, the relics, the images, the statues of the saints, were laid on the ground; and, as if the air itself were profaned, and might pollute them by its contact, the priests carefully covered them up, even from their own approach and veneration. The use of bells entirely ceased in all churches; the bells themselves were removed from the steeples, and laid on the ground with the other sacred utensils. Mass was celebrated with shut doors, and none but the priests were admitted to the holy institution. The clergy refused to marry, baptize, or bury; the dead were obliged to be cast into ditches, or lay putrefying on the ground; till the superstitious people, looking on their children who died without baptism as gone to perdition, and those dead without burial amid the ceremonies of the church and in consecrated ground as seized on by the devil, rose in rebellious fury, and obliged the prince to submit and humble himself before the proud priest of Rome.

Realms quake by turns : proud arbitress of grace,
 The church, by mandate shadowing forth the power
 She arrogates o'er heaven's eternal door,
 Closes the gates of every sacred place.
 Straight from the sun and tainted air's embrace
 All sacred things are covered; cheerful morn
 Grows sad as night—no seemly garb is worn,
 Nor is a face allowed to meet a face
 With natural smile of greeting. Bells are dumb;
 Ditches are graves—funereal rites denied;
 And in the church-yard he must take his bride
 Who dares be wedded! Fancies thickly come

Into the pensive heart ill fortified,
And comfortless despairs the soul benumb.

WORDSWORTH.

But not merely kings and kingdoms were thus circumstanced; every individual, every parish was liable to be thus excommunicated by the neighbouring priest. The man who offended one of these powerful churchmen, however respected and influential in his own neighbourhood over night, might the next morning behold the hearse drawn up to his hall door,—a significant emblem that he was dead to all civil and religious rights, and that if he valued his life, now at the mercy of any vile assassin, he must fly, and leave his family and his property to the same tender regards which had thus outlawed himself.

The invention of monkery was a capital piece of priestly ingenuity. By this means the whole world became inundated with monks and friars,

Black, white, and grey, with all their trumpery.

A standing army of vigilant forces was set up in every kingdom: into every town and village they entered; in every house they became familiar spies, ready to communicate the earliest symptoms of insubordination to the papal tyranny, ready at a signal to carry terror into every region, and rivet faster the chains of Rome. Like the frogs of Egypt, they came up and covered the earth; they crept into every dwelling; into the very beds and kneading tubs, sparing not those of the king himself—till the land stank with them.

That they might have something to occupy the imagination of the people, equivalent to the numerous idols, gorgeous temples, imposing ceremonies, and licentious festivals of the heathen; not only had they paintings of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but images of Christ, of his mother, and of a thousand saints, who were exalted to be objects of a veneration little to be distinguished from worship in the minds of the deluded people. To these they prayed; to these they made offerings. Splendid churches were built, and adorned with every fascination of statuary and painting; and carnivals, religious festivals, and processions ordained without number, in which all the lewdness and licence of the pagan worship were revived. Instead of the charms which the pagans gave as a protection against evil, they gave relics—bits of wood, hair, old teeth, and a thousand other pieces of rubbish, which were pretended to be parts, or to have been the property of, the saints, and were endued with miraculous powers. Thus were men made fast prisoners by ignorance, by the excitement of their imaginations, and by objects on which to indulge their credulity. But other engines equally potent were set to work. Every principle of terror, love, or shame in the human mind was appealed to. Oral confession was invented. Every person was to confess his sins to the priest. Thus the priest was put into possession of every

thing which could enslave a man to him. Who was so pure in life and thought that, after having unbosomed himself to his confessor—made him the depository of his most secret thoughts, his weakest or worst actions, dare any more to oppose or offend him? But the chains of shame and fear were not all; those of hope were added. The priest had not only power to hear sins, but to pardon them. He could shut up in hell, or let out; he was not content with enslaving his follower in this world—he carried on his influence to the next, and even invented a world, from the tortures of which no man could escape without his permission.

How all this could be built on the foundation of Christianity might be wondered at; but it should never be forgotten, that the Bible was locked up, and every thing was directed to the acquisition of power and gain. Every thing was a source of gain. Besides the direct tribute to the popedom, every shrine had its offerings; every confession, every prayer had its price. Escape from purgatory and indulgence in sin were regulated by a certain scale of payment. The rich, the foolish, and the penitent were wheedled out of their property to maintain the endless train of pope, cardinals, priests, monks, nuns, confessors, and their subordinates. By them abbeyes, cathedrals, and churches were endowed with ample lands; and every one who incurred the censure of the church, added also by fines to its funds. For a thousand years this system was triumphant throughout Europe:

Thou heaven of earth! what spells could pall thee then
 In ominous eclipse! A thousand years—
 Bred from the slime of deep Oppression's den,
 Dyed all thy liquid light with blood and tears.

Over a great part of it, it reigns still.

Millions of monks and secular priests, all forbidden to marry, all pampered in luxurious ease and abundance to voluptuousness, were let loose on the female world as counsellors and confessors, with secrecy in one hand, and amplest power of absolution from sin in the other; and the effect on domestic purity may be readily imagined. So, smoothly ran the course of popery for many a century: but when, spite of all its efforts to the contrary, the human mind again began to stir; when knowledge again revived, and the secrets of the church were curiously pried into; then this terrible hierarchy, calling itself Christian, let loose its vengeance. Fire and fagot, chains and dungeons, exterminating wars, and inquisitions, those hells on earth, into which any man might, at a moment's notice, be dragged from his family, his fireside, or his bed, at the instigation of malice, envy, cupidity, or holy suspicion, to tortures and death; these were the tender mercies of the papal priestcraft in the hour of its fear.

This is a brief sketch of what the popish church was: we will now go on to give evidence of its spirit and proceedings from the best authenticated histories.

1. Of the means employed to obtain power.
2. Of the uses of that power.
3. Of the arrogance of the popish priesthood in power.
4. Of their atrocities.

The evidence I shall select must necessarily be a very small portion from the immense mass of the deeds of this church; for its history is such a continued tissue of ambition, cupidity, and vice in its most hateful shapes,—dissensions, frauds, and bloodshed, that nothing but the desire to draw from it a great moral and political lesson, could induce me to wade through it.

CHAPTER XI.

POPERY CONTINUED.

They willeth to be king's peres,
 And higher than the emperour;
 And some that weren but pore freres
 Now woollen waxe a warrior.—CHAUCER.

But, Lorde, we lewed men knowen no God but thee, and we, with thyne help and thy grace, forsaken Nabugodonosor and hys lawes. For he, in his prowde estate, wole have all men onder him, and he nele be onder no man. He ondoeth thy lawes that thou ordenest to be kept, and maketh hys awne lawes as hym lyketh, and so he maketh hym kynge aboven all other kynges of the erth; and maketh men to worschupen hym as a God, and thyse gret sacryfice he hath ydone away.

THE PLOWMAN'S PRAIER.

THE history of the Romish church may be divided into three great eras: the first, in which the popes were by all imaginable arts and assumptions seeking to establish their power; the second, in which that power being established, they exercised over the whole civilized world, and its proudest princes, the most audacious insolence and despotism; and the third, in which knowledge advancing, their power began to feel itself checked by the civil princes and governments, and in which, irritated by this resistance and the dangers it foretold, they let loose the most vindictive fury on the world that the world has ever witnessed. The first era may be said to have continued till the pontificate of Gregory VII., or to the eleventh century; the second, from the time of Gregory, who established the power of the popedom absolutely above that of all kings, till the fifteenth century, when the advance of the European nations in stability and intelligence, showed the evident decline of papal supremacy; and the third, from this period to that of the sixteenth century, when the Reformation bursting out, exhibited them in the foul and horrible characters, not of the pastors, but the wholesale butchers of the church of Christ.

The earliest means which the bishops of Rome employed to acquire power was, to assert their supremacy over all other bishops of the Christian church. This was not granted at once, but led to many quarrels with their contemporaries. The bishop of Constantinople, in particular, contended with them for the superiority; the emperor Constantine having shifted thither the seat of civil government. These odious squabbles I must neces-

sarily pass over, and confine myself entirely to the Romish church, as being more intimately connected with our object. I may state, once for all, that the patriarchs of Constantinople maintained the contest with Rome through every age, to the very time of the Reformation; and many disgraceful expositions of priestly wrath were made on both sides. Of the Greek church, it will be sufficient to say, that its prelates partook largely in the arts and vices of priests in general, and plunged that church into an abundance of ceremonious puerilities, in which it remains to this day.

The attempts of the Romish pontiffs to grasp at power were not crowned with instant success, either over their fellow priests or contemporary princes. It was a work of time, of continual stratagem, and the boldest acts of assumption. The full claims of papal dominion over the Christian world in Europe were not admitted, indeed, till the eleventh century.

In the fourth century, Mosheim says, in the episcopal order the bishop of Rome was the first in rank; and was distinguished by a sort of pre-eminence over all other bishops. Prejudices, arising from a variety of causes, contributed to establish this superiority; but it was chiefly owing to certain circumstances of grandeur and opulence, by which mortals, for the most part, form their ideas of pre-eminence and dignity, and which they generally confound with the reasons of a just and legal authority. The bishop of Rome surpassed all his brethren in the magnificence and splendour of the church over which he presided; in the riches of his revenues and possessions; in the number and variety of his ministers; in his credit with the people; and in his sumptuous and splendid manner of living. These dazzling marks of human power, these ambiguous proofs of true greatness and felicity, had such an influence on the minds of the multitude, that the see of Rome became, in this century, a most seducing object of sacerdotal ambition. Hence it happened, that when a new pontiff was to be elected by the suffrages of the presbyters and the people, the city of Rome was generally agitated with dissensions, tumults, and cabals, whose consequences were often deplorable and fatal. One of these, in 366, gave rise to a civil war, which was carried on within the city of Rome with the utmost barbarity and fury, and produced the most cruel massacres and depopulations.

The picture of the church which Milton makes Michael fore-show to Adam was speedily realized.

The Spirit

Poured first on his apostles, whom he sends
To evangelize the nations, then on all
Baptized, shall them with wondrous gifts endue
To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
Great numbers of each nation, to receive
With joy the tidings brought from Heaven: at length,

Their ministry performed, and race well run,
 Their doctrine and their story written left,
 They die ; but in their room, as they forewarn,
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves,
 Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven
 To their own vile advantages shall turn
 Of lucre and ambition : and the truth
 With superstitions and traditions taint,
 Left only in those written records pure,
 Though not but by the Spirit understood.
 Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
 Places, and titles, and with these to join
 Secular power ; though feigning still to act
 By spiritual ; to themselves appropriating
 The Spirit of God, promised alike and given
 To all believers ; and, from that pretence,
 Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
 On every conscience ; laws which none shall find
 Left them unrolled, or what the Spirit within
 Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
 But force the Spirit of grace itself, and bind
 His consort Liberty ? What but unbuild
 His living temple, built by Faith to stand,
 Their own faith, not another's ? For, on earth,
 Who against faith and conscience can be heard
 Infallible ? Yet many will presume :
 Whence heavy persecution shall arise
 On all, who in the worship persevere
 Of spirit and truth ; the rest, far greater part,
 Will deem, in outward rites and specious forms,
 Religion satisfied : truth shall retire,
 Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of faith
 Rarely be found : so shall the world go on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benign ;
 Under her own weight groaning : till the day
 Appear of respiration to the just,
 And vengeance to the wicked.

In this century, many of those steps were laid by which the bishops of Rome afterwards mounted to the summit of ecclesiastical power and despotism. These steps were laid, partly by the imprudence of the emperors, partly by the dexterity of the Roman prelates. In the fifth century, the declining power of the emperors left the pontiff at liberty to exercise authority almost without control ; and the irruptions of the barbarians contributed to strengthen this authority ; for, perceiving the subserviency of the multitude to the bishop, they resolved to secure his interest and influence by loading him with benefits and honours.

This was the second mode by which they acquired power,—flattering the surrounding kings ; serving them occasionally, without regard to honour or principle, or, as they grew stronger, subduing them by menaces to their will. In the seventh century, the

Roman pontiffs used all sorts of methods to maintain and enlarge the authority and pre-eminence they had acquired, by a grant from the most odious tyrant that ever disgraced the annals of history. Boniface III. engaged Phocas, that abominable despot, who waded to the imperial throne through the blood of the emperor Mauritius, to take from the patriarch of Constantinople the title of Œcumenical, or Universal Bishop, and confer it upon him.

But the next, that is, the eighth century, was destined to lay the real foundations of that amazing papal power, which afterwards astonished and cursed the world, and that by a most characteristic transaction. We observe, says Mosheim, in the French annals, the following remarkable and shocking instance of the enormous power that was, at this time, invested in the Roman pontiff. Pepin was mayor of the palace to Childeric III., and, in exercise of that high office, was possessed, in reality, of the royal power; but, not content with this, he formed the design of dethroning his sovereign. He therefore sent ambassadors to Rome to inquire, *whether the Divine law did not permit a valiant and warlike people to dethrone a pusillanimous and indolent monarch, who was incapable of performing any of the functions of royalty, and to substitute in his place one more worthy to rule?* Zachary had need of the aid of Pepin; he saw the vast advantages to be drawn from this concession; and his answer was all that could be wished. When this decision of the pope was published in France, Pepin stripped poor Childeric of his royalty, and stepped immediately into his throne. This decision was solemnly confirmed by his successor, Stephen II., who went to France; and being under the necessity of soliciting Pepin's aid against the Lombards, dissolved the act of allegiance and fidelity which the usurper had sworn to Childeric; and, to render his title as firm as possible, anointed and crowned him, his wife, and two sons.

This compliance of the Roman pontiffs proved an abundant source of opulence and credit to them. Pepin marched into Italy, subdued all the pope's enemies, and put him in possession of the Grecian provinces in Italy. The exarch of Ravenna, when Pepin retired, threw off the yoke, and besieged Rome; but Pepin returned, and compelled him again to deliver up the exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis to the pontiff; and thus raised the bishop of Rome to the rank of a temporal prince. After Pepin's death, a new attack was made upon the papal territory, by Dideric, king of the Lombards. The then pope, Adrian I., fled to Charlemagne, the son of Pepin; who, having need of the pope's sanction to seize on the eastern Roman empire, hastened to Rome, repelled the pope's foes, and, in consideration of his sanction of his ambitious views, added fresh territories to the papal see. Thus, by the most shameless and unprincipled trafficking between the pretended vicar of Christ and these bold bad kings, did the popes acquire royalty and dominion, and gave to treason and regal robbery the assumed sanction of Heaven! Once placed by kings on

temporal thrones, these audacious priests soon showed their royal contemporaries what companions they had admitted amongst them. Not contented with what royal robbery had given them, they speedily assailed their princely neighbours; sought to hurl them from their thrones, and stirred up some of the most bloody wars on record.

This, then, was the foundation of all the wonderful after-history of popery. Charlemagne was the greatest monarch of his own, and one of the greatest of any age. He was king of the Franks, that is, of all France and Germany, the Netherlands, and, in fact, of the greater part of Europe. But he aspired to become still more, to become emperor, and, by establishing his power in Italy, to lay a claim to the title of Roman emperor. The designs of the pope and his own therefore jumped wonderfully together. It was a case of mutual aid for mutual gain. Charlemagne supported the claims of the pope, established him firmly in the temporal possession of the exarchate of Ravenna, which his father had conferred on him; and the pope, on his part, crowned him in Rome, as ROMAN EMPEROR. This crowning, however, did not take place till the reign of the third pope from Zachary, the one who had given the kingdom to Pepin; and even then, Charlemagne, who was not blind to the pretensions which the conferring of the imperial crown might give rise to in the papal bosom, was, so far as appearances went, and according to his own account, taking by surprise. He, like his father, had not been very particular in his means of extending his power. He had been left by his father in joint possession of the kingdom with his brother Karlman. Karlman died young, leaving two infant sons, whom Charlemagne very coolly set aside, and assumed to himself the sole kingship. Charlemagne, therefore, was in need, like his father, of priestly sanction to his usurpation and false title, and the pope, now Hadrian I., was, equally with his predecessor, in need of help from Charlemagne. The king of the Longobards was invading and lopping fast away the newly conferred papal territory; the pope cried out to Charlemagne for help, and to spur him on, told him that this same Longobardic king was raising a party in favour of Charlemagne's two deposed nephews. Charlemagne had married the daughter of this Longobardic monarch, but as she gave no heir to the throne, he had sent her home, and thus the Longobard was equally the foe of the pope and Charlemagne. He freed himself and Hadrian from the assaults of the Longobard, and at the Easter festival at Rome, swore, over the tomb of St. Peter, *eternal friendship* to the pope. On a future expedition to Rome, to support the common claims of the pope and himself, this crowning as Roman emperor took place. At Christmas, in the year 800, as Charlemagne was praying in St. Peter's, not in his usual Frankish costume, but in that of a Roman patrician, the pope, Leo III., suddenly stepped to him, and putting on his head the crown, saluted him, amid the acclamations of the spectators, with the title of ROMAN EMPEROR.

Charlemagne pretended, that, had he been aware of the pope's intention, he would have stayed away from the church; but there is little cause to believe him sincere in this declaration, though he betrayed by it how deeply he felt the consequences which would and did spring from this act. By thus receiving the crown from the pope, he sanctioned the doctrine already advanced, and afterwards maintained for ages with such terrible effects, that all temporal crowns were the gift of Jesus Christ, through his vicar on earth, the pope. Charlemagne was, in fact, the great founder of the papal power: he gave to the papal see and to the clergy tithes on all his vast empire; and it is a remarkable fact in the history of tithes, that the greatest blot on the fame and humanity of Charlemagne springs out of this circumstance. He was the first to subdue the Saxons, and incorporate them in his great Frank empire; but the stout resistance and repeated revolts of these brave pagans so roused his wrath, that he committed on them the most bloody and wholesale massacres. On one single occasion, he caused four thousand five hundred of them to be cut to pieces. He was accustomed to drive them to the banks of a deep river, and give them the choice of baptism or death. And what was it which more than all roused the ire and inspirited the wrath of these stout heathens? *That they should be compelled to pay tithes!* to give up a tenth of their income to maintain priests, whose religion they did not believe in, and which came to them in this questionable shape of compulsion and butchery.

Sorely did the successors of Charlemagne, the whole empire, the whole of Europe, and the whole world rue these his concessions to and endowments of the Roman see. Every succeeding age saw the popes of Rome advancing in their pretensions over mankind, and the professed chief priest of the peaceful Jesus, more and more openly exhibiting himself as the Man of Sin, and that most revolting of human objects—a proud priest. For two hundred years did the popes strive to obtain mastery over the Grecian church, and the world was scandalized by the shocking sight of the two highest Christian bishops, the pope of Rome and the patriarch of Constantinople, launching the thunders of the ban at each other's heads, and formally pronouncing each other's deposition! This repeated and pitiful spectacle terminated in the total separation of the two churches in 1054, when the emissaries of the pope, with a haughty audacity which incensed the Greeks beyond description, pronounced the ban on the patriarch in his own metropolitan church, St. Sophia, and quitted the city.

But if all hope of ever ruling over the eastern church thus vanished, the pontiffs only the more tenaciously and successfully pushed their plans of domination over church and state in western Europe. In the ninth century, they produced for this purpose the famous **DECRETALS OF ISIDORE**. This was a set of documents, purporting to be the resolutions of councils, and the letters of early pontiffs, said to be collected by Isidorus, a Spanish bishop.

The Spanish collection, however, was found to be grossly altered, garbled, and interpolated, to suit the purpose of Pope Nicolaus I., who adopted it. The interpolations were so clumsily made, that they quoted writings as of the first centuries, which were not written before the seventh; so that even the archbishops, when they saw them, declared that no such matters were to be found in their copies. But the pope sharply asked them, if they thought nothing was genuine but what was in their book. They were the most barefaced inventions, but they declared the pope to be the bishop of the universal church; that he was supreme judge of all bishops and their affairs; that he alone could call councils, or confirm their resolutions; that it was a presumptuous usurpation of the power and majesty of God, for any worldly prince or authority to pass judgment on a bishop; that the authority of the Romish church proceeded immediately from Christ, etc. etc. It was seen, even in that age, that this was intended not only to elevate the power of the popes above all power of municipalities or princes, but to place in their hands a charter for the most boundless assumptions. The various princes of Europe, but especially those of France, Germany, and Italy, by their quarrels, gave the finest opportunities for the assertion of these claims. They appealed to the popes as men of peace and education, as umpires in their differences, and thus favoured the idea of their being their proper judges and superiors. But Henry III. of Germany adopted a measure, which still more furthered this plan of assumption. Simony had in that age become enormous throughout the church. There was scarcely a bishop or archbishop who did not buy his post, and sell his subordinate livings. As Henry could not hope that so corrupt a set would reform themselves or one another, he exhorted the pope, Leo IX., to undertake the work of purging the church from this sin. The pope grasped zealously at the undertaking, and travelling about in Germany and France, held synods, in which he set up and pulled down bishops as he pleased. Little did Henry imagine what he was doing. All monarchs had hitherto jealously preserved the prerogative of appointing the bishops in their own countries, but this was taken as a formal concession to the claims put forth by the celebrated Decretals; and the time was now come, when all those claims should be asserted in the most daring manner, by one of the most daring spirits that ever sat on a throne, temporal or ecclesiastical. This spirit was at this very moment in the train of Leo IX.; and continued to stand in the presence of no less than four other popes, whose election he influenced, and whose measures he directed, planning and maturing the gigantic scheme of papal dominion, which he himself finally stood forth to establish in the most determined contest with the crowned heads of Europe.

This was no other than the notorious Hildebrand, a Tuscan monk, of mean origin, who, having arrived at the pontificate, styled himself Gregory VII., and displayed to the world the full

measure of the priestly spirit. He was a man, says Mosheim, of uncommon genius, whose ambition in forming the most arduous projects, was equalled by his dexterity in bringing them into execution. Sagacious, crafty, and intrepid, he suffered nothing to escape his penetration, defeat his stratagems, or daunt his courage. Haughty and arrogant beyond all measure; obstinate, impetuous, and intractable; he looked up to the summit of universal empire with a wistful eye; and laboured up the steep ascent with uninterrupted ardour, and invincible perseverance. Void of all principle, destitute of every virtuous feeling; he suffered little restraint in his audacious pursuits from the dictates of religion, or the remonstrances of conscience. Not content to enlarge the jurisdiction and augment the opulence of the see of Rome, he strove to render the universal church subject to its despotism; to dissolve the jurisdiction of kings and princes over the various orders of the clergy; and exclude them from the management of the revenues of the church. Nay, he would submit to his power the kings, emperors, and princes themselves; and render their dominions tributary to Rome. Such were the pious and apostolic exploits that employed Gregory VII. during his whole life; and which rendered his pontificate a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. His conduct to France was worthy of the country which had first given princely power to the Roman priests, and of himself. It was just that the realm which had put power into such hands for such purposes as it did, should be bitten by a fiendish ingratitude. Hildebrand declared France tributary to the see of Rome; and ordered his legates to demand yearly, in the most solemn manner, the payment of that tribute. Nothing can be more insolent than the language in which the priest addressed himself to Philip of France, recommending a humble and obliging carriage, from this consideration, that *both his kingdom and his soul were under the dominion of St. Peter, i. e. his vicar, the pope, who had power to bind and to loose him both on earth and in heaven.* Nothing escaped his all-grasping ambition. He drew up an oath for the emperor of the Romans, that is, of Germany, from whom he demanded a profession of subjection and obedience. He pretended Saxony was a feudal tenure, having been a pious offering of Charlemagne to the see of Rome. He claimed Spain; maintained it had been the property of the apostolic see from the earliest times of the church; and the Spanish princes paid him tribute. He made the like attempts on England; but found in William the Conqueror a different subject. William granted his Peter-pence, but refused to do homage for his crown. He wrote circular letters to the German princes, to Geysa, king of Hungary, and Sweno, king of Denmark, demanding submission. The son of Demetrius, czar of the Russians, went to Rome, in consequence of his letters, to obtain the kingdom which would devolve to him on his father's death, as a gift from St. Peter, after professing subjection and allegiance to the Prince of the Apostles,—a gift readily granted by the officious

pope, who was extremely liberal of what did not belong to him. Demetrius Suinimer, duke of Croatia and Dalmatia, was raised to royalty by him in the year 1076; and solemnly proclaimed king at Salona, on condition that he should pay annually two hundred pieces of gold to St. Peter, at the Easter festival. Boleslaus II., king of Poland, having killed Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow, Gregory not only excommunicated him, but hurled him from his throne; dissolved the oath of allegiance which his subjects had taken; and forbade, by an express, imperious edict, the nobles and clergy of Poland from electing a new king without his leave.

In Italy his success was transcendent. Matilda, the daughter of Boniface, duke of Tuscany, the most powerful and opulent princess of that country, found that neither ambition nor years had extinguished the tender passion in the heart of Gregory,—and as a testimony of the familiarity which existed between them, settled all her possessions in Italy and elsewhere upon the church of Rome; an act, however, strongly resisted by her successor, and the cause of many struggles and much bloodshed.

To complete his despotic power over every Christian prince, this odious priest claimed the sole right of installing bishops in their office. It had been the custom of every prince to appoint the bishops of his own land. At the death of any one of these, the ring and crosier, the insignia of his office, were sent to the monarch, and were by him delivered to the one he appointed. This right Gregory claimed as the sole prerogative of the pope; thus designing to make the whole church dependent on him, and entirely subservient to all the papal views—powerful instruments in the pontifical hands against both prince and people, the world over. The resistance this claim met with, led to terrible wars; and we shall have occasion to mention that with the emperor of Germany, and his humiliation before the haughty priest, under the head of priestly arrogance.

But this was not all. As Hildebrand resolved to set the popedom above every principedom, he knew that this could never be fully effected while the election of the popes was dependent on any prince, or any lay power. He cut, therefore, at once the old practice on this subject; and this he did before he himself was seated on the papal throne. It had always been the case, that the nobles, the people, and the clergy of Rome had jointly made the election, which was confirmed by the emperor. On some occasions, when the emperor was particularly powerful, he appointed the pope himself, and his choice was confirmed by the city. But on the death of Nicolaus II., by the advice of Hildebrand, who was all-powerful, the cardinals proceeded of themselves to elect the pope in the person of Alexander II., and Hildebrand, on being himself thus elected on the death of Alexander, as Gregory VII., confirmed these elections by a fixed papal law. He did still more, for his plans were vast in their grasp; he resolved to prohibit the marriage of the clergy; nay, to divorce all those who were married!

This was perhaps the most daring measure which ever was at-

tempted in human history. None but the most hardy and headstrong of men, but at the same time proudly sensible of the stupendous power which superstition had put into his hands, would have ventured on such an experiment. To rend asunder the tenderest ties of humanity; to call on a vast body of men to devote themselves to the worst solitude of life, to walk amid the joyous and affectionate charms of existence in a living death, for the sole purpose of giving the last finishing point to the despotism of priestcraft, was the work only of a giant mind, hardened to a perfect callousness to every feeling but that of a priestly ambition. Accordingly, this papal ordinance raised the most terrific storm. The clergy every where exclaimed vehemently against it. Gregory was declared to be an heretical monk. He had indeed fixed on the popedom the mark of antichrist, as foretold by St. Paul, in the act of forbidding to marry. "The pope," said the clergy, "would have men live like angels; let him see, then, where he will get his angels to rule the people." An assembly of the church in Paris passed a resolution not to obey this law. In Rouen the archbishop, and in Burgos the papal legate, were maltreated when they attempted to take away the wives of the clergy. In Germany it was worse. The archbishop of Mayence scarcely dared to make the pope's command known in his diocese. He first gave to his bishops half a year's time for making it public; then he called a synod at Erfurt, in which the outcry was so fierce against him, that some declared it would be good, as an example, to murder him. It was the same in Passau, and other places. In many parts the bishops took the side of the enraged clergy, and Otto, bishop of Constance, gave to his clergy a formal permission to take wives. But all this did not move one atom the iron resolve of Gregory. He knew too well his power; and forbidding the people to receive any religious office at the hands of a married clergyman, the superstitious mob rose in all countries against their clergy, and compelled them to put away their wives and families; nay, they chased them away themselves; and where the wretched husbands strove to protect their own flesh and blood, they heaped all sorts of insults and abuse upon them, and in many cases actually killed them. Within a hundred years the law of Gregory VII. had triumphed over human nature, over the laws of God and Christ, and, stamping the undeniable mark of antichrist on the church, had, by the law of celibacy, established a standing army of tieless men throughout the world as its sworn instruments, independent of the influences of humanity, but slaves to the court of Rome.

Thus did this race of most shameless and audacious men, while they called themselves the pastors of the flock of the meek and tender Christ, daringly and recklessly advance to a pitch of the most amazing, enduring, and universal despotism over the loftiest and most powerful monarchs, and over human nature itself. But to display effectively the full character of the Roman pontiffs, we

most write volumes on their deeds in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which were filled with their arrogant demands from, and assumptions over, the sovereign powers of Europe; for, at once, Conrad, duke of Suabia, and Frederic of Austria, were actually beheaded at Naples by order of Clement IV.; and another emperor, Henry IV., is supposed to have been poisoned by a wafer, in taking the sacrament from a Dominican monk. Their excommunications,—their wars,—their vindictive quarrels with kings, and with each other,—these things swell the numerous volumes of ecclesiastical history. Nothing, indeed, is so revolting in all the annals of the world as the malignant bitterness of these vicars of Christ against each upon different occasions. Of all the revolting objects in existence, the most revolting is **THE PROUD AND IN-HUMAN PRIEST.**

The example of the pontiffs was not lost on the bishops, abbots, and inferior clergy. These, even in the time of Charlemagne, had actually obtained for their tenants and their possessions an immunity from the jurisdiction of the counts and other magistrates; as also from taxes and imposts of all kinds. But in this century they carried their pretensions still further,—aimed at the civil government of the cities and territories in which they exercised a spiritual dominion; and even aspired to the honours and authority of dukes, marquises, and counts of the empire. The nobles were for ever resisting, in their respective domains, the assumptions of the clergy in matters of jurisdiction and other affairs. These, therefore, seized the opportunity which was offered them by the superstition of the times, to obtain from the kings these, the ancient rights of the nobles; and, as the influence of the bishops over the people was greater than that of the nobility, the kings, to secure the services of so powerful a priesthood, generally granted their requests. Thus they became bishops and abbots clothed with titles and dignities so foreign to their spiritual office,—reverend dukes, marquises, counts, and viscounts!

It was not, however, by these means only that they sought dominion over the world. They had a thousand arts to rivet their power into the souls of the people. **COUNCILS** were one of them. As if the sacerdotal name and inculcations were not influential enough, they sought, by collecting together all the dignities of the church into one place, to invest them with a more awful character; and to render the enactments of these priestly congresses everlasting and indissoluble laws. These enactments were such as—the worship of images, decreed in the council of Nice, 787; the holding of a festival to the virgin mother, instituted by the council of Mentz in the ninth century; taking the cup of the sacrament from the laity; and a declaration of the lawfulness of breaking the most solemn engagements made to heretics, by the council of Constance in the fifteenth century; with a thousand other despotic or absurd decrees against all sects, and all freedom of opinion; and for the institution of exclusive rites and festivals.

CHAPTER XII.

POPERY CONTINUED.

(Chastity speaks.)

I blame the Emperour Constantine,
 That I am put to sic ruine,
 And banished from the kirk;
 For since he maid the Paip an king,
 In Rome, I could get na lodging:
 But headlong in the dark.
 But ladie Sensualitie,
 Since then, has guidit this cuntrie,
 And monie of the rest:
 And now scho reulis all this land,
 And has decreed, at her command,
 That I should be suppress.

SIR DAVID LYNDSEY'S SATYRE OF THE THREE ESTAITES.

THE establishment of monkery was another means of building up a perfect despotism by the papists. These orders originated in the third century, and multiplying through successive ages, became, not only various in name, but countless in number: spreading in swarms throughout every part of Christendom; propagating superstition, lewdness, and ignorance; acting as spies and supporters of the papal dominion; fixing themselves in every fertile and pleasant spot: awing or wheedling the rich and foolish out of their lands and possessions; and at length, bursting out into the most bitter quarrels amongst themselves, became like so many rabid dogs before the public eye; and hastened, in no small degree, the downfall of the church which had set them up for its own support. They, as well as the secular clergy, were forbidden to marry; and hence flowed a torrent of corruption throughout the world. In the third century they formed, says Mosheim, connexions with those women who had made vows of chastity; and it was an ordinary thing for an ecclesiastic to admit one of these fair saints to his bed, but still under the most solemn declarations that nothing passed contrary to the rules of chastity and virtue! These holy concubines were called *mulieres subintroductæ*.

Yet more,—round many a convent's blazing fire
 Unhallowed threads of revelry are spun;
 There Venus sits disguised like a nun,—
 While Bacchus, clothed in semblance of a friar,
 Pours out his choicest beverage, high and higher

Sparkling, until it cannot choose but run
 Over the bowl, whose silver lip hath won
 An instant kiss of masterful desire—
 To stay the precious waste : through every brain
 The domination of the sprightly juice
 Spreads high conceits, to maddening fancy dear,
 Till the arched roof, with resolute abuse
 Of its grave echoes, swells a choral strain,
 Whose votive burden is—"OUR KINGDOM'S HERE!"

WORDSWORTH.

These fellows too, especially the Mendicants, wandering over Europe, were the most active venders of relics, and propagators of every superstitious notion and rite. Their licentiousness, so early as the fifth century, was become proverbial; and they are said to have excited thus early, in various places, the most dreadful tumults and seditions. In the next century they multiplied so prodigiously in the east, that whole armies might have been raised of them without any sensible diminution of their numbers. In the western provinces also they were held in the highest veneration, and both monks and nuns swarmed. In Great Britain, an abbot, Cougal, persuaded an innumerable number of persons to abandon the affairs, duties, and obligations of life, and to shut themselves up in idleness, or to wander about in holy mischief. In the seventh century, the contagion spread still more enormously. Heads of families, striving to surpass each other's zeal for the advancement of monkery, shut up their children in convents, and devoted them to a solitary life as the highest felicity. Abandoned profligates, terrified by their guilty consciences, were comforted with the delusive hopes of pardon, by leaving their fortune to monastic societies. Multitudes deprived their children of their rich lands and patrimonies, to confer them on the monks, whose prayers were to render the Deity propitious. In the following century the mania had reached such a height, that emperors and kings conferred whole provinces, cities, and titles of honour on these creatures. In the succeeding ages, so much did their licentiousness and ignorance increase, that in the tenth century few of the monks knew the rules of their own orders which they had sworn to obey, but lived in the most luxurious and prodigal magnificence with their concubines. The fourteenth century was distracted with the contentions of the various orders of the monks, who had grown so full of wealth, luxury, pride, and all evil passions, that they not only turned their wrath against each other, but against the popes themselves. Their bitter and presumptuous bickerings filled this century with the most strange and hateful scenes.

We must pass over an infinite quantity of the monkish history, and content ourselves with a few remarks of Mosheim, on their state in the sixteenth century, at the time when their crimes and excesses were bringing on them the Reformation. The prodigious swarms of monks, says this historian, that overran Europe, were

justly considered as burdens to society; and, nevertheless, such was the genius of the age, an age that was just emerging from the thickest gloom of ignorance, and was suspended, as it were, in a dubious situation between darkness and light, that these monastic drones would have remained undisturbed, had they taken the least pains to preserve any remains even of the external air of decency and religion, which distinguished them in former times. But the Benedictine, and other monkish fraternities, who were invested with the privilege of possessing certain lands and revenues, broke through all restraint, and made the worst possible use of their opulence; and, forgetful of the gravity of their character, and of the laws of their order, rushed headlong into the shameless practice of vice, in all its various kinds and degrees. On the other hand, the Mendicant orders, and especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, lost their credit in a different way; for their rustic impudence, their ridiculous superstitions, their ignorance, cruelty, and brutish manners, tended to alienate from them the minds of the people. They had the most barbarous aversion to the arts and sciences, and expressed a like abhorrence of certain learned men, who, being eagerly desirous of enlightening the age, attacked their barbarism in both their discourse and their writings:—this was the case with Reuchlinus, Erasmus, and others.

The Dominicans possessed the greatest power and credit of all monks;—they presided in church and state; were confessors to the great, and judges of the horrible Inquisition—circumstances which put most of the European princes under their control; but, not content with these means of influence, they resorted to the most infamous frauds, to enslave the ignorance of the age. One of the most singular instances of this sort, is that recorded by Reuchat, in his *Histoire de la Reformation en Suisse*, by Hottinger, and by Bishop Burnet, in his *Travels on the Continent*. So remarkable is it, that I must give it as compendiously as I can.

“The stratagem was in consequence of a rivalry between the Dominicans and Franciscans, and more especially of their controversy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. The latter maintained that she was born without the blemish of original sin; the former asserted the contrary. The doctrine of the Franciscans, in an age of superstition, could not but be popular; and hence the Dominicans lost ground daily. To obviate this they resolved, at a Chapter held at Vimpfen in 1504, to have recourse to fictitious visions, in which the people at that time had an easy faith; and they determined to make Bern the scene of their operations. A lay-brother of the name of Jetzer, an extremely simple fellow, was fixed on as the instrument of these delusions. One of the four Dominicans who had undertaken the management of this plot, conveyed himself secretly into Jetzer’s cell, and about midnight appeared to him in a horrid figure, surrounded with howling dogs, and seeming to blow fire from his nostrils by means of a box of combustibles which he held near his

mouth. He approached Jetzer's bed, and told him he was the ghost of a Dominican who had been killed at Paris, as a judgment of heaven for laying aside his monastic habit; that he was condemned to purgatory for this crime, and could only be rescued from his horrible torments by his means. This story, accompanied with horrid cries and howlings, frightened poor Jetzer out of what little wits he had, and engaged him to do all in his power to rescue the Dominican from his torment. The impostor then told him, that nothing but the discipline of the whip applied for eight days by the whole monastery, and Jetzer's lying prostrate on the chapel floor in the form of a cross during mass, could effect this. He added, these mortifications would secure Jetzer the peculiar favour of the blessed Virgin; and told him he would appear to him again, with two other spirits.

"Morning was no sooner come, than Jetzer related these particulars to the whole convent; who enjoined him to undergo all that he was commanded, and promised to bear their part. The deluded simpleton obeyed, and was admired as a saint by the multitude who crowded about the convent; while the four friars who managed the imposture, magnified, in the most pompous manner, the miracle of this apparition in their sermons and conversations. Night after night the apparition was renewed, with the addition of two other impostors, dressed like devils; and Jetzer's faith was augmented, by hearing from the spectre all the secret of his own life and thoughts, which the impostors had got from his confessor. In this and subsequent scenes, whose enormities we must pass over, the impostor talked much to Jetzer of the Dominican order; which, he said, was peculiarly dear to the blessed Virgin; that the blessed Virgin knew herself to be born in original sin; that the doctors who taught the contrary, were in purgatory; that she abhorred the Franciscans for making her equal to her Son; and that the town of Bern would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within it.

"In one of these apparitions, Jetzer, silly as he was, discovered the similarity of the spectre's voice to that of the prior—who it actually was—yet he did not suspect the fraud. The prior appeared in various disguises; sometimes as St. Barbaro, sometimes as St. Bernard, and, at length, as the Virgin herself, clothed in the habit which adorned her statue at festivals. The little images that on these days are set on the altar, were used for angels, which being tied to a cord which passed through a pulley over Jetzer's head, rose up and down, and danced about the pretended virgin to increase the delusion. The virgin addressed a long discourse to Jetzer; gave him a marvellous wafer,—a *host* which turned, in a moment, from white to red; and, after various visits, in which the greatest enormities were acted, the virgin-prior told Jetzer she would give him the most undoubted proof of her Son's love, by imprinting on him the five wounds that pierced Jesus on the cross, as she had done before to St. Lucia and St. Catherine.

Accordingly she took his hand, and thrust a large nail through it, which threw the poor dupe into the greatest torment. The next night, this masculine virgin brought, as she pretended, some of the linen in which Christ had been buried, to soften the wound; and gave Jetzer a soporific draught, composed of the blood of an unbaptized child, some incense, consecrated salt, quicksilver, the hairs of a child's eyebrows, with some poisonous and stupefying ingredients, mingled by the prior with magic ceremonies, and a solemn dedication of himself to the devil, in hope of his aid. This draught threw the poor wretch into a lethargy, during which the other four wounds were imprinted on his body. When he awoke and discovered them, he fell into unspeakable joy, and believed himself a representation of Christ in the various parts of his passion. He was, in this state, exposed to the admiring multitude on the principal altar of the convent, to the great mortification of the Franciscans. The Dominicans gave him some other draughts, and threw him into convulsions, which were followed by a voice conveyed through a pipe into the mouths of two images, one of Mary, the other of the child Jesus; the former of which had tears painted upon its cheeks in a lively manner. The little Jesus asked his mother why she wept; she answered, for the impious manner in which the Franciscans attributed to *her* the honour that was due to him.

"The apparitions, false prodigies, and abominable stratagems were repeated every night; and were, at length, so grossly overacted, that even the simple Jetzer saw through them, and almost killed the priest. Lest this discovery should spoil all, they thought it best to own the whole to Jetzer, and prevailed on him to join in the imposture; engaging him, by the most seducing promises of opulence and glory, to carry on the delusion. Jetzer appeared to be persuaded, but lest he should not be faithful and secret, they attempted to poison him; and it was alone owing to the vigour of his constitution that they did not succeed. Once they gave him a rich spiced loaf, which growing green in a day or two, he threw a piece to a wolf's whelps, kept in the monastery, and it killed them immediately. Again they poisoned the host, or consecrated wafer; but he vomited it up. In short, the most detestable means to destroy him and his evidence were employed; but he succeeded in getting out of the convent, and throwing himself into the hands of the magistrates. The whole thus came to be sifted out; commissioners were sent from Rome to examine the affair; and the four friars were solemnly degraded, and burnt alive on the last day of May, 1509. Jetzer died soon after. Had he been destroyed before this exposure, this execrable plot would have been handed down to posterity as a stupendous miracle."

Rome could hasten to punish such vile frauds when they were made public, but she was not the less ready to practise them herself in the most daring manner, as I shall proceed to show: but before leaving this strange case of Jetzer it may be remarked, that,

audacious and even incredible as it may appear to many, it rests upon too good authority to be doubted. Hundreds, indeed, of similar instances might be brought, for the whole history of the Romish church is that of fraud and delusion : but we need not go out of our own country for similar transactions. Who does not call to mind the affair of the Maid of Kent, enacted in the reign of Henry VIII., at the very moment he was aiming a death-blow at popery, and in the face of a people whose eyes were opening to the acts and impostures of the papal sorceress ? The case may be seen at large in Hume. The substance of it is this : some monks, and one Masters, the vicar of Aldington, in Kent, got hold of a girl of the name of Elizabeth Barton, who was subject to convulsive fits, and induced her to enter into a system of deception on the public mind. They gave out that she was inspired, and in these fits delivered the words of the Virgin Mary. Having once imposed, not merely on the common people, but engaged the archbishop of Canterbury and other dignitaries of the church in the affair, they proceeded to promulgate heavenly messages against the reforming principles, and even threatened destruction to the king, if he proceeded in them. The friars, throughout the country, countenanced the delusion, and propagated it with all their zeal and might. But they had a man to deal with very inauspicious for their purpose. He arrested the holy maid and her accomplices, brought them before the Star Chamber, and soon terrified them into a full confession of their imposture. A most scandalous scene was laid open. Her principal accomplices, Masters the vicar, and Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury, were found to have a private entrance to her chamber, and to have led a most licentious life with her. The girl and six of her coadjutors were executed ; and the bishop of Rochester and others were condemned for misprision of treason, because they had not revealed her criminal speeches, and were thrown into prison. This was in England in the sixteenth century, and is a good specimen of the spirit of monkery : but another of a more menacing kind was soon given. Their "Diana of the Ephesians" was in danger ; the king threatened not only to destroy popery, but to root out the monasteries ; and it was not in the nature of priests and monks to resign their ill-gotten booty without a struggle. They set up the standard of rebellion. A monk, the prior of Barlings in Lincolnshire, was at the head of it. He marched with 20,000 men at his heels, till he fell into the king's hands. But another army from the north was not so easily scattered. This, which consisted of 40,000 men, called its enterprise the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. Some priests marched before, in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands ; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of the chalice, and the five wounds of Christ. They wore on their sleeve an emblem of the five wounds, with the name of Jesus wrought in the middle : and all took an oath, that they had no motive but *love to God, care of the king's person and issue ;*

and a *desire to purify the nobility*, drive base-born persons from about the king, and restore the church, and suppress heresy. With those pretensions they marched from place to place; took Hull, York, and other towns; excited great disturbance and clamour, and were not dispersed but with great difficulty. This was a trial of force where fraud could not succeed of itself, according to the established papal policy; but FRAUD was alone one of its most successful means of acquiring power, and in order to contemplate this instrument more clearly, we must go back again to an earlier age.

To advance their power, the popes did not shrink from the most audacious FORGERY. Such was that of the notorious DECRETALS of ISIDORE, already mentioned.

FRAUDS were multiplied abundantly to besot and blind the popular spirit. Monks, bishops, warriors, and men of the worst characters, nay, of neither character nor real existence, as St. George and his dragon, were canonized, made into saints, and their lives written in a manner most calculated to beguile the ignorance of the times. Shrines were set up, and churches dedicated to them, where people might pray for their aid. Dreams and miracles were pretended to throw light on the places of their burial; solemn processions were set on foot to discover and take them up; and the most miraculous powers attributed to them. Bones were buried, and afterwards pretended to be found, and declared by heaven to belong to saints and martyrs: and bits of bone, hairs, fragments of filthy rags, and other vile things, chips of the true cross, etc., were sold at enormous prices, as capable of working cures and effecting blessings of all kinds. The milk of the Virgin, and the blood of St. Januarius, which liquefied on the day of his festival, were particularly famous in Italy. In England, at the dissolution of the monasteries, many very curious ones were found. The parings of St. Edmund's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; the girdle of the Virgin, shown in eleven several places; the belt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt; but chief of all, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem, and shown for many ages at Hales in Gloucestershire. This sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin; but in doing sufficient good work, *i. e.*, paying money enough, it revealed itself. It was preserved in a phial, one side of which was transparent, the other opaque. Into this the monks every week put a fresh supply of the blood of a duck; and, on any pilgrim arriving, the dark side was shown him, which threw him into such consternation for his sinful state, that he generally purchased masses and made offerings, till his money or fortune began to fail; when the charitable monks turned the clear side towards him; he beheld the blood, and went away happy in his regenerate condition.

Rumours were spread of prodigies to be seen in certain places; robbers were converted into martyrs; tombs falsely given out to be those of saints; and many monks travelled from place to place,

not only selling, with matchless impudence, their fictitious relics, but deluding the eyes of the people with ludicrous combats with spirits and genii. Ambrose, in his disputes with the Arians, produced men possessed with devils, who, upon the approach of the relics of Gervasius and Protatius, were obliged to cry out that the doctrine of the council of Nice on the Trinity was true, and that of the Arians false. One of the precious maxims of the fourth century was, "that it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie when it could promote the interest of the church,"—a maxim never afterwards forgotten. PILGRIMAGES to distant holy places were hit upon as a strong means to employ the minds and enslave the affections of numbers; houses, as that of the Virgin at Loretto, were even said to descend from heaven to receive the sacred enthusiasm of men; and CRUSADES, those preposterous and tremendous wars, whose details are filled with the most exquisite miseries, and most abhorrent crimes and licentiousness, were promoted, as potent means of employing the power and exhausting the treasures of kings. In those crusades, millions of miserable wretches, men, women, and children—the low, the ignorant, the idle, the dissolute—after wandering from kingdom to kingdom, the wonder and horror of the inhabitants, were consumed; and from those crusades, in return, loads of relics were poured out of Syria over all Europe.

All kinds of CEREMONIES and FESTIVALS were imported from paganism for the same end. AURICULAR CONFESSION was invented, by which the clergy became the keepers of the consciences of the whole world; and the spiritual tyrants, not merely of the weak and the wicked, but of every one capable of a sense of shame or of fear. INDULGENCES were granted for the commission of crimes, and past sins pardoned for money and gifts of lands:—and PURGATORY! that most subtle and profitable invention of priestcraft, was contrived, to give the church power over both living and dead. Thus was the religion of Christ completely disfigured by pagan ceremonies, and made to sanction all wickedness for the sake of gain. The very CELEBRATION OF WORSHIP was ordered to be in LATIN; an unknown tongue to the great mass of those who heard it, so that they were reduced not only to feed on the chaff and garbage of priestly fables, but in the very temple of God himself to fill themselves with mere wind and empty sounds. The bread was taken from the children and given to the dogs. MASS was invented—that splendid piece of mummery, which, filling the eyes while it enlightened not the mind, was at once an instrument of keeping the people in ignorance; of fixing them fast by the imagination to the hollow trunk of formality; and of filling the pockets of the priests, by whom it was never performed without a fee;—for the souls of the dead paid more or less according to the imagined need. For many a great sinner, masses were established for ever; and whole lordships were given to the church, to support chapels and chantries for the peace of souls that were already beyond rescue, or need of redemption. Every prayer and Paternoster had

its price. Thus was heaven, earth, and all therein turned into a source of beastly gain. The rage for dominion in the popes, says Mosheim, was accompanied by a most insatiable avarice. All the provinces of Europe were drained to enrich those spiritual tyrants, who were perpetually gaping after new accessions of wealth.

Another mode of influence was, constituting churches *ASYLUMS* for robbers and murderers; another, that dark one of *EXCOMMUNICATION*; another, the borrowing of *ORDEALS* from the pagans; another, the right of *PATRONAGE*; and, lastly, the terrors of the *INQUISITION*.

Such were the multiplied means employed for the monopoly of all the wealth, power, and honour of the universe by this infamous race of vampires; and we have but too many instances of their determination to quench and keep down knowledge in their treatment of Bacon, Petre d'Abano, Arnold of Villa Nuova, and Galileo; to say nothing of the reformers, whom they regarded as their natural enemies, and destroyed without mercy. Mankind owes to the Roman church an everlasting reward of indignation for its attempts to crush into imbecility the human mind, and to insult it in its weakness with the most pitiful baubles and puerilities.

And for what end were all these outrages on humanity,—these mockeries of every thing great,—these blasphemies of every thing holy, perpetrated? That they might wallow, undisturbed, in the deepest mire of vice and sensuality, and heap upon those they had deluded and stripped of property, of liberty, and of mind, insult and derision. Let every man who hesitates to set his hand to the destruction of state religions, look on this picture of all enormities that can disgrace our nature, and reflect that such is the inevitable tendency of all priestcraft. Is it said we see nothing so bad now? And why? Because man has got the upper hand of his tyrant, and keeps him in awe,—not because the nature of priestcraft is altered; and yet, let us turn but our eyes to Catholic countries, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the scene is lamentable; and even in our own country, where free institutions check presumption, and the press terrifies many a monster from the light of day,—we behold things which make our hearts throb with indignation.

I had intended to give some specimens of papal lust, gluttony, and other infamous habits, but I turn from them in disgust; for those who seek them, ecclesiastical history is full. I shall only devote in a succeeding chapter a few passages to this purpose, and here a few pages to Romish arrogance and atrocities, and then dismiss this Harlot of the Seven Hills.

CHAPTER XIII.

POPIISH ARROGANCE.

Unless to Peter's chair the viewless wind
 Must come and ask permission where to blow,
 What further empire would it have?—for now
 A ghostly domination, unconfined
 As that by dreaming bards to love assigned,
 Sits there in sober truth—to raise the low,
 Perplex the wise, the strong to overthrow—
 Through earth and heaven to bind and to unbind!
 Resist—the thunder quails thee!—crouch—rebuff
 Shall be thy recompence! from land to land
 The ancient thrones of Christendom are stuff
 For occupation of a magic wand,
 And 'tis the pope that wields it—whether rough
 Or smooth his front, our world is in his hand!

WORDSWORTH.

WE have seen, in the progress of this volume, that arrogance and atrocity are prominent and imperishable features in the priestly character under all modes of faith; and it might be imagined that instances had been given in various ages and nations which could not be surpassed: but if we consider the fierce and audacious exhibition of those qualities in the Romish priests, the greatness and extent of the kingdoms over which they exercised them, and the mild and unassuming nature of the religion they professed to be the teachers of, it must be confessed that the world has no similar examples to present. The papal church seemed actuated by a perfect furor and madness of intolerance, haughty dictation, and insolent cruelty.

This was obvious enough, while the popes were only thus ascending towards their full altitude of power; but when Gregory VII., as we have seen, placed them there, it grew beyond all bounds. The whole world now became a theatre, in which the proud monarchs of Europe contested with the still prouder priests of Rome for the ascendancy, and were forced to submit. For two centuries especially did this contest rage; all order in government was confounded; the people were every where excited by those audacious pretenders against their rulers, and the most humiliating examples were given how vain it was, in a superstitious time, for the

proudest kings to battle against the soi-disant possessors of the keys of heaven and hell. We may take as specimens one or two cases out of numbers.

Henry IV., the king of Germany, was the first to come into strife with Gregory, on the promulgation of his papal supremacy doctrines. Henry was a great and powerful monarch, and at first treated the presumption of the pope with scorn. The pope formally deposed, in 1075, several German bishops; and menaced five of the king's counsellors with the ban, if they did not within a few months appear before him, to answer charges in the matter of serving Henry. Henry regarded not the papal proceedings, whereupon he was summoned by the pope's legates to appear himself before the pontiff in Rome, and answer to the accusations against him. At this unparalleled piece of arrogant assumption, Henry was enraged beyond bounds. He called a council at Worms, where the German clergy advised the deposition of Gregory. A synod at Piacenza took up and concurred in the opinions of the council of Worms, and a deputy was sent to Rome to deliver in the two resolutions, together with a letter from the king. Henry's letter began, "Henry, not by assumption, but by the good ordinance of God, king, to Hildebrand, not the pope, but the false monk." The pope read this letter to the synod then sitting at Easter, and the utmost fury broke out in the whole priestly assembly. All the cardinals and bishops shouted out that they would stand by the pope to the death, and Gregory then hurled his ban not only at the king, but at all the German and other bishops who had supported him. He declared all his subjects absolved from their allegiance, and called on them to depose him. Henry had probably never conceived what was the real power of the pope, nor had the world before any just conception of it, but both were now to learn it. As soon as the news of the pope's ban arrived in Germany, it let loose the fiercest passions; hatred revealed itself in broad day; the most ambitious hopes were awakened, and the whole nation was thrown into the most violent discord. Radolf, duke of Suabia, Welf of Bavaria, and Berthold of Kärnthen, had all entertained thoughts of rebellion, but the deep-rooted awe of the sanctity of a crowned head, had hitherto kept down these base thoughts. But now the pope's curse dissipated this sanctity, and from all sides the tempest drew together over the king's head. The Saxons, whom he had lately subdued, again flew to arms; and when Henry appealed to his princes for aid, they replied, that, so far from that, if they were not freed from the ban before the year expired, they would choose another king. This opened a new and horrible view of things, of which, in his monarchical dignity, he had never dreamed. He was like a man who suddenly saw the ground open under his feet. In his turn, he determined to hasten to Rome and humble himself before the pope; but as his enemies, Radolf, Welf, and Berthold, were in possession of the passes of the

Alps, he was obliged to proceed as secretly as possible, accompanied only by his family and a few faithful servants, and making a detour through Burgundy to pass over Mount Cenis into Italy.

It was in the most savage winter of 1077, a winter such as no man had witnessed, when the ice in the Rhine continued from Martinmas till April, that he was obliged to pass the Alps. There was no time for delay; his year was nearly at an end. He had to encounter the most incredible difficulties and hardships on the fields of ice and the glaciers, where every step was attended with peril of life. Now they had to creep on their hands and feet, now to slide on their backs, now on their stomachs, down the most slippery declivities. The ladies were frequently obliged to be set on ox-hides, and thus to be drawn along. In dangerous places the horses were obliged to be slid down first with their feet tied, by which many of them were killed; and thus travelled the royal family of Germany towards Italy, to implore the pardon of the pope!

When he arrived in the plains of Lombardy, fortune presented him the most unexpected means of avenging his wrongs, and bringing the haughty pope to terms. Many Lombard nobles and bishops collected round him with their troops, imagining that he was come to chastise the hated pope; but his mind was too much terror-struck by the effect of the ban on his own kingdom, to allow him to see this advantage: he hurried on; declining all assistance. The pope, who had been struck with terror at the news of Henry's approach, fled from Rome to Canossa, and sought refuge with the great Countess Matilda, of Tuscany. This lady, who was not only a very able, but a very politically powerful woman, was now a widow, and in possession of Parma, Modena, Reggio, Piacenza, Verona, and most of the cities of Tuscany. The pope soon learned the real state of Henry's retinue and mind, and became proportionably insolent. He long refused to see the suppliant monarch; and was only prevailed on by the earnest solicitations of the countess to permit him to appear. He insisted that he should present himself in a garb of penance; surrender his crown with an acknowledgment of his unworthiness of it, and in sign of his sincere repentance. The countess, by unremitted entreaty, however, at length bent the haughty mind of this proud pope to forego a little of his vengeance, and Henry *only* stood three days and three nights, in one of the severest winters ever known in the world, in the court of the fortress, within which the pope was feasting with the countess, said to be his mistress. He stood with his head and feet bare, and with no other raiment than a wretched woollen shirt, which was handed to him, the gates being closed so that he could not make his escape. On the fourth day he was admitted to the pontiff, who scarcely deigned to grant him the absolution he sought, and refused to restore him to his throne, till after further delay, and further indignities. In fact, the whole of his future life was imbittered by his quarrel with the papal

power. The pope actually gave away his kingdom to his enemy, Radolf of Suabia ; and Henry, enraged, set up another pope, Clement III., and marching to Rome, was crowned as emperor there by him. His enemy, the proud and stubborn Gregory VII., flung himself into the arms of the Normans for protection, and died at Salerno, in 1085. But though Gregory was dead, his successors maintained the same proud policy that he had laid down, and the same inveterate enmity against the king who had dared to set up another pope. His kingdom was kept in constant uproar against him ; his enemies and subjects were excited against him ; as he put down one anti-king the popes set up another ; and what was worst of all, they stirred up his own children against him ; so that his whole life was made miserable, his death hastened, and, to satisfy the vengeance of these monstrous priests, all Germany was wasted with fire, sword, and party fury.

The same unseemly strife continued between the successors of Henry and the popes. Emperor was set up against emperor by the popes, and the humiliating spectacle was seen of the ambassadors of the counter-kings in Rome suing to the pope, for him to decide which was the true king ; while the haughty priest studiously deferred all attention to these solicitations, both because it flattered his vanity, and because it brought cash into his coffers. On the contrary, pope was set up against pope, so that there were sometimes not less than three popes at once, and the boasted infallibility of these arch-priests, and the unity of the church, was converted into a farce. The superstition of the age, however, could endure all this, and the Beast of the Seven Hills held his place for his appointed time. Even Frederic Barbarossa, the first of that name, of Germany, the greatest and most successful monarch of his time, and who was said by his contemporaries and the historians of the age to have been the first to teach the Italians how to treat their popes, was compelled to hold the pope's stirrup at his own coronation in 1155, though he showed the utmost disposition to resist this degrading custom. At first he refused it altogether ; but the pope was so enraged, the cardinals so astonished that they fled suddenly back again to Castellana, and the pope so steadily refused to proceed with the ceremony, or give him the customary kiss of peace, till he had made the necessary satisfaction, that it was on the point of coming to a terrible and bloody rupture. To prevent this, after spending a day in discussing the matter with his princes, he submitted to the shameful requisition, kissed the foot, a ceremony introduced so early as the eighth century, held the stirrup, and became for the moment the church's humble vassal. It was, however, but for a moment : he became a most determined resister of the papal assumption, set up two or three rival popes, and drove the hostile popes to great extremities ; yet, exactly two and twenty years afterwards, in order to obtain peace with the haughty Alexander III., he submitted humbly again to renounce the rival pope Calixtus III., and to kiss the toe. Some writers affirm

that the pope, in this act of submission on the part of his great antagonist, trod upon his neck and repeated, from Psalm xci., "Thou shalt tread upon the lion and the adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under foot."

Our great poet receives it as a fact:—

Black demons hovering o'er his mitred head,
To Cæsar's successor the pontiff spake:
"Ere I absolve thee, stoop! that on thy neck,
Levelled with earth, this foot of mine may tread."
Then he who to the altar had been led,
He whose strong arm the Orient could not check,
He who had held the Soldan at his beck,
Stooped, of all glory disinherited,
And even the common dignity of man!
Amazement strikes the crowd.—WORDSWORTH.

To follow the full stream of papal arrogance and assumption, would be to write the history of Europe till the Reformation. There is nothing like it in the history of the world. The lower the origin of many of these audacious priests was, and some of them, like Sixtus V., were even swine-herds, the more towering was their insolence to the greatest princes, verifying thoroughly the old proverb,—“Set a beggar on horse-back, and see how he will ride.” But whether of patrician or plebeian origin, the unnatural elevation to which the domineering system of Romanism raised them, turned their heads, and engaged them in the never-ceasing contest, not for the post of peacemakers, but of fomenters of distraction; and where they met with opposition from princes, there they hurled their most unquenchable vengeance.

Never was this fierce conflict more signally carried on than between Frederic II. of Germany, the grandson of Frederic I., and the popes Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. Frederic was a great and prosperous monarch; in the crusades, and in Italy, he was victorious and glorious. He kept a splendid court, was fond of gay pageants, and the festive processions and banquets with which he received his queen, Isabella, sister of Henry III. of England, has ever been a favourite theme with the romancers of Germany. He was a man of genius, a good poet, and the patron of poets and men of genius; but all availed him nothing, so long as he would not succumb to the haughty demands of the popes. His children, one after another, were stirred up, by offers of crowns and other temptations, in insurrection against their father, as in the case of Henry IV. His whole kingdom was overrun with begging monks, sent out in swarms to preach up rebellion against him, and the sacred duty of destroying him, and refusing all obedience to him. His bosom friend, Peter of Viney, his chancellor, was, even in his old age, bribed by the pope to poison him; which was proved by the drink being given to a malefactor, who died immediately. These things broke the monarch's heart. He

died, and Innocent IV., who had been compelled to flee before him to Lyons, returned to Rome triumphing publicly in his fall. But the papal vengeance could not be satisfied with the death of such a man; all his race must be extirpated; and this the bloody priests pursued with untiring energy into effect. His son Konrad was deposed from the dukedom of Suabia, and died in his attempts to maintain his rights. The pope offered the kingdom of Italy to the kings of England and France, and even of Denmark, by the latter of whom the wicked offer was treated with the indignation it merited; but he prevailed on Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king, to invade Italy: a circumstance which led to the celebrated Sicilian Vespers; for the French in Sicily conducted themselves with such insolence and cruelty, that the inhabitants rose at the hour of vespers, at Easter, 1282, against them, and murdered the whole of them, sparing only two noblemen in all Sicily. In Catania alone eight thousand French fell, men, women, and children. This was the death-blow to the power of the French in Italy, whereas before their insolence and ambition were grown so great, that Charles of Anjou, under patronage of the pope, ruled all Italy, declared he would be crowned emperor of the Romans, that is, of Italy and Germany, and threatened to pull the German emperor from his throne. The pope hurled his ban against the Sicilians, but never could restore the French power there. But as regards the throne of Frederic II., Manfred, another son of the emperor, died fighting in defence of his invaded right; Konradin, the son of Konrad, a boy of sixteen, was publicly beheaded; other branches of the family were imprisoned for life; the great and illustrious race of the Hohenstaufens was extinguished, and the throne of Germany, after years of confusion, put into the possession of another line, by this terrible race of so-called vicegerents of the Prince of Peace.

It was Philip the Handsome of France, who, perhaps, gave at length the most decided check to the mad arrogance of the popes in their attempts to put themselves above all powers and princes on earth. They had now succeeded in completely overturning for a time the German empire, and Boniface VIII., an old fellow, as haughty and obstinate as any of his predecessors, had ascended the papal chair, and resolved to carry out the policy of Gregory VII. and Innocent III. He now tried the same arts on France, as had succeeded so well in Germany; but here he deceived himself. He did not sufficiently consider, how different were the circumstances of the two nations. Germany was an elective empire. The emperor was elected only for life, by a set of princes, called Kurfürsten, or electoral princes. It was, therefore, always liable to internal disturbances, and the emperor was comparatively at the mercy of so powerful a foe as a pope, armed by the superstition of the age with the belief of Divine authority, especially as the emperors, proud of the title of Roman, were always mixed up with the affairs of Italy, where the pope could so readily foment rebel-

lion. But France was an hereditary monarchy, it was now become compact and strong, and the authority of the king over his nobles as effective as that of the German emperor had ever been feeble. Here, then, Boniface VIII. struck on a rock. France was at war with England and Flanders, and the pope offered, as the head of Christendom, to arbitrate affairs between his children the kings; but France refused the arbitration on any such grounds. The pope then summoned Philip to appear before him, to answer for his attack on the earl of Flanders. Philip expressed his scorn of his assumption, and laid a heavy tax on all the clergy of the kingdom to carry on the war. The contest with the pope now commenced in earnest, and did not terminate for seven years, and then only with the capture of the pope in his own palace, and his death, chiefly out of mortification over his humiliation. During this contest he, as usual, launched his bulls and curses on the king of France; but without effect. The king appealed to his nobles and subjects in the assembly of the states, and they declared that they would stand by him to the death against any foreign pretenders to power in his kingdom, be they popes or whoever they might. In answer to the pope's bull, banning him for taxing the clergy, Philip issued an order, forbidding the sending money or valuables out of the kingdom; so that he cut off the pope's income entirely from France, a matter which brought him for a while to his senses. But this could not last, and, in 1301, Boniface launched his curse at Philip, beginning thus, "Boniface, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to Philip, the king of the French, greeting. Fear God and obey his commands. Know that thou art made subject to us in spiritual and worldly things, etc. etc.; and whoever believes otherwise, we declare him a heretic, etc." To this Philip replied contemptuously, beginning, "Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to the pretended pope Boniface, little or no greeting. Know thy great wrongheadedness, that we are subject to no man in temporal matters, etc., and that whoever thinks otherwise, we hold him for foolish and absurd." He ordered the bull to be publicly burnt, the fact announced by sound of trumpet to the whole city, and forbade any clergyman to travel to Rome. The pope went on to declare Philip incapable of governing, and to release all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance to him; but this was not as in Germany, it was here a mere empty sound. Philip, on the contrary, declared, in conjunction with a third assembly of the states, that it was necessary to depose the pope, and William of Nogaret, one of his most able and active ministers, hastened to Italy, secured a large party amongst the cardinals and others, and actually seized the pope in his palace at Anagni, the mortification of which, as already observed, hastened his death.

This failure of papal arrogance, this exposure of the actual progress of public opinion in Europe, put an end to the highest flights of that arrogance,—the contest with all the greatest monarchs of Europe for supremacy. From this time forward we be-

hold no more of these most singular displays of priestly ambition. Such vaunts as that of the pope proclaiming himself **THE LORD OF THE UNIVERSE**, as he did in the twelfth century; such deeds as that of chaining the Venetian ambassador, Dandolo, under the papal table, as occurred in the fourteenth, became rare. The holding of the pope's stirrup, which had been forced on all monarchs who came in contact with the arch-priest, and which had afforded the edifying spectacle of an English monarch walking on one side, and a French one on the other, performing this ignominious office for Alexander III., as he rode into the French camp, gradually disappeared, though the pride and pomp of the papal power continued over all Europe to an astonishing degree till the Reformation. The whole of Europe was overrun with its legates and agents, filling every country with Italian bishops and priests, and selling livings, and collecting money under a thousand pretences, which was sent in incredible heaps to be spent in Rome on the vilest luxury and lusts. The power and pomp of the Romish priests in different countries, down to the very hour of the Reformation, is no where shown in more glaring colours than in our own country.

To go back a little, who can ever forget the notorious Thomas à Becket, archbishop of Canterbury? one of the most perfect personifications of priestly insolence and audacity. This wretch, who had been raised to his high dignity by his royal master, and loaded with every honour, having once gained all that his ambition could hope from the indulgent monarch, became one of the most captious and troublesome villains that ever disturbed with priestly pride the peace of kingdoms. Henry, by an act of the council of Clarendon, endeavoured to bring into some tolerable degree of restraint, the power and licence of the clergy. Becket most arrogantly refused all obedience to the king's wishes; and, backed by Alexander III., the same pope who had so humiliated Frederic Barbarossa, commenced a course of annoyance to the king, which, even at this distance of time, makes one's blood boil with indignation to read. The monarch, aroused by it, compelled Becket to retire to France. Hereupon the pope and the French king interposed; and so far pacified the offended sovereign, as to obtain leave for Becket to return to England, and resume his office. But who, that knows any thing of priests, could hope that he would be touched with any sense of shame, or gratitude toward his forgiving prince? He returned in a sort of triumph; taking every conceivable means to insult the king, and sow trouble and discord in his kingdom. Every day he became only more inveterately rebellious; and carried his insolence so far, that four gentlemen, who witnessed with indignation the vexations heaped on their sovereign, hastened to Canterbury, and inflicted on the haughty and sanctimonious wretch deserved and exemplary death.

But if Becket was dead, the haughty pope was alive, and soon compelled poor Henry to the most humiliating degradations;—to go, bare-headed and bare-footed, on pilgrimage to Canterbury, and

do penance at the canonized shrine of the now sainted Becket, which, in its turn, was speedily converted into a grand engine of priestcraft. "No acts, no falsehood, no blasphemies," says Southey, "were spared, which might raise the reputation of the new shrine above all others in England. Lost members were said to be restored there; and the dead, even birds and beasts, restored to life. Parallels were drawn between this turbulent, ambitious, unforgiving churchman, and our Lord and Saviour himself; and a prayer was introduced into the service of his day, for salvation through the merits and blood of Thomas à Becket. These abominable artifices were successful. A jubilee was accorded every fifty years, when plenary indulgence was to be obtained by all who visited his tomb: a hundred thousand pilgrims are known to have been present at one of these seasons; and, at this day, it may be seen where their knees have worn the marble steps. The cathedral itself was commonly called St. Thomas's; and in the account of one year, it appeared that more than six hundred pounds had been offered at Becket's altar, when at the altar of Christ nothing had been presented!"

Similar humiliations to those which Henry suffered, befell poor King John,—the weak and wicked Lack-land. He ventured to oppose the pope's power, who had proceeded to set aside the election of John de Grey to the see of Canterbury, and to appoint, spite of the king and the nation, Stephen Langton primate of England. John assumed a high tone, and threatened to extinguish the papal power in England. What was the consequence? Innocent laid John's kingdom under the *BAN*. A stop was put to Divine worship; the churches were shut in every parish; all the sacraments, except baptism, were superseded; the dead were buried in the highways, without any sacred rites. Several, however, of the better and more learned clergy indignantly refused obedience to this detestable interdict; and the pope accordingly proceeded to further measures. In 1209, he excommunicated John; and two years afterwards issued a bull, absolving all his subjects from their allegiance, and ordering all persons to avoid him. The next year, the enraged pope assembled a council of cardinals and bishops, deposed John, declared the throne of England vacant; and ordered the king of France to take it, and add it to his own. The French king was ready enough to do this: he assembled an army;—John assembled another to oppose him; and had he been a monarch of an enlightened mind and steady fortitude, England would have been rescued from popish thralldom, and the Reformation accelerated by some ages. But Pandolph, the pope's legate, arriving in England, so succeeded by his artful representations of the power of France, and the defection of John's own subjects, that his courage broke down, and he submitted to the most abject humiliation. He promised, among other things, that he would submit himself entirely to the judgment of the pope; that he would acknowledge Langton for primate; that he would restore all the exiled clergy and laity who

had been banished on account of the contest; make them full restitution of their goods, and compensation for all damages, and instantly consign eight thousand pounds in part of payment; and that any one outlawed or imprisoned for his adherence to the pope, should be instantly received to grace and favour. He did homage to the pope; resigned his crown to him; and again received it from him as a gift! and bound himself to pay seven hundred marks annually for England, and three hundred for Ireland; and consented that any of his successors who refused to pay it, should forfeit all right to the throne. All this was transacted in a public assembly in the house of the Templars at Dover,—for the popish priests always took care that refractory kings should suffer the most public and excruciating degradations: and the legate, after having kept the crown and sceptre five whole days, returned them, as by special favour of the pope. John, however, presented a sum of money in token of his dependence, which the proud prelate trod under his feet.

The kingdom, by the pusillanimity of the monarch, was laid as prostrate at the foot of the pope as the wretched king himself. The great priest of the Vatican now lorded it in all his insolence and avarice over the whole realm. He placed in its richest livings his own Italian creatures. "His oppressions," says Fuller, "grew intolerable; for it appeared, by inquisition made, that the ecclesiastical revenues of Italians in England—whereof many were boys, mere blockheads, all aliens—amounted, per annum, unto *three-score and ten thousand marks*; whereas the king's income, at the same time, was hardly *twenty thousand*."

To guard so rich a harvest, not only was this swarm of papal slaves sent hither, but the most jealous watch was kept up for the slightest ebullition of a free or liberal spirit, and power was promptly put forth to crush both it and its authors together. The celebrated Roger Bacon, the light of his time, though he concerned himself little with theology, was regarded with vindictive jealousy, because he cultivated science, and science, the high priest of popery instinctively knew, endangered his craft. Bacon had travelled on the continent. He had gleaned up all the knowledge of the age, in Greek and Oriental learning, in mathematics, natural philosophy, and alchemy, and had added much to the latter science by his own zealous and long-continued course of inquiry. He spent several thousand pounds, a large fortune in those days, in his experiments. He was denounced by the monks as a dealer with the devil, his works were prohibited by the pope, and himself thrown into prison, where, after ten years' confinement, he perished. His great friend and patron, Grossteste, or Greathead, the bishop of Lincoln, narrowly escaped the same fate. He beheld with indignation these tyrannical deeds, and exactions of Rome, and with a soul which its own natural greatness, and the influence of liberal learning, had raised above mere priestly interest, he used all his power to restrain these humiliating assumptions of a foreign power

over his country. By the lofty firmness of his spirit, and the force of his venerable character, he did what monarchs before him could not do. The pope launched all his thunders against him; he excommunicated him; but he stood unscathed, and died in his see at the age of seventy-eight. Another noble exception to the priestly character was Richard Fitzraf, archbishop of Armagh. He dared to expose and ridicule the lives and practices of the Mendicant friars. They were the great vendors of the papal pardons, and, therefore, too useful a body of impostors to be meddled with. Fitzraf was speedily cited to appear at Rome, where he was detained till he died.

These bold measures seemed to have answered their end. The friars, against whom Fitzraf had lifted his voice in vain, swarmed over the land by thousands,

Black, white, and grey, with all their trumpery.

They carried on a fine trade in pardons, indulgences, and prayers for the dead, and preached all the absurd dogmas with which Rome at that day fed the multitude; legends, and traditions, and miracles of canonized impostors, or firebrands like Becket—any thing but the Bible, of which there was not a page in the vernacular tongue. But in the depth of this universal darkness, more than Egyptian, which they had created, and in which they crawled about like the vermin of the Egyptian plagues, up sprang in our own country the glorious morning-star of reformation—the noble and ever-to-be-venerated Wycliffe. It is an eternal satisfaction to the heart of every true Englishman, that, as in the general strife for liberty, so in that for spiritual liberty, England was the first of modern nations. It was she who struck the first effectual blow. The Vaudois had preserved alive the pure principle of Christianity from the apostolic age, through every succeeding one of darkness and persecution. They had preserved its life at the expense of their own. They had been able to prevent its extinction, but not to defend themselves from the ravages and assaults of tyrants instigated by the most deadly of all tyrants, the triple tyrant of spiritual death, except at the cost of nearly their whole people. Great and immortal shall be their honour on earth and in heaven therefore, while earth and heaven remain; but to Britain was conceded the glory of giving the first great shock to the walls of the ecclesiastical Babylon, the first trenchant and immedicable wound to the great dragon of all spiritual delusions, the first blow which told mightily for the enfranchisement of the church of Christ from the vampire incubus of popery. It was to Wycliffe, her son, and our countryman, that it was given to begin that grand work of religious regeneration, which should never pause till the whole earth had felt its influence. Armed with all grave and Christian learning, he came out in his frieze gown and barefoot into the public face of day, and attacked the swarming friars and alien

papists, the legends and the relics, the deluders and the delusions, with a dauntless front, and with a force of reason, that made them gnash their teeth in rage. From his college chair of divinity, or his rustic pulpit, from his study, and from highways and market-places, he alike launched the thunders of invincible learning and religion against them. He lifted aloft the Bible in their faces, and confounded them with the awful sound of truths and doctrines which they had trodden under foot, and had hoped were crushed for ever. He stood forth for king and parliament as their "peculiar clerk," when, in the reign of Edward III., they refused to pay to Urban V. the tribute of an annual thousand marks, under which the base John had laid this kingdom to the pope, and enabled them to break that ignominious yoke of slavery. He daringly unmasked the audacious practices of Rome, by which it made this great realm its vassal and feudatory, drawing taxes from it to *five times the amount of the king's whole revenues*. He stirred up the people to petition parliament that these enormities might end; showing that, for the appointment of bishops and other dignitaries, the pope received, "by way of translation and death, three, four, or five several taxes:" that he filled this country with ignorant Italians, to the exclusion of the most learned and worthy Englishmen, giving to the former offices of a thousand marks a year, while the most praiseworthy Englishman could hardly get twenty marks; that these aliens were "enemies to this land, who never saw, nor cared to see, their parishioners," worse than Jews and Saracens; that these cardinals and other aliens remained at Rome, whither these English revenues were sent to them. "One cardinal is dean of York; another, of Salisbury; another, of Lincoln; another, archdeacon of Canterbury; another, archdeacon of Durham; another, archdeacon of Suffolk; another, archdeacon of York; another, prebendary of Thane and Nassingdon; another, prebendary of York; who have divers others the best dignities of England, and have sent yearly over to them *twenty thousand marks*, over and above that which English brokers have." That "the pope's collector keepeth a house in London, with clerks and offices thereunto belonging, as if it were one of the king's solemn courts,"* where was transacted the sale of dignities and benefices, and the collection of fees, to be sent over to Italy. This great champion of reform, having thus opened the eyes of England to its plundered and disgraceful condition, was sent with other delegates to Rome itself, to make personal remonstrance to the pope; whence, having had a grand opportunity of making himself well acquainted with all the corruptions and abominations of the papal court, during an abode of two years, he returned with fresh augmentation of indignation and weapons of power against it.

Well may be imagined the tempest of fury which such a daring

* Vaughan's Life of Wycliffe.

display of the base arts and rapacious avarice of Rome raised around him. The whole kingdom resounded with the howling and teeth-gnashing of the monks, friars, priests, bishops, cardinals, proctors, and brokers, as of so many rabid wolves. The bold reformer had struck his staff at once into the nest of their unrighteous gains, and they turned upon him with furious hands and flaming eyes. But he had rendered too essential services to the nation to be given up to his desperate enemies. The great John of Gaunt, the queen-mother, and Lord Percy, especially stood his friend, and though summoned before his mortal foes both at home and at Rome, though chased from his college dignities and to his parsonage at Lutterworth in Leicestershire, he yet maintained his freedom of body and of mind to the last; wielding his pen against his arch-enemy, and the enemy of truth and knowledge, through a long life, with triumphant effect. Besides all his other labours, he accomplished the stupendous one of translating *for the first time* into English the whole of the Old and New Testament; thus, by the power of God, doing a greater deed than Joshua when he commanded the sun to stand still, and it obeyed him, for he actually restored the sun of Divine revelation to the moral hemisphere, giving it to the eyes of wondering millions, and causing the owls and bats, the vampires and the hyenas, of the long night of popery, to flee before its beams in consternation and despair.

There is not a finer passage in history, nor one which in the hands of a master painter would form a nobler picture, than the scene when he lay dangerously ill at Oxford. "Four doctors from the four orders of friars, and several aldermen of the city, were commissioned to visit him; hoping that, in the fear of death, they might induce him to retract what he had written against the Mendicants. Having listened to them patiently, he desired his attendant to raise him on his pillow, and then, with eyes fixed on them, he sternly replied, *"I shall not die! but live still further to declare the evil deeds of the friars!"*

By a marvellous fortune, which may more truly be styled a marvellous guardianship of Providence for the work's sake, Wycliffe lived in victory and died in peace. He escaped the fangs of ten thousand enemies, who would have rejoiced to tear him limb from limb; but his remains received the cowardly and implacable resentment of the sacerdotal spirit. They were dug up by order of the council of Constance, that *Christian* council which sentenced John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the stake. This despicable order was, however, delayed thirteen years, when, in 1428, Pope Martin V. reiterated it to Fleming, the bishop of Lincoln, a fit tool for such an office, having once himself professed Wycliffe's opinions, but had now relapsed into a thoroughbred bishop. By his officers Wycliffe's bones were dug up at Lutterworth, burnt, and the ashes cast into the little adjoining river, the Swift; "whence," says Fuller, "this brook conveyed his ashes into the Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the ocean;

and the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

From this moment the work of reformation went rapidly on, and, spite of all efforts to crush it, never stood still till it burst out formally under the headstrong guidance of Henry VIII. The writings and preachings of Wycliffe, but above all, his translation of the Scriptures, produced immediate and wide effect. His followers showed themselves on all hands, in vast numbers, and with a vehement zeal. Numbers of his "poor priests," as they were called, traversed the nation, as he had done, in their frieze gowns and with bare feet, every where proclaiming the true doctrines of the gospel, and denouncing the impositions and the vices of popery. They held up the monks and priests to deserved scorn, and the people, feeling the sacred truth, flocked round them, deserting those who had so long deluded and fleeced them. The powerful eloquence and holy lives of the preachers of Wycliffe, were universally confessed. Men of all ranks, from the royal duke of Lancaster to the peasant, joined them, and acquired the name of Lollards; said to be so called from the martyred reformers of Germany. The inhabitants of London were especially warm adherents of the same doctrines. John of Northampton, one of its most opulent and distinguished citizens, was a decided Lollard, and, during the time of his being lord mayor, particularly irritated the popish clergy, who drove a brave trade in pardons and indulgences, by his active reformation of the vices of the people. The Lords Hilton, Latimer, Percy, Berkeley, and Clifton, with many other nobles, knights, and eminent citizens, became the protectors and advocates of scriptural reform. Anne, the queen of Richard II., a woman of exemplary piety, was a staunch admirer of Wycliffe, and protector of his followers. Through some of her attendants, the writings of the great English reformer were conveyed into Bohemia, her native country, where they convinced John Huss, and thus prepared the way for Luther. During her life, and that of the great duke of Lancaster, the reformers advocated their cause under the most favourable auspices. It is not to be supposed, however, that the clergy watched their progress in passive indifference. They exerted all the power and the art they possessed to arrest so alarming a change. But it is a singular fact, that up to this period the church had no legal authority to persecute on a charge of heresy. To remove this bar to the desires of the church, Courtney, the primate, procured an act to be passed in the House of Peers, requiring sheriffs to apprehend preachers of heresy, and their abettors. The clergy also, though they dared not submit such a bill to the Commons, contrived means to have it enrolled amongst the acts of that house, as though it had really received its sanction. On the fraud being discovered, the Commons, with indignation, ordered the pretended statute to be repealed, which was done; yet had the clergy the cunning and the influence to have the knowledge of the repeal suppressed; and this

act, which never had any legal authority, remains to this day on the statute book.*

Acting on the authority of this truly disgraceful piece of priestcraft, Courtney not only made his attempts on Wycliffe, but also pursued others with his vengeance; and though he did not succeed in bringing any to the flames, a black distinction reserved for the next reign, yet he practised great severities on many of the Lollards. It was Arundel, who succeeded Courtney in the primacy, who first lit the martyr-flames in England. This man, one of the most plausible and unfeeling persecutors that ever lived, has been finely described by a modern poet, Nicholas Thirning Moile, whose fine poem, *The Trial of Ann Ayliffe for Heresy*, should be read by every lover of poetry, of pure philosophy, and religious liberty.† Arundel, and the rest of the clergy, with the exception of the bishop of Carlisle, not finding Richard II. sufficiently disposed to give a loose to their murderous desires, revolted from him, and formed a compact with Henry of Lancaster, whom they perceived to be more fitted for their designs. "It was by the clergy," says Southey, "that Henry IV. succeeded in usurping the throne; and to prove himself as sincere in their cause as they had been in his, and as little restrained by humanity or justice in supporting it, he passed a statute, whereby all persons who propagated a new doctrine, by preaching, writing, teaching, or discourse, were required to renounce their heresy, and deliver up all their heretical books, and submit themselves to the church, on pain of being delivered over to the secular arm, and burnt alive!"

By this base conspiracy between bloodthirsty priestcraft and rebellion, were the fires of the papal Moloch first kindled in this kingdom, and not only all those horrors of racks, dungeons, and gibbets introduced, which for ages disgraced the nation, but those wars of the rival factions of York and Lancaster began, which for generations rent in pieces the whole land. For more than a century, while, indeed, the papal church remained the established religion, the hierarchy pursued the protestants to the death. The Lollards, as they were called, were hunted out of their homes, chased like wild beasts, and dragged to the fiery stake, or compelled to flee for their lives into foreign countries. The greatest of crimes was to read the Bible in the mother tongue; it was made the most penal offence of the statute book, high treason against the state incurring only forfeiture of goods and beheading, but high treason against popery being punished with confiscation, and burning of the man himself to ashes. In the year 1400, the archbishop and arch-persecutor, Arundel, obtained a statute for the burning of heretics, which he and his compeers did not permit to lie a dead letter. He published several provincial constitutions, ordaining that any persons preaching any thing contrary to the

* Cotton's Abridgement, p. 285. Statute Book, 5 Richard II., chap. 5.

† State Trials, by Nicholas Thirning Moile. London, 1838.

doctrines of the church, should be excommunicated and declared heretics; and any one reading the writings of Wycliffe or his disciples, without a special licence from one of the universities, was declared a violator of the statute. In 1410, he and his colleagues got a yet more explicit law passed—"to be a law for ever: That whatsoever they were, that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue, they should forfeit lands, cattle, body, life, and goods, they and their heirs for ever, and so be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the law."

"The bishops, the priests, the monks, and the friars," says Ball, "had now got a world somewhat to their minds." And through the reigns of Henries IV., V., and VI., Edward IV., Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII., till he assumed the headship and the inquisitorship of the church himself, they made this country a perfect hell. In the intervals of civil war, when men should have breathed in peace from the troubles which kings brought upon them, up started these dreadful priests, imprisoning, anathematizing, and burning, as if they held a commission from the devil himself for the purpose. It would be a revolting task to follow them through all the horrors of their state-church butchery; but it would be unfaithful to history and to mankind, not to point briefly to some of their leading acts, and the names and numbers of their chief victims. The first of Arundel's victims, and the first martyr for religious reform in England, was William Sawtre, parish priest of St. Osith's, in London. He was burnt at the stake, in Smithfield, for denying transubstantiation, having been stripped of his clerical robes and degraded from his office with great formality, according to the most approved forms of the Inquisition. William Thorpe, a clergyman of note, was imprisoned with others, and is believed to have perished in his dungeon through ill usage, in 1407. John Badly, a tailor of Gloucestershire, was brought up to London, and burnt there, in 1409. In 1413, Sir Roger Acton, Sir John Beverley, John Browne, and *thirty-six more*, most of them gentlemen by birth, were condemned for heresy, and burnt in St. Giles's Fields. In the same year, John Claydon, a skinner, and Richard Turmin, a baker, were burnt in Smithfield. Numbers also suffered in various parts of England; but the grand and closing victim of Arundel, was Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. Sir John was the most active, devoted, and distinguished reformer of his time. He boldly every where exposed the impositions and cruelties of the hierarchy. "At great expense," says Milner, "he had collected, transcribed, and dispersed the works of Wycliffe amongst the common people, without reserve; and it was well known that he maintained a great number of itinerant preachers, in many parts of the country, particularly in the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Hereford."

Arundel having procured a royal mandate for sending to Oxford "twelve inquisitors of heresies," found that university over-

run with the new opinions, and Lord Cobham was accused of being the great cause of it. His destruction was therefore instantly resolved upon. He was accused to the king, committed to the Tower, tried, and condemned by Arundel. This arch-prelate being mortally seized while pronouncing sentence on Lord Cobham, and Lord Cobham managing to escape from the Tower, he seemed for a time to have evaded the fangs of his grand enemy: but Arundel was succeeded by a worthy finisher of his labours, the infamous Chicheley. This "firebrand of the age," as he has been truly called, besides fomenting war abroad, pursued the reformers at home with such implacable fury, that, Milner says, he almost effaced the vestiges of godliness in the kingdom. But Cobham was abroad, and while that was the case, the priests deemed there could be no effectual suppression of opinion. They determined, therefore, to excite the fears of the king and aristocracy, and thus to rouse such a power against him as should render it impossible that he could long escape. Rumours were industriously spread, that Lord Cobham was secretly meeting the Lollards, with the intent to murder the king and his brother at Eltham palace, and to burn Westminster Abbey, St. Albans, and all the prisons in London. The king took the alarm, and removed to Westminster, where he was again assured that Cobham was mustering his Lollards in St. Giles's Fields, to the number of twenty thousand. He accordingly caused the gates of the city to be shut, and rushing into the fields, seized a number of persons, out of eighty or a hundred only found there; but they did not appear to be met for any treasonable purpose, or to be aware of any. Hume tells us that, though this was the case, yet, on the trial, the treasonable designs of the sect became certain, both from evidence, and from the confession of the criminals themselves. Rapin, however, asserts, that it was *more than probable*, that the accusation was forged, to render the Lollards odious to the king; and Fox declares, that those who accused Lord Cobham on the trial, were forced to it by threats and promises. The purpose of the priests was completely effected. Under the royal influence, a bill of attainder was passed against Cobham; a thousand marks were offered for his head, and a promise of perpetual exemption from taxes to any town that should secure him: so completely did priestcraft, as it has generally done, delude the mind of royalty, setting it as a blood-hound upon its own subjects. Lord Cobham, after being chased through various retreats, was secured in Wales, and speedily dragged to London, and, being suspended alive in chains on a gallows, was thus burnt to death in St. Giles's Fields.

Amongst the numbers who fell the victims of Chicheley and his successor, Stafford, were William Taylor, 1422; William White, a clergyman of Norfolk, 1424, his followers being dreadfully harassed. Humphrey, "the good duke of Gloucester," brother of Henry V., and uncle of Henry VI., being a friend to reformation and orderly life in the clergy, was mortally hated by them, and

his death compassed through their machinations, the notorious Cardinal Beaufort being at their head. He was murdered in his bed, through the connivance of Beaufort, his own uncle, and the queen. Reginald Pocock, bishop of St. Asaph, who had been Duke Humphrey's chaplain, next fell under their murderous hands. He was known to be a friend to reformation of the church, was accused of heresy, compelled to recant, to burn his own books at St. Paul's Cross, and then being thrown into a dungeon at Thorney Abbey, there perished, as was firmly believed, by violent hands. John Goose, a man with an unfortunate name, but with the heart of an eagle, was burnt on Tower Hill, in 1473. Joan Boughton, a lady of quality, of more than eighty years of age, died in the flames most valiantly in 1494, and soon afterwards her daughter, Lady Young, suffered the same death. William Tylsworth was burnt at Amersham in Buckinghamshire, his daughter being compelled to light the pile with her own hands.

The wretched stuff which the catholic church then taught for Christianity, is sufficiently shown by these villanies on the one hand, and the will of Henry VII. The monarch who had been induced to believe that he was "doing God service" by these legal murders, placed his hope of salvation in the prayers of these rascally priests, commanding by his will 10,000 masses to be said by them for his soul; 1500 in honour of the Trinity; 2500 in honour of the five wounds of the Lord Jesus Christ; 2500 to the five joys of Our Lady; 450 to the nine orders of angels; 150 to the honour of the patriarchs; 600 to the twelve apostles; and 2300 to the honour of all saints. In such principles and notions was Henry VIII. educated; and therefore it is no wonder that, to the last, though he came to tread down the papal power in England, he continued as great a persecutor and as superstitious as his father. Up to the period of his assuming the rank of supreme head of the church in this kingdom, he had brought to the stake, or to other death, a whole host of pious, conscientious people; amongst them Thomas Man and John Stilman, burnt in Smithfield in 1518; six men at Coventry in 1519, for teaching their children the Lord's prayer, etc., in English; a poor widow, named Smith, at the same time; Richard Hunne, merchant of London; Hinton, a curate, burnt at Maidstone, for bringing some books from Tindal, then abroad; Bilney, Byfield, and Bainham, eminent martyrs, in whose death Sir Thomas More was actively concerned. Lord Tracy, for having stated in his will that he left his soul to God, and therefore could leave nothing for masses, had his body dug up and burnt; and Frith and Hewitt, a London apprentice, for denying purgatory and transubstantiation, were burnt in Smithfield in 1523. These, and many others, marked the bloody course by which Henry VIII. qualified himself to become the head of Christ's church.

CHAPTER XIV.

PAPAL ATROCITIES.

THE ATROCITIES OF POPERY were on a par with its arrogance; and so inseparable was one from the other, that in tracing the one we have just detailed some of the other, as exhibited in this country. In every age it has been ready with the fire and the fagot; and every one who dared to dissent from its opinions was put to death with the cruelest brutality.

We have already adverted to its treatment of learned men, whose discoveries tended to shake its power over the public mind; and though not here exactly in its chronological place, we will give a striking instance of it before we pass on, because we are about to deal in this chapter with its wholesale barbarities. Galileo's forced renunciation of what he knew to be the truth—the verity of the Copernican system—has been a popular theme in every succeeding age.

They bore
His chained limbs to a dreary tower
In the midst of a city vast and wide.
For he, they said, from his mind had bent
Against their gods keen blasphemy.
For which, though his soul must roasted be
In hell's red lake immortally,
Yet even on earth must he abide
The vengeance of their slaves! a trial,
I think men call it.—SHELLEY.

He succumbed in the trial—he recanted the truth openly; yet, as he rose from his knees before his stupid judges, he whispered to a friend—“*E pure si muove!*—It does move though!” Yes! it moved! the world moved, and that in more respects than one; and popery is become a wreck and a scorn, and man and knowledge have triumphed.

Fear not that the tyrants shall rule for ever,
Or the priests of the bloody faith;
They stand on the brink of that mighty river,
Whose waves they have tainted with death.
It is fed from the depths of a thousand dells,
Around them it foams, and rages, and swells,
And their swords and their sceptres I floating see,
Like wrecks in the surge of eternity.—SHELLEY.

A list of all the victims who have perished by papal cruelty, and through papal vengeance, would amount to many, many millions. One man in one country, as we shall soon see, the bigot emperor Ferdinand II. of Germany, extirpated *ten millions of men* to extirpate protestantism! But all this is perfectly natural, perfectly according to the nature of things. The whole scheme of the papal church was a daring and interested enterprise. It was a bold attempt to set aside Christianity, and to palm upon the world a selfish scheme of domination and licentious life for a priestly corporation. A scheme, therefore, more blasphemous and impious than any other priestly brood had ever attempted in the history of the world, must be maintained at all costs. So long as mummary and false dogmas could perpetuate delusion, all was well, all was smiling; but it was necessary to the maintenance of this unhallowed system, that every effort to check or destroy it, should be met with a severity as hellish as the system itself was diabolical. From the earliest times, therefore, all heretics, as they were called, that is, all who dared to have a soul or an opinion of their own, were exterminated like so much vermin. The human mind, science, poetry, philosophy, every thought and every feeling, must be in bondage to the crazy old priest of the Vatican. But when, at length, the mind burst forth in grandeur from its long thralldom, when the *Reformation* actually arrived, then it was a case of life and death; all the fury of the infernal court of Rome was let loose, and the dictum proclaimed, "Perish the world and every soul in it, rather than popery lose its old empire of lust, deceit, and tyranny over the human intellect!" All Europe was stirred up by papal emissaries, by armies of monks, and serpent-like Jesuits, and extermination was carried on in one bloody tide from Norway to Spain. Never was such a scene beheld since the foundation of the world; and, what was most strange, it was declared to be for the sake of *the religion of peace*.

We shall come anon to this dreadful spectacle; we must take first a passing glance at the earlier exhibitions of the slaughters of this Moloch church.

One of the first exploits of this kind on a wholesale scale was the terrific crusade against the Albigenses. In it the papal tyrant quenched the literature of the Troubadours, which exerted a faint, but pleasant twilight gleam in the 13th century; and was highly influential in the revival of poetry, by exciting the spirit of Petrarch, and through him of Chaucer, and the following English poets. This light, Rome put out by exterminating the Provençal people in a war, so singular and expressive of the nature of priestcraft, when full grown, that I shall give a brief account of it, principally from Sismondi's *Literature of the South of Europe*, with a few particulars from Milner's venerable *History of the Church of Christ*.

The excessive corruption of the clergy had furnished a subject for the satirical powers of the Troubadours. The cupidity, the

disimulation, and the baseness of that body, had rendered them odious both to the nobility and the people. The priests and the monks incessantly employed themselves in despoiling the sick, the widowed, and the fatherless, and indeed all whom age, or weakness, or misfortune placed within their grasp; while they squandered in debauchery and drunkenness, the money which they extorted by the most shameful artifices. If God, said Raymond de Castelnau, will the black monks to be unrivalled in their good eating and their amours, and the white monks in their lying bulls, and the Templars and Hospitallers in pride, and the canons in usury, I hold St. Peter and St. Andrew to have been egregious fools for suffering so much for the sake of God, since all these people also are to be saved. The gentry had imbibed such contempt for the clergy, that they would not educate their children to the priesthood, but gave their livings to their servants and bailiffs. The persecutions of Theodora in 845, and of Basil in 867 and 886, after having effected the destruction of more than a hundred thousand victims, compelled the remainder to seek refuge, some amongst the Mussulmans, and others amongst the Bulgarians. Once out of the pale of persecution, their faith, of a purer and simpler kind, made rapid progress. In Languedoc and Lombardy the name of Paterins was given them, on account of the sufferings to which they were exposed wherever the papal power extended; and they afterwards received the name of Albigenes, from the numbers that inhabited the diocese of Alby.

Missionaries were despatched into Higher Languedoc in 1147 and 1181, to convert these heretics; but with little success. Every day the reformed opinions gained ground, and Bertrand de Saissac, the tutor of the young viscount of Beziers, himself adopted them. At length, Innocent III., resolving to destroy these sectaries, whom he had exterminated in Italy, sent, in 1198, two Cistercian monks with the authority of legates *à latere*, to discover and bring them to justice. The monks, ambitious of extending their already unprecedented powers, not contented with merely attacking the heretics, quarrelled with all the regular clergy who had attempted to soften their proceedings. They suspended the archbishop of Narbonne and the bishop of Beziers; and degraded the bishops of Toulouse and of Veviers. Pierre de Castelnau, the most eager of the legates, accused Raymond of Toulouse of protecting the heretics, because that prince, being of a mild disposition, refused to lend himself to the destruction of his subjects. The anger of the priest at length led him to excommunicate the count, and place his estates under interdict: and he proceeded to such irritating insolence, that one of the count's followers, in his indignation, pursued him to the banks of the Rhone, and killed him. This crowned the misfortunes of Languedoc. It gave Innocent a pretext to proceed to bloodshed, and he took instant advantage of it. He addressed a letter to the king of France, to all the princes and most powerful barons, as well as to the metropolitan bishops, exhorting

them to vengeance, and to the extirpation of heresy. All the indulgences and pardons, which were usually granted to the crusaders, were promised to those who exterminated these unbelievers. Three hundred thousand pilgrims, induced by the united motives of avarice and superstition, filled the country of the Albigenes with carnage and confusion for a number of years. The reader who is not versed in history of this kind, can scarcely conceive the scenes of baseness, perfidy, barbarity, indecency, and hypocrisy, over which Innocent presided; and which were conducted partly by his legates, and partly by the infamous Simon de Montford. Raymond VI., terrified at this storm, submitted to every thing required of him; but Raymond Roger, viscount of Beziers, indignantly refused to give up the cause of his subjects. He encouraged them to resist; shut himself up in Carcassone, and gave Beziers to the care of his lieutenants. Beziers was taken by assault in July, 1209, and fifteen thousand inhabitants, according to the Cistercian monk, or sixty thousand, according to others, were put to the sword. This Cistercian monk was asked before the city was taken, how he could separate the heretics from the catholics? He replied, "*Kill all; God will know his own!*"

The brave young viscount of Beziers did not shrink; he still defended Carcassone. Peter II. of Arragon, attempted to make terms for him with his monkish besiegers, but all that they would grant was, to allow thirteen of the inhabitants, including the count, to leave the city; the remainder were reserved for a butchery like that of Beziers. The viscount declared he would be flayed alive rather than submit to such terms. He was, at length, betrayed; poisoned in prison; four hundred of his people burnt, and fifty hanged. Simon de Montford, the most ferocious monster of all the crusaders, received from the legate the viscount's title; and devastated the whole of the south of France with the most frightful wars. They who escaped from the sacking of the town, were sacrificed by the fagot. From 1209 to 1229, nothing was seen but massacres and tortures. Religion was overthrown; knowledge extinguished; and humanity trodden under foot. In the midst of these horrors, the ancient house of Toulouse became extinct.

Connected with this melancholy history, is one of the last horrid instruments of papal tyranny which remains to be mentioned—**THE INQUISITION**. These monks, Arnold Ranier and Pierre Castelnau, were followed by the notorious Spaniard, Dominic, and others, who, proceeding to seek out and execute heretics, gained the name of **INQUISITORS**. On their return from this infernal expedition, the popes were so sensible of their services, that they established similar tribunals in different places. In time, Italy, Spain, and other countries, were cursed with these hellish institutions; and their history is one of the most awful horror that can affright the human soul. But these, and the Jesuits, demand a separate notice.

But even this was exceeded by the unrestrained vengeance of the great Roman antichrist against the poor Vaudois, a simple people of Piedmont, who, from the apostolic age, had preserved the purity of the faith, and refused to bow to the swollen pride and worse than pagan idolatry of Rome. These primitive people were, from age to age, persecuted with fire and sword; their own prince was at length stirred up, and compelled to become, against them, the butcher of the Roman pontiff. They were, even so late as the time of our commonwealth, when the Protector, at the suggestion of Milton, interceded for them, hunted from their houses, suffocated in caves with flaming straw by hundreds; their wives and children massacred without mercy:—but in vain! They continued through all; and still continue, as may be seen by Mr. Gillie's most interesting account of his visit to them; and their sufferings have been immortalized by the fiery burst of Milton's indignation:

Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
Lie bleaching on the Alpine mountains cold;
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
Forget not; in thy book record their groans
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, who rolled
Mother with infant down the rock. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred-fold, who, having learned thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

But, in fact, as I have observed, from the moment that the doctrines of Wycliffe and Luther had taken decided hold of the world, the whole of Europe became a slaughter-house. All the powers of antichrist were exerted, not merely to extirpate the new opinions which threatened to shatter to pieces the ancient kingdom of a most profitable priestcraft, but to extirpate the holders of those opinions. The pope and Apollyon took the field with all their legions; and what constitutes one of the most singular facts in all history, as it has been wittily written,

Wherever God erects a house of prayer,
Satan is sure to build a chapel there;—

so, as God raised up his stout champion Luther, the devil had his champion ready to meet him, and contest the world inch by inch with him. Scarcely was Luther born, than in Spain another boy was born, destined to become the necessary agent of popery in resistance to Luther. This boy was Ignatius Loyola, who grew up as firm, as daring, as indomitable a spirit as Luther himself. He was inspired by the violent desire to acquire the name of a

saint, and to found a new order of monks, which should bear his name and honour to the end of time. Singularly enough, scarcely had he arrived at manhood, when there arose, from the rapid spread of Luther's opinions, the most desperate need of his services. All the other orders of monks were grown rich, effeminate, scandalously sensual, and still more scandalously ignorant. "In my youth," says a writer of the end of the fifteenth century, "there was scarcely to be found one amongst thousands of clergymen who had ever seen a university in his life."

The popedom was in danger of its very existence, and such was the condition of its defenders. It was at this juncture that Loyola caught the happy idea of establishing a new spiritual order, which should stand forward as the *army of papal defence*. His proposal was gladly grasped at by the pope. He gave himself the name of its *General*, and established his head-quarters at Rome, where he distributed his army, with all its spies, pioneers, scouts, and detachments, under their various officers, into every quarter of the civilized globe. I have yet to sketch the character of this order, and its history; it is only necessary here to say, that its members most diligently qualified themselves in all respects for the purposes for which they were called forth. They became learned, adroit in politics and political science, as all other monks were stupid and inert. They were vowed to poverty, and to freedom from all fixed posts and offices in the church, so that they might have time to accomplish themselves in all learning, all sophistry, and all arts that might enable them to persuade, deceive, and excite. Their knowledge and address soon raised them high in the estimation of princes and people. The most adroit and profoundly artful, were sent to the different courts to become the confessors of princes; the most learned assumed the teaching of schools and universities; the most popular in style devoted themselves to literature; the most enthusiastic, to preachers and proselyters. So wonderfully did they prosper, for their founder had in his deep sagacity exactly hit the need of the times, that though in 1540, when the order was founded, he had only ten followers, in 1603 the Jesuits amounted to 10,581, and in 1710, to 20,000. Till this very year the Reformation had gone on so prosperously in Germany, that not only the states still protestant had adopted the faith of Luther, but Austria, Bavaria, Bohemia, etc., countries now again sunk in popery, were rapidly passing over to the reformed church, so that, says a German historian, in that year we might have prophesied, that within twenty years there would not be left a single catholic in Germany. But who then could have an idea of the Jesuits!

Loyola was a thorough fanatic, hard, feelingless, and whose soul had but one care or object, to raise himself to the topmost height of a saint's reputation, by doing battle for the church. He had no compassion on himself, and it was not likely that he would on any one else. He had practised the most terrible hardships, and

penances on his own carcass, and, gaunt and rabid as a wolf, his only desire was to hand all heretics, were it by thousands or by millions, over to the Dominicans, whose Inquisitors were now actively at work, or to the sword of the armies of the catholic princes. In few years, the leaven which he had infused by his emissaries so operated that all Europe was in the horrors of exterminating wars.

Unfortunately for protestantism, Charles V., a Spaniard, but by his German descent, and in consequence of the able marrying schemes of his grandfather, the emperor Maximilian I. of Germany, was now become monarch of more countries than ever were held by one man. He was Roman-German emperor; king of the Netherlands, of Spain, Milan, Sicily, and Sardinia; and lord of the two greatest and richest countries, and of all the islands of the New World. With his Spanish blood, spite of all his pretences to liberality, he inherited a superstition most favourable to the purposes of the court of Rome, and he thus became the greatest tool in the hands of the pope for the desolation and consequent dismemberment of his own empire. In 1546, six years after the founding of the Jesuit order, he took the field against the protestants of Germany, in conjunction with the pope, who contributed 200,000 crowns, 12,000 foot-soldiers, and 500 cavalry, with their support for half a year, and the surrender of half the income of all the Spanish churches for one year to the emperor, *for the total suppression of protestantism.*

The German protestant princes, though formally combined in their Smalkald league, were not, like Luther, "ready to face a thousand devils" in defence of their faith. As German princes have but too commonly been, they were timid, hesitating, and wanting in unity, at the moment that they should have acted. Their brave general, Schärtlin, could not inspire them with either his spirit or his genius, or protestantism might then have been rescued, and popery ruined for ever. As it was, Charles had speedily the electors of Hesse and Saxony at his feet, and treated them as his prisoners, with the deepest, but richly deserved contumely. All Germany was traversed with hostile troops, and the country suffered every kind of harassing, exaction, and mischief. It was not, however, till 1618, that the full vial of catholic wrath was poured on this devoted country. Then broke out the thirty years' war, which, after those thirty years of the most dreadful horrors in history, left the nation a desert. The Bohemian hosts, after the death of Huss, manfully maintained by arms their religion, and compelled their government to grant them peace. But now the Jesuits were in existence, and busy about their bigot king, Ferdinand II. By their advice, he determined to put down protestantism, or annihilate the whole people. The people were full of their ancient spirit, and determined to resist. The war spread not only through Bohemia, but all over Germany. The Austrian armies, under the notorious generals Tilly and Wallenstein, traversed in all directions the protestant states, laying waste

whole territories with fire and sword, and committing the most inhuman excesses on record. The plan of these diabolical men was not to subdue, but to annihilate, and the people were given up as a prey to the bestial lusts and rapacity of their savage soldiers. They cut off the noses and ears of the people, broke open all chests, ransacked every house, carried off the cattle, or killed them and sold the skins to the horse-killers; killed the population of towns and villages, tossing the children on their spears, and driving all the young women before them to their camp like cattle, or bound them down on waggons, or strapped them to their saddles. It is not within the compass of this work to follow the horrors of this war: I can only note its general character, and the state to which it reduced the country. The brave and pious Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, moved with compassion for this suffering people, and with a noble zeal for the prevention of the papal hopes of the extirpation of protestantism, hastened over with an army, but, after a splendid career of victory, was slain. The Swedish generals who succeeded him, Banér, Torstenson, and Wrangel, enraged at the petty spirit and jealousies of the princes of Germany calling themselves protestant, who made peace each for themselves, regardless of the general cause, laid waste their territories, and committed atrocities almost as great as the catholics. In Bohemia, never was there such a butchery—a deep, deadly, and persevering butchery of a people! From end to end of the country marched great armies, overwhelming every attempt at resistance by the outraged people, while in their train, from village to village, and from house to house, went the Jesuits, with troops of dragoons, to convert the survivors to the holy mother-church. The command was, to forsake heresy and be converted; the arguments were bullets, and the refusal death. Hence comes the phrase of dragooning the people into any thing. The whole land was one amphitheatre of martyrdom; the horrible bigot emperor, with true Spanish blood in his veins, knelt, telling his beads before his saints, and, under the guidance of two arch-jesuits, issuing orders to extirpate protestantism, till nearly every trace of it, and of human life, had vanished together.

The people fought, and often conquered, but in vain; and then issued forth that strange apparition,—the Unknown Student! What a singular episode is his advent in the history of this war! His real name and origin was unknown, and will always remain so. He had all the reckless enthusiasm of the student; the zeal of the hero or the saint; and the eloquence which tingles in the ears of wronged men, and runs through the quick veins like fire. Solemn and mysterious, he stood forth in the hour of need, like a spirit from heaven. The wondering people gathered round him, listened, and followed with shouts to victory. They stood in the field of Gmunden, in the face of the magnificent Salzburg Alps. The Unknown Student was in the midst of them; and pointing to the lakes, the forests, the hills, and the glittering Alpine sum-

mits above and around them, he asked if they would not fight for so glorious a land, and for the simple and true hearts in those rocky fortresses? In the camp of Pappenheim they heard the fiery words of his harangue; they heard the vows which burst forth, like the voice of the sea, in reply, and the hymn of faith which followed. From rock, ravine, and forest rushed forth the impetuous peasant thousands; and even the victorious army of Pappenheim could not sustain the shock. The right wing scattered and fled; the peasant army, with the Unknown Student at their head, pursuing and hewing them down. There was a wild flight to the very gates of Gmunden. Then came back the fiery Unknown with his flushed thousands. He threw himself on the left wing of Pappenheim with the fury of a lion. There was a desperate struggle; the troops of Pappenheim wavered; victory hung on the uplifted sword of the Unknown Student, when a ball struck him, and his rôle was played out. His head, hoisted on a spear, was a sign of shivering dismay to his followers. They fled, leaving on the field four thousand of their fellows dead; Pappenheim and extermination in their rear.

What a picture is that which the historians draw of the horrors which this so-called religious war inflicted on all Germany. Some of them reckon that the half, and others that two-thirds, of the whole population perished in it. In Saxony alone, within two years, 900,000 men were destroyed. In the Saxon Switzerland every traveller is shown the rocks and caves in the wild woods, to which the frantic people fled in crowds for refuge at this terrible time. In Bohemia, at the time of Ferdinand's death, before this last exterminating campaign of Banér and Torstenson, the Swedish generals, the population was sunk to a fourth. Augsburg, which before had 80,000 inhabitants, had then only 18,000, and all Germany in proportion. In Berlin were only 300 burghers left. The prosperity of the country was for a long period destroyed. Not only did hands fail, and the workshops lie in ashes, but the spirit and diligence of trade were transferred to other lands.

After thirty years of battles, burnings, murders, and diseases, Germany no longer looked like itself. The proud nation was changed into a miserable mob of beggars and thieves. Famishing peasants, cowardly citizens, lewd soldiers, rancorous priests, and effeminate nobles, were the miserable remains of the great race which had perished. Could it be otherwise? the princes themselves gave the example of dastardly falsehood. Priests of all sorts raged with a pitiless hate; the generals sought to enrich themselves; the soldiers, who in the end ruled, were unmanned and set loose from all moral restraints. All the deeds of political treachery, of religious fanaticism, of the rapacity of aspiring adventurers, and of the brutality of the soldiery, were let loose on the people. Driven from hearth and home, in eternal terror of the soldiers, and without instruction, what could be expected from the growing generation, but sordid cowardice, and the shameless immorality which they had learned from the army? Even

the last remains of political freedom perished in the war; since all classes were plundered, and their strength exhausted. The nobles could only maintain themselves in the service of princes; the free cities dragged on a feeble existence; the peasant was thoroughly demoralized by the soldiers, and was out and out a slave. The representatives of the states lost their meaning, for they could find with the emperor but a feeble protection against the lesser princes, and none against the greater. Faith had, in the contest, dissolved itself into superstition and unbelief. The citizen, perpetually harassed with pressing anxieties, saw devils and ghosts; and the soldier, through the manner in which he fought, had become indifferent to that for which he fought, and was neither catholic nor Lutheran. The early civilization of Germany had degenerated into barbarism.

The atrocities which had been committed in this war were unexampled. In the storming of Magdeburg, the soldiers of Tilly had amused themselves, as a relaxation from their wholesale horrors perpetrated on the adults, with practising tortures on children. One man boasted that he had tossed twenty babes on his spear. Others they roasted alive in ovens; and others they pinioned down in various modes of agony, and pleased themselves with their cries as they sat and ate. Writers of the time describe thousands dying of exhaustion; numbers, as creeping naked into corners and cellars, in the madness of famine falling upon, tearing each other to pieces, and devouring each other; children being devoured by parents, and parents by children; many tearing up bodies from the graves, or seeking the pits where horse-killers threw their carcases, for the carrion, and even breaking the bones for the marrow, after they were full of worms! Thousands of villages lay in ashes; and, after the war, a person might in many parts of Germany, go fifty miles in almost any direction without meeting a single man, or head of cattle, or a sparrow; while in another, in some ruined hamlet, you might see a single old man and a child, or a couple of old women. "Ah, God!" says an old chronicler, "in what a miserable condition stand our cities! Where before were thousands of streets, there are now not hundreds. The burghers by thousands had been chased into the water, hunted to death in the woods, cut open and their hearts torn out, their ears, noses, and tongues cut off, the soles of their feet opened, straps cut out of their backs; women, children, and men so shamefully and barbarously used that it is not to be conceived. How miserable stand the little towns, the open hamlets! There they lie, burnt, destroyed, so that neither roof, beam, door, nor window is to be seen. The churches? they have been burnt, the bells carried away, and the most holy places made stables, market-houses, and some of the very altars being purposely defiled and heaped with filth of all kinds." Whole villages were filled with dead bodies of men, women, and children, destroyed by plague and hunger, with quantities of cattle which had been preyed on by dogs, wolves, and vultures, because there had been

no one to mourn or to bury them. Whole districts, which had been highly cultivated, were again grown over with wood: families who had fled, in returning after the war, found trees growing on their hearths: and even now, it is said, foundations of villages are in some places found in the forests, and the traces of ploughed lands. It is the fixed opinion, that to this day Germany, in point of political freedom, and the progress of public art and wealth, feels the disastrous consequences of this war.

A more solemn lesson on the terrible effects of the violation of conscience, and of Jesuitical bigotry, is not to be found in history. Of this dismal Ferdinand II. it has justly been said, that Napoleon was, in comparison of destructive power, but a pigmy. Napoleon traversed three quarters of the globe with fire and sword, yet came far short in human destruction of this Ferdinand, who, while he sat and told his beads, accomplished the extermination of **TEN MILLIONS OF MEN.**

From that day to this the whole country of John Huss and Jerome of Prague lies prostrate in the most profound catholic ignorance and bigotry. Bohemia is a land of hereditary bondsmen, and it looks like one.

But this awful scene was only one out of the multitude. All Europe had in the mean time been deluged with blood by the papal vengeance. In Spain and Italy, where the principles of the Reformation had made great progress, they were mercilessly rooted out by the horrible Inquisition, as will be seen in the next chapter. The gloomy Philip II. of Spain sent into the Netherlands the notorious monster of cruelty, Alva, and during his government the protestants were destroyed like so much vermin. Every day saw men burnt, hanged, beheaded, cut in quarters. On the first of July, 1568, two and twenty nobles were executed. The absent heads of the popular party, and also the prince of Orange, were declared guilty of treason; and the counts Egmont and Horn were brought from their prison at Ghent, and publicly beheaded in the market-place at Brussels. At these horrors more than 100,000 of the most skilful artisans and merchants fled out of the country, to England and other countries. Alva received from the pope, Pius V., a consecrated hat and sword, as the defender of the Roman church, and caused a statue of himself to be cast as the vanquisher of the nobility and people, which stood on two prostrate men, and had a most vain-glorious inscription. Philip, jealous of his holy glories, recalled him, but filled his place with Requesens, who, if he did not burn and behead so much, still plundered the people with the soldiery, and drove vast numbers of the ablest workmen out of the country by his oppressions. The monks stirred up assassins to murder the great champion of protestantism, the prince of Orange, and gave their absolution beforehand for the deed, which they at length accomplished. By these furious persecutions the pope caused the loss of all the Netherlands to Spain, which, in 1579, concluded at Utrecht an

act of confederation, under the title of the United Netherlands, including Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelders with Zutphen, Overijssel, Groningen, and Friesland; and two years afterwards finally renounced their allegiance to Spain.

Not the less successfully did the pope and the Jesuits concoct France into a slaughter-house of persecution. From the moment that protestantism became conspicuous in that country, it was persecuted by the kings at the instigation of the Jesuits. But the protestants were soon so numerous and so powerful, and had such leaders amongst the princes and nobles themselves, as the admiral Coligny, the prince of Condé, etc., that they flew to arms in 1562, and the country was for more than seventy years torn to pieces with a succession of civil wars, called the wars of the Hugonots, in which, as in Germany and the Netherlands, the most dreadful cruelties were practised; the artisans, particularly the silk-workers of Lyons and Nantes, fled out of the country, to the great enrichment of England, whither they betook themselves. The most furious of these wars were urged and carried on most characteristically by Katharine de Medici, the niece of the pope, Clemens VII., as queen-mother during the reign of her weak son Charles IX. This artful and perfidious woman, inspired with all the subtlety and bloodthirstiness of Rome, employed any means, poison, assassination, and the vilest hypocrisy, to accomplish her purposes. Whenever she was beaten by the protestants, she feigned great humiliation, to get them to conclude a peace, on promise of all strife about religion ceasing for ever, which lasted only till she had again recruited her powers for further vengeance. The infernal spirit in which these wars were carried on by the catholics may be sufficiently pointed out by one passage from the history of their commencement.

The protestants desecrated the catholic churches and convents, destroyed the pictures, dismembered the images, and levied the heaviest contributions on the rich priests. The catholics raged more fiendishly. The Year Books of some French cities are full of the most inhuman cruelties which were perpetrated. Whole garrisons which surrendered were afterwards hewn to pieces, their leaders and the wealthy horribly broken on the rack, women brutally stoned, children cut to pieces, old people dreadfully tortured to death. In Tours the president was hanged on a tree, and his entrails torn out. Pregnant women were dragged out into the streets naked, were cut open, and the children dashed on the stones, or thrown to the dogs. In Castres a hangman skinned five men alive, and devoured their livers. In Agen five hundred were hanged at once; and in Cahors were nearly as many burnt. In Troyes a procurator caused his own son to be hanged; a brother caused his sister to be burnt, and basted with briny bacon fat. Throughout all Provence nothing was heard of but the most revolting histories of murders and horrors. More than five hundred men were tortured to death, blinded, hung up by

the hands or the feet, torn asunder by horses, stoned, flung alive into burning lime kilns, or buried alive. Thus ferine rage let loose triumphed in its atrocities, as besides the slaking of furious revenge, the conviction was added that all this was for the honour of God.

Before these wars were brought to an end, two monarchs, Henry III. and Henry IV., although catholics, were murdered by the popish emissaries, because they were not thought hearty enough in the cause of fanatic destruction of their subjects. But the grand event of these wars was that which, during the reign of Charles IX., horrified all Europe, and is eternized in men's minds with the fearful title of *THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW*.

The massacre of St. Bartholomew will remain to the end of time in characters of infamy on the history of France. This horrid carnage, which was an attempt to exterminate at one blow the protestants, commenced at Paris on the 24th of August, 1572, by the secret orders of Charles IX., at the instigation of the queen dowager of Medici. The queen of Navarre was poisoned by order of the court. About daybreak, says Thuanus, upon the toll of the great bell of the church of St. Germain, the butchery began. Coligny, admiral of France, was basely murdered in his own house; and then thrown out of the windows, to gratify the malice of the duke of Guise. His head was cut off, and sent to the king and queen-mother; and his body, after a thousand indignities offered to it, hung up by the feet on a gibbet. After this, the murderers ravaged the whole city, and butchered, in three days, 10,000 lords, gentlemen, and people of all ranks. A horrible scene, when the very streets and passages resounded with the noise of those who met together for murder and plunder; the groans of the dying, the shrieks of those about to be butchered, were every where heard. The bodies of the slain were thrown out of the windows; the courts and chambers filled with them: the dead bodies of others dragged along the streets; their blood running in torrents down the channels to the river: an innumerable multitude of men, women, and children involved in one common destruction; and the gates of the king's palace besmeared with their blood.

From Paris, the massacre spread through the provinces, throughout nearly the whole kingdom. In Meaux they threw above two hundred into gaol; ill-treated and then killed a great number of women; plundered the houses of the protestants, and then exercised their fury on their prisoners; calling them out, one by one, and butchering them as sheep for the market. The bodies of some were flung into the Maine, and others into ditches. The same cruelties were practised at Orleans, Angers, Troyes, Bourges, La Charité, and especially Lyons, where they inhumanly destroyed above eight hundred protestants; children hanging on their parents' necks; parents embracing their children; putting ropes round the necks of some, dragging them through the streets, and flinging them half dead into the river. The soldiers and very executioners refused, says a detailed account of this transaction in

the first volume of the Harleian Miscellany, to partake in this hellish carnage; and the butchers and lowest populace were admitted to the prisons, where they chopped off the hands, feet, and noses of the captives, and derided their agonies, as they mangled them.

When the news arrived at Rome, where the letters of the pope's legate, read in assembly of the cardinals, gave assurance that all this was done by command of the king, the joy was excessive; and it was instantly decreed that the pope and cardinals should march to the church of St. Mark in solemn procession, and return thanks to God for so great a blessing conferred on the see of Rome and the Christian world! That high mass should be celebrated, the pope and all his cardinals attending; a jubilee should be proclaimed throughout the Christian world. The cannon of St. Angelo were fired, and the city illuminated as for a most splendid victory.

In England, though the church of Rome could not manage to excite the monarchs to wholesale massacres of their own subjects, yet even here, as already shown, from the days of Wycliffe, they were successful enough to arouse persecution, and from the moment that the writ *de heretico comburendo*, in the reign of Henry IV., was passed, the fires of Smithfield consumed its scores of victims, the prisons were crowded with sufferers, the Lollards were cut down as conspirators, and thousands of innocent subjects were harassed by the papal priests; till fortunately Henry VIII., in his wilful rage, broke the shameful sway of an Italian priest over the people of England. Yet even in the reign of Queen Mary, when this horrid religion was restored for a short space, two hundred and seventy of our countrymen were brought to the stake, besides those who were punished by fines, imprisonments, and confiscations. Amongst those who suffered by fire were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children. This persevering cruelty appears astonishing, yet is much inferior to what has been practised in other countries. A great author, Father Paul, computes that in the Netherlands alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt on account of religion; and in France a great number.

Such was the blood-bath into which the malignant fury of popery converted the whole civilized world, when the dread of danger to its long horrible reign and degrading craft made it stand forth in its true demoniac shape. To call this awful display of limitless and sanguinary vengeance *devilish*, would be a libel on the devils themselves, of whom there are no records to be compared in frightful fiendishness with those actions of men, in whom all fellow feeling, all sense of shame, all moral depravity, were swallowed up by the one grand and striking desire to maintain their reign of delusion, licentiousness, and cruelty, though it were at the cost of the lives of half mankind.

CHAPTER XV.

JESUITS AND INQUISITORS.

The land in which I lived, by a fell bane
 Was withered up. Tyrants dwelt side by side,
 And stabled in our homes—until the chain
 Stifled the captive's cry, and to abide
 That blasting curse, men had no shame—all vied
 In evil, slave and despot; fear with lust,
 Strange fellowship through mutual hate had tied,
 Like two dark serpents tangled in the dust,
 Which on the paths of men their mingling poison thrust.

REVOLT OF ISLAM.

But onward moved the melancholy train,
 For their false creeds, in fiery pangs to die.
 This was the solemn sacrifice of Spain—
 Heaven's offering from the land of chivalry!

THE FOREST SANCTUARY.

WE have passed rapidly through strange scenes of priestly wickedness and bloodshed,—but of all the agents of the devil which were ever spawned in the black dens of that earthly pandemonium, the papal church, none can compare with the Jesuits and Inquisitors. To these we must give some further attention.

The Jesuits, as we have seen, arose in the latter days of popery. Their doctrines were those of popery grown to thorough ripeness. They seemed created to show to what lengths that system could be carried, and to crown it, in conjunction with their fellow demons of the Inquisition, with that full measure of popular indignation which should hasten its great "immedicable wound" from the hand of Luther. The Jesuits took up the favourite dogmas of the papal church—that the end sanctifies the means—that evil may be done that good may come of it—and pushed them to that degree which causes the good and the simple to stand in astonishment at the daring acts and adroit casuistry of "bold bad men." All oaths, all obligations, all morality, all religion, according to their creed, were to be adopted or set aside, just as it suited the object they had in view. They might cheat and lie, steal and kill, all for righteousness' sake. They embodied in practice the pithy maxims of Hudibras:

'Tis the temptation of the devil
 That makes all human actions evil.

For saints may do the same things by
 The spirit in sincerity,
 Which other men are tempted to,
 And at the devil's instance do,
 And yet the actions be contrary,
 Just as the saints and wicked vary.
 For as on land there is no beast
 But in some fish at sea's expressed,
 So in the wicked there's no vice
 Of which the saints have not a spice :
 And yet that thing that's pious in
 The one, in 't other is a sin.
 Is 't not ridiculous and nonsense
 A saint should be a slave to conscience !

These were their precious tenets—the quintessence of the wisdom of this world, to which that of the children of light is unprofitable foolishness. Their founder, Ignatius Loyola, a Spaniard—an ominous name when connected with religion,—was a most acute and happy genius in his way. He saw the advantages which the popes had derived from their accommodating ecclesiastical logic, and he conceived the felicitous idea of creating a sort of second series of popes, taught and enlightened by the old series. He adopted their facile code of morals, and he even outwent them in the exquisite finesse of his policy. The head of this system was to take the name of General of the Order; his emissaries were to go forth into all kingdoms; to insinuate themselves into all cities, houses, and secret haunts of the people. They were to adopt all shapes, to follow all circumstances; to wear an outside of peculiar mildness, and an inner-man of subtle observance; to have the exterior of the dove—the interior of the serpent. With all this sequacity, flexibility, and disguise, they succeeded wonderfully. What, indeed, could resist them, when they came in all shapes, and with all pretences;—at the first glimpse of discovery of their real designs, or of popular indignation, ready to eat up their words, and swear that they were any thing but what they really were? But when they found themselves in any degree of strength,—when they were desirous of carrying some point that compliance and duplicity could not carry,—who so dogged and insolent as they? They bearded people, magistrates, kings,—the pope himself, with the most immovable assurance. The popes, who regarded them as active maintainers of ignorance and obedience, were desirous to tolerate them as much as possible. But they often found it a severe task for their patience. They were in the condition of a man who has tamed a serpent or a lion; they might soothe the beast by coaxing, perhaps, but were every moment in danger of rousing its ferocity, and even of falling before its rage. When struck at, they stood and hissed, and fought with true snaky pertinacity; but if they saw actual destruction coming, they suddenly disappeared, only to raise their hydra heads in a thousand other places. Expelled from states in their own character of Jesuits, they came back in all sorts

of disguises; and, instead of open enemies, the people and their governors had to encounter the secret influence of their poison, and their stings which struck in the dark. They insinuated themselves into colleges and schools under false colours, till they could seize upon them and convert them into engines of their designs. They became confessors, especially of women, that they might learn all the secrets of their husbands; of kings and ministers, to learn those of states: all the intelligence thus gathered was regularly transmitted to the General from every kingdom, so that he and his counsellors knew the condition and intentions of all nations; and, at a moment's notice, his creatures were ready to seize upon universities, churches, governments, or whatever they desired. They entered into trade, and were scattered all over the world, wearing no outward appearance but that of merchants; yet keeping up a secret correspondence with one another, and with their General, and transmitting intelligence and wealth from all quarters of the globe. They were not satisfied with exercising their arts over the Christian world; they proceeded into all pagan countries as missionaries, and sought to bring the savages of Asia, Africa, and America under their dominion. They evidently had formed the bold design of acquiring the spiritual and political sovereignty of the world: but, with all their subtlety, their ambition and their unprincipled grasping at power so alarmed and disgusted all people, that their history is a continual alternation of their growing into numbers and strength, and of their expulsion from almost every kingdom that can be named. England, France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Italy, the East and the West Indies, America, North and South, in all these countries their arts were repeatedly tried, and they were as repeatedly expelled with ignominy and vengeance.

The rapidity with which they spread themselves, is shown by the following statement from the memorial presented by the university of Paris to the king in 1724:—"In 1540, when they presented their petitions to Paul III., they only appeared in the number of ten. In 1543, they were not more than twenty-four. In 1545, they had only ten houses; but in 1549, they had two provinces, one in Spain and the other in Portugal, and twenty-two houses; and at the death of Ignatius, in 1556, they had twelve large provinces. In 1608, Ribadeneira reckoned twenty-nine provinces and two vice-provinces, twenty-one houses of profession, two hundred and ninety-three colleges, thirty-three houses of probation, ninety-three other residences, and ten thousand five hundred and eighty-one Jesuits. In the catalogue printed at Rome in 1629, are found thirty-five provinces, two vice-provinces, thirty-three houses of profession, five hundred and seventy-eight colleges, forty-eight houses of probation, eighty-eight seminaries, one hundred and sixty residences, one hundred and six missions, and, in all, seventeen thousand six hundred and fifty-five Jesuits, of whom seven thousand eight hundred and seventy were priests.

At last, according to the calculation of Father Jouvency, they had, in 1710, twenty-four houses of profession, fifty-nine houses of probation, three hundred and forty residences, six hundred and twelve colleges, of which above eighty were in France, two hundred missions, one hundred and fifty-seven seminaries and boarding-houses, and nineteen thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight Jesuits."

On their mercantile concerns, M. Martin, governor of Pondicherry, observes, "It is certain that, next to the Dutch, the Jesuits carry on the greatest and most productive commerce in India. Their trade surpasses even that of the English, as well as that of the Portuguese, who established them in India. There may possibly, indeed, be some Jesuits who go there from pure religious motives; but they are very few, and it is not such as those who know the grand secret of the company. Some among them are Jesuits secularized, who do not appear to be such, because they never wear the habit; which is the reason why at Surat, Agra, Goa, and every where else, they are taken for real merchants of the countries whose names they bear: for it is certain that there are some of all nations, even of America and Turkey, and of every other which can be useful and necessary to the society. These disguised Jesuits are intriguing every where. The secret intercourse which is preserved among them instructs them mutually in the merchandise which they ought to buy and sell, and with what nation they can most advantageously trade; so that these masked Jesuits make an immense profit of the society, to which they are alone responsible; through the medium of those Jesuits who traverse the world in the habit of St. Ignatius, and enjoy the confidence, know the secrets, and act under the orders of the heads of Europe. These Jesuits, disguised and dispersed over the whole earth, and who know each other by signs, like the Freemasons, invariably act upon one system. They send merchandise to other disguised Jesuits, who, having it thus at first hand, make a considerable profit of it for the society. This traffic is, however, very injurious to France. I have often written respecting it to the East India Company trading here; and I have received express orders from it (under Louis XIV.) to concede and advance to these fathers whatever they might require of me. The Jesuit Tachard alone owes that company, at this moment, above four hundred and fifty thousand livres. Those Jesuits who, like Tachard, pass and repass between this quarter and Europe, are ambulatory directors and receivers of the bank and of the trade."

"In the Antilles," say Coudrette, "Lavalette, the Jesuit, has half the worth of the property for whose conveyance to France he undertakes. In Portugal the Jesuits had vessels employed exclusively in their service, which facts are established by the process of Cardinal Saldanha. All the accounts of travellers in the East Indies speak in the same way, with astonishment, of the extent of their commerce. In Europe, and even in France, they have banks in the most commercial cities, such as Marseilles,

Paris, Genoa, and Rome. In addition to this, they publicly sell drugs in their houses, and, in order to their sanction in this, they procured from Pope Gregory XIII. the privilege of exercising the art of medicine. Even in Rome, in spite of the opposition of the tradesmen, and the prohibitions of the pope, they carry on trade in baking, grocery, etc. Let us imagine twenty thousand traders, dispersed over the world, from Japan to Brazil, from the Cape of Good Hope to the north, all correspondents of each other, all blindly subjected to one individual, and working for him alone; conducting two hundred missions, which are so many factories, six hundred and twelve colleges, and four hundred and twenty-three houses of professors, noviciates, and residents, which are so many entrepôts; and then let us form an idea, if we can, of the produce of so vast an extent."

There have not been wanting advocates for these persevering, intriguing priests; who have represented them as merely labouring to promote religion amongst the civilized, and civilization amongst the savage nations. But what says all history? What says the indignation of every realm which has ever harboured them? That wherever they were, whatever they undertook, whether the education of youth in Europe, or that of the natives of savage lands, all their plans turned to one object—absolute dominion over the minds and bodies of their disciples. They seem to have taken a particular pleasure in breaking in upon the labours and in persecuting all other missionaries;—and by their detestable and ambitious acts, Christianity has been expelled from various regions where it was taking root. This was the case in Japan and China. Here they first thwarted the measures of other missionaries, then got all power into their hands, and finally were driven out with wrath by the natives. In China their suppression was connected with circumstances of peculiar aggravation. The bishop of Nankin names two to the pope, whose vices had become public. "But the crime of Father Anthony Joseph, the superior of the mission, is yet more scandalous. This man has remained there eight years past, continually plunged in the abominable practice of sinning with women at the time they come to confess, and even in the place where he confessed them; after which he gave them absolution, and administered the sacrament to them! He told them that these actions need not give them any concern, since all their fathers, the bishops, and the pope himself, observed the same practice!

"All this was known to Christians and to heathens. Some persons represented these crimes to the superiors of the Jesuits; but the commissary whom they sent for the purpose declared him innocent—I know not upon what pretence. While I was considering the best means of punishing this man, the mandarins caused him to be arrested, suddenly, with two of his brethren, and about one hundred Christians. What occasioned still greater scandal, the mandarins, who had been some time acquainted with

part of the facts, collected correct depositions to establish his crimes, and announced them at full length in their sentence, which they made public." He was condemned to death, with the other Jesuit, on the 22d of September, 1748, and they were both strangled in prison. Of the hundred persons who were arrested with him, there was not one who did not renounce Christianity, and the Chinese missionary was the first to do so.

For more than two hundred years they maintained a system of opposition and vexation to the bishops and missionaries of India, in the very face of the pope's commands to the contrary.

The only bright spot in the history of the Jesuits, is that of those fathers who attempted the civilization of the nations of South America. On that continent they acquired a character of piety and beneficence, strangely, but beautifully, at variance with the character of the order every where besides. Their conduct in Brazil and Paraguay, amid the bloody and revolting atrocities of their countrymen, was one of the most illustrious examples of Christian benevolence and disinterested virtue; and I record it with the greater pleasure, because I once confounded the plans of these worthy men with the general worldly schemes of their order. I do not mean to say that they exhibited Christianity in all the splendour of its unadulterated truth;—no, they had enough of the empty forms and legends, false pretences, and false miracles of Rome about them; but they exhibited one great feature of its spirit—love to the poor and oppressed, and it was at once acknowledged by them to be divine. I do not mean to say that they adopted the soundest system of policy in their treatment of the Indians; for their besetting sin, the love of power, and the pride of intellectual dominance, were but too apparent in it, and this prevented their labours from acquiring that permanence which they otherwise would; but they did a great thing in that age, they showed what Christianity, even in an imperfect form, can accomplish in the civilization of the wildest people. This little band of Jesuits of the New World must therefore stand as a noble contrast to those of the Old.

In Europe they signalized themselves by perpetual attempts against the peace of states and the lives of monarchs. In Venice, in 1560, they excited great commotion, and were very near being driven away. They showed great anxiety to confess the wives of the senators, for the purpose, it was believed, of acquiring the secrets of the republic. Trevisani, the patriarch of Venice, says Sacchini, satisfied himself of the charge, and made other discoveries of still greater importance. In the Netherlands, in Portugal and Spain, they were busy in similar schemes, and with similar results. In Poland they had the fortune to get a man of their order, Sigismund, upon the throne. He desired to introduce them into Sweden, where his uncle, Duke Charles, was his lieutenant. Charles remonstrated, in vain, that the people of Sweden would not endure the Jesuits: the king persisted, and the people

took arms against him. He was beaten both by sea and land; taken prisoner; and only released on condition that he would assemble his states, and act in conjunction with them. He then escaped from Sweden, and strove to arm the Poles against the Swedes; but they refused the alliance, and in the mean time his uncle seized upon his towns.

With the continual attempts of these pertinacious wretches against the liberties of England, and the lives of Elizabeth and James I., every English reader is familiar: the names of Crichton, Garnett, Parry, Cullen, Gerard, and Tesmond, successively engaged in the design of assassinating the protestant queen, or in the attempt to blow up our English Solomon and all his parliament, will for ever perpetuate their abhorrence in England; and in Ireland the general massacre of the protestants in 1641, which they were principally concerned in exciting, and similar proceedings in that country, will keep alive their remembrance there. But of all their atrocities there are none which more affect one with indignation, than their persecutions and murder of Henry III. and Henry IV. of France. In 1563, according to Mezerai, the famous catholic league took its rise, the object of which was to extirpate the protestants in France. The Jesuits became the soul of this infamous federation. Henry III. assembled the states at Blois in 1579, for the purpose of dissolving this conspiracy; and from that time, was marked for destruction. Sammier, a Jesuit, traversed Germany, Italy, and Spain, to excite the princes of those countries against him. Matthieu, another, styled the courier of the league, made several journeys to the pope, to obtain a bull against him; and though the pope hesitated at this, he delivered his opinion that the person of Henry should be secured, and his cities seized. Commolet and Rouillet were the trumpets of sedition. In the college of the Rue St. Jacques, the Jesuits met and conspired the murder of the king. It was there Baniere came to be stirred up by the doctrines of Varade,—and that Guinard composed the writings, for which he was hung. It was there that the Sixteen signed an absolute cession of the kingdom to Philip of Spain; and that Chastel acquired the lesson of parricide he afterwards acted upon. There Clement, animated by such horrible instructions, formed the resolve which he fulfilled on the first of August, 1589, the assassination of Henry III.

Henry IV., a generous spirited and noble monarch, was educated in protestantism;—this was enough to arouse their murderous and unappeasable hatred. It was almost by miracle that he escaped, then a youth, from the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On his coming to the throne, he was pursued by them with such continual animosity, that to allay their fury, he consented to embrace catholicism. This produced no effect—he was a man of liberal opinions; and such a man they could not tolerate. They made his life miserable; and at length nearly effected his murder by the knife of Baniere, at Melun, in August, 1593. On the 27th of December,

1594, his life was again attempted by Chastel, another Jesuit. He struck at him with a knife, but missed his aim, and instead of killing him, only cut his lip, and struck out a tooth. This circumstance, and the ferment of infernal fanaticism, which induced the papists and Jesuits to continually seek the destruction of the king, caused the banishment of the whole order. This, however, did not mend the matter, as it regarded the king; he had only the same enemies in disguise, and, if possible, ten times more embittered. With that good nature which characterized him, he at length consented to allow them to return. It was in vain that Sully, his minister, represented to him that no kindness could soften such foes;—he recalled them, and fell a victim to their instigations, being stabbed by Ravallac, on May 14th, 1610.

Many books had been written of late by the Jesuits, vindicating and commending the killing of kings, particularly the work of Mariana, *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, in which the killing of a king was termed a "laudable, glorious, and heroic action." It was by such writings that this assassin was spurred on to his diabolical act. Aubigny, his confessor, a Jesuit, when confronted with the murderer, and charged with being privy to the design, at first denied knowing the man at all; but when driven from that assertion, he declared that "God had given to some the gift of tongues, to others the gift of prophecy, and to him the gift of forgetting confessions."

Such were the abominable principles which led them to these abominable actions. For a full account of this assassination, the reader may consult the fourth volume of Sully's *Memoirs*. So generally was the conspiracy known amongst the catholic subjects of this unfortunate monarch, that many people declared, on the day when the murder took place, that the king was then dying, though they were in distant places. An astrologer had foretold the very day and hour to the king, the manner of the act, and that it would take place in a coach. So much impressed was the king with his approaching fate, that he was frequently in great agony of mind, and would fain have put off the queen's coronation, which was about to take place at the time predicted. He had terrible dreams, and so also had the queen, waking in horror, and crying out the king was stabbed. All these things, which the common mind loves to believe supernatural intimations, only show to the more reflecting one, the audacity of these bloody wretches, who were so confident in their power of doing evil, that they spoke of it till it became a universal impression.

From the terrible Jesuit there is but one step further in horror, and that is to the Inquisitor! And, in fact, it can scarcely be called a step at all, for both characters are frequently combined in the same individual. Jesuits, it will be seen in all the histories of the Inquisition, are as active as the Dominicans themselves, who claim the peculiar honour, or more properly infamy, of possessing, from the head of their order, the office of Inquisitors; that is, fiends

incarnate. In speaking of the extermination of the Tronbadours, we have already noticed the rise of the Inquisition. It was an institution so congenial to the nature of popery, that its HOLY OFFICES—its OFFICES OF MERCY, as they were called in that spirit of devilish abuse of Christianity in which they were conceived, were speedily to be found in various countries of Europe, Asia, and America, but distinguished most fearfully in Spain. Their horrors have been made familiar to the public mind by the writers of romance, especially by Mrs. Ratcliffe; but all the powers of romance have not been able to overcolour the reality. Spain has always claimed and gloried in the supremacy of her Inquisition. She has strenuously contended with the pope for it; and has deemed it so national an honour, as to parade the *auto-da-fé* as one of her most fascinating spectacles. Her kings, her queens, her princes, and nobles, have assembled with enthusiasm to witness them. So great a treat did the Spaniards formerly consider them, that Llorente states that on February 25th, 1560, one was celebrated by the Inquisitors of Toledo, in which several persons were burnt, with some effigies, and a great number subjected to penances; and this was performed to *entertain* the new queen, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II. of France, a girl of thirteen years of age, accustomed in her own country to brilliant festivals suitable to her rank and age. So completely may priestcraft brutalize a nation, and so completely has this devilish institution stamped the Spanish character, naturally ardent and chivalric, with gloomy horror, that both Llorente and Limborch represent ladies witnessing the agonizing tortures of men and women expiring in flames, with transports of delight. By means of this infernal machine, the Spanish kings have contrived to crush the mind of the country; to check the growth of literature; to nourish a spirit of ferocity; and to produce a race of people, the slaves of the worst government, and the most ignorant and bigoted priests. To this cause, in fact, Spain owes its present misery and degradation. Llorente, whose work is founded on official documents, drawn from the archives of the Inquisition itself, when he was secretary to it, gives a long list of the learned and ingenious Spaniards whom it has persecuted and condemned. The ostensible object of its early exertions, was to extirpate the Jews, Moors, and Morescoes; and so successful were its efforts, that Llorente calculates, that in one hundred and nineteen years it deprived Spain of three millions of inhabitants. Mariana says 170,000 families of Jews were banished, and the rest sold for slaves. They entered Portugal, but were again commanded by the Portuguese king to quit that realm also. The Moors were suffered to depart; but as the Jews were preparing to do so, the king commanded that all those who were not more than fourteen years old, should be taken from their parents and educated in the Christian religion. It was a most afflicting thing, to see children snatched from the embraces of their mothers; and fathers embracing their children, torn from them, and even beaten with

clubs; to hear the dreadful cries they made, and every place filled with the lamentations and yells of women. Many, through indignation, threw their sons into pits, and others killed them with their own hands. Thus prevented on the one hand from embarking, and on the other oppressed and persecuted, many feigned conversion to escape from their miseries. The cruelties practised on these people, to compel them to embrace a religion which was thus represented as only fit for devils, makes one's blood boil to read them. The Reformation appeared, and found these monsters fresh employment. The doctrines of Luther appear to have made so rapid a progress scarcely in any country as in Spain. Numbers of the highest ranks, of the most intelligent ladies, of ecclesiastics, embraced the principles of the reformer; and, had it not been for the Inquisition, that country might now have figured in the front of Europe with a more glorious aspect, as a great and enlightened state, than it did under Charles V. The Inquisition had the satisfaction of extinguishing the revived flame of Christianity, and of reducing Spain to its present deplorable condition. All the fury and strength of that great engine of hell was brought to bear upon it: its auto-da-fés were crowded with Lutheran heretics; its fires consumed them; its secret cells devoured them—men, women, children, were swept into its unfathomable gulf of destruction. Priestly malice triumphed over truth and virtue.

To such gigantic stature of power did this dismal institution attain, that no one was safe from its fangs. The confiscation of the goods of its victims whetted the appetite of priestly avarice so keenly, that a man to be guilty of heresy had only to be rich. Llorente gives several cases of English merchants, who were pounced upon by it in defiance of the law of nations. On one occasion Oliver Cromwell had to intercede for an English consul, whom they had got into their dens. The king replied, he had no power over the Inquisition. "Then," added Cromwell, in a second message, "if you have no power over the Inquisition, I will declare war against it." The threat was effectual. So little power had the Spanish kings over it, indeed, that it did not hesitate to accuse them; and Llorente's lists are full of nobles, privy counsellors, knights, magistrates, military commanders, and ladies of the highest birth, on whom these daring priests laid their hands, and loaded them with chains and infamy. It seemed a peculiar delight to them to insult and degrade those who had moved in the most distinguished spheres. In Portugal, says Limborch, all the prisoners, men and women, without any regard to birth or dignity, are shaved the first or second day of their imprisonment. Each prisoner has two pots of water every day; one to wash, and the other to drink; a besom to cleanse his cell, and a mat of rushes to lie upon.

The same historian gives, in a few passages, a vivid summary of the operations of this odious institution. "In countries where the Inquisition has existed, the bare idea of its progress damped

the most ardent mind. Formidable and ferocious as the rapacious tiger, who from the gloomy thicket surveys his unsuspecting prey, until the favoured moment arrives in which he may plunge forward and consummate its destruction, the Inquisition meditates in secret and in silence its horrific projects. In the deepest seclusion the calumniator propounds his charge; with anxious vigilance the creatures of its power regard its unhappy victim. Not a whisper is heard, or the least hint of insecurity given, until at the dead of night a band of savage monsters surround the dwelling; they demand an entrance:—upon the inquiry, By whom is this required? the answer is, 'The holy office.' In an instant all the ties of nature appear as if dissolved, and either through the complete dominion of superstition, or the conviction that resistance would be vain, the master, parent, husband is resigned. From the bosom of his family, and bereft of all domestic comforts, he enters the Inquisition house; its ponderous doors are closed, and hope excluded—perhaps for ever. Immured in a noisome vault, surrounded by impenetrable walls, he is left alone; a prey to all the sad reflections of a miserable outcast. If he venture to inquire the reason of his fate, he is told, that silence and secrecy are here inviolable. Accustomed to the conveniences of social life, and perhaps of a superior station, he is now reduced to the most miserable expedients. The most menial offices now devolve upon him; while the cruel reflection obtrudes itself upon his mind, that his family may, ere long, be reduced to indigence by an act of inquisitorial confiscation." And with such fiendish ingenuity is the punishment of confiscation aggravated, that it is followed, as of necessary consequence, by the person being rendered for ever infamous,—that is, he is incapable of holding office of any kind; his children are disinherited, and made infamous, or incapable to the second generation by the father's side, and to the first by the mother's. All his relations are liberated from their obligations to him, or connexion with him; his children are freed from his control; his wife is liberated from her marriage vows; his servants or vassals are freed from their servitude; he is compelled to answer inquiries of others on any affair, but no one need answer him. He has no protection from the laws, and no remedy against oppression or injustice. His very children, brothers and sisters, ought to abandon him; and the only way of a son escaping the infamy of his father, is by being the first to accuse him to the tribunal of the Inquisition!

Then come the secret examinations, the accusations from unknown sources, the intimidations,—the torture! The torture has five degrees:—first, being threatened to be tortured: secondly, being carried to the place of torture: thirdly, by stripping and binding: fourthly, the being hoisted on the rack: fifthly, squassation.

The stripping is performed without regard to humanity or honour, not only to men, but to women and virgins. As to squassation, it is thus performed: the prisoner has his hands tied behind his back, and weights tied to his feet, and then he is drawn up on

high, till his head reaches the very pulley. He is kept hanging in this manner for some time, that by the greatness of the weight hanging at his feet, all his joints and limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a jerk, by slackening the rope, but kept from coming quite to the ground: by which terrible shake his arms and legs are all disjointed, whereby he is put to the most exquisite pain; the shock which he receives by the sudden stop put to his fall, and the weight at his feet, stretching his whole body more intensely and cruelly. According to the orders of the Inquisition, this squassation is repeated once, twice, or three times in the space of an hour.

Another mode of torture is, by covering the mouth and nostrils with a thin cloth, so that the victim is scarcely able to breathe through them; then, letting fall from on high water, drop by drop, on his mouth, which so easily sinks through the cloth to the bottom of his throat, so that it is impossible for him to breathe, his mouth being filled with water, his nostrils with the cloth; so that the poor wretch is in the agony of death. When this cloth is pulled out of his mouth, as it often is, to answer questions, it is all over water and blood, and is like pulling his bowels through his mouth. All this time he is lying in what is called the wooden-horse; that is, a trough across which a bar is placed, on which the man's back rests, instead of on the bottom, while his arms, shins, and thighs are tied round with small cords, drawn tight by screws, till they cut to the very bones.

The physician Orobio, a Jew, gave a most lively account of the torture practised upon him after he had lain in his dungeon three years. He was brought to the place of torture. "It was towards evening. It was a large underground room, arched, and the walls covered with black hangings. The candlesticks were fastened to the wall, and the whole enlightened with candles placed in them. At one end there was an enclosed place, like a closet, where the Inquisitor and notary sat at a table: so that the place seemed to him the very mansion of death, every thing appearing so terrible and so awful. After some preliminary torments, such as tying his thumbs with small cords till the blood spouted out from beneath the nails; they fastened him with small cords, by means of little iron pulleys, to a wall as he sat upon a bench; then drawing the cords which fastened his fingers and toes with great violence, they drew the bench from under him, and left him suspended in the strings, till he seemed to be dissolving in flame, such was his agony. Then they brought a sort of ladder and struck it against his shins, giving five violent strokes at once; under the exquisite pain of which he fainted away. They then screwed up his cords with fresh violence, and tied others so near that they slid into the gashes the first had made, and produced such an effusion of blood that they supposed him dying. On finding, however, that he was not, they repeated the torture once more, and then remanded him to his cell!" To imagine men practising these cruelties on men,

and that in the outraged name of Christ, the fountain of love and mercy, is revolting enough; but to read of them mangling, dislocating, and dashing to pieces the delicate frames of young and lovely women, of which Llorente gives various instances, puts the climax to our abhorrent indignation. Such, in particular, were the treatment of Jane Bohorques, and her attendant, a young Lutheran girl, afterwards burnt at the auto-da-fé.*

A word on these auto-da-fés, and we will escape from these horrors. Dr. Geddes' account of the manner of celebrating them, as quoted in Limborch, is one of the best and most condensed. "In the morning of the day the prisoners are all brought into a great hall, where they have the habits put on they are to wear in the procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about nine o'clock in the morning.

"The first in the procession are the Dominicans, who carry the standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side has their founder Dominic's picture, and on the other side the cross between an olive tree and a sword, with this motto, 'Justitia et Miserecondia.' Next after the Dominicans come the penitents, some with benitoes and some without, according to the nature of their crimes. They are all in black coats without sleeves, and barefooted, with a wax candle in their hands. Next come the penitents who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coat have flames painted with their points turned downwards, to signify their having been saved, but so as by fire. Next come the negative and relapsed that are to be burnt, with flames upon their habit pointing upward; and next come those who profess doctrines contrary to those of the church of Rome, and who, besides flames on their habit pointing upward, have their picture, which is drawn two or three days before, upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all with open mouths, painted about it.

"Pegna, a famous Spanish Inquisitor, calls this procession 'Horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum;' and so it is, in truth, there being something in the looks of all the prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate beyond what can be imagined; and in the eyes and countenances of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

"The prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who is continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies; but if

* The methods of torture are not merely such as I have here given—they are infinitely varied, and too dreadful to be borne even in the recital. With them it is, indeed, a matter of science; and is treated of in a volume to be found in the libraries of this country—THE ART OF TORTURE—in which the most ingenious modes of producing physical agony are detailed with the coolest accuracy. I recollect the horror with which a friend of mine opened this book, in the library of the earl of Shrewsbury at Alton.

they offer to speak any thing in defence of the doctrines for which they are going to suffer death, they are immediately gagged. This I saw done to a prisoner presently after he came out of the gates of the Inquisition, upon his having looked up at the sun, which he had not seen for several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people that behold that glorious body, to worship any being but him that created it!' After the prisoners, comes a troop of familiars on horseback, and after them the Inquisitors and other officers of the court upon mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor-general, upon a white horse, led by two men, with a black hat and green hat-band, and attended by all the nobles that are not employed as familiars in the procession.

"At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, as the Inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of the top. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the professed go up a ladder betwixt the two Jesuits, who spend about a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which if they refuse, the Jesuits descend, the executioner ascends and secures them to the stake. The Jesuits then go up a second time, and at parting tell them—'they leave them to the devil, who stands at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them into the flames of hell-fire.' Upon this a great shout is raised, 'Let the dogs' beards be made!' which is done by thrusting flaming furzes, fastened to long poles, against their faces. And this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burnt to a coal, and is always accompanied by such loud acclamations of joy as are not to be heard on any other occasion; a bull-feast or a fair being dull entertainments to this.

"The professed's beards having been thus made, or trimmed, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furze which are at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high that the top of the flame seldom reaches higher than the seat they sit on; and if there happen to be a wind, to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reaches so high as their knees. If it be calm they may be dead in half an hour, but if windy they are not dead in an hour and a half or two hours, and are really roasted, not burnt to death. But though, out of hell, there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers' continual cry of, '*Miserecordia por amor de Dios,*' Mercy, for the love of God! yet it is beheld by people of both sexes, and all ages, with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not witnessed on any other occasion."

Mr. Wilcox, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, wrote to Bishop Burnet, that he witnessed at Lisbon, in 1705, Hector Dias and Maria Pinteyra burnt alive. The woman was alive in the flames

half an hour; the man about an hour. The king and his brother were seated at a window so near as to be addressed for a considerable time in very moving terms by the man as he was burning. All he asked was a few more fagots; yet he could not obtain them. The wind being a little fresh, the man's hinder parts were perfectly roasted; and as he turned himself round, his ribs opened before he left speaking, the fire being recruited as it wasted, to keep him just in the same degree of heat; but all his entreaties could not procure him a larger allowance of wood, to despatch him more speedily.

The victims who have suffered death or ruin from this diabolical institution in various quarters of the world, are estimated at some millions. Llorente gives, from actual examination of its own records, the following statement of the victims of the Spanish Inquisition alone.

Number of persons who were condemned and	
perished in the flames	31,912
Effigies burnt	17,659
Condemned to severe penances	291,450
	<hr/>
	341,021

And these things the choicest agents of the devil have dared to act in the name of Christ, and men have believed them! Amid all the crimes of Napoleon, let it be for ever remembered, that he annihilated this earthly hell with a word,—but Englishmen restored Ferdinand to the throne of Spain, and Ferdinand restored the Inquisition. We fought to give Spaniards freedom, and we gave them the most blasting despotism which ever walked the earth—the despotism of priestcraft; with fire in one hand, and eternal darkness and degradation in the other. Cromwell had a different spirit—he menaced war on the Inquisition—and the menace was heard to the lowest depths of its infernal dens. If the arm of cruelty be shortened, it is neither owing to the priests nor their creature Ferdinand, but to the light which has entered Spain during its political concussions. Who shall tell what effects on the continental nations the regeneration of the religious institutions of this mighty and illustrious nation shall yet produce?

CHAPTER XVI.

CONCLUDING REMARKS ON THE ROMISH CHURCH. ITS REAL CHARACTER AND EFFECTS ON THE WORLD, PAST AND PRESENT.

IN passing over from the Romish church to the Reformation, it is not our fortunate lot to be able to leave that church, its history and its effects, entirely behind us; because the Reformation was at most, glorious blessing as it was, but a partial reformation. The reformation of the Christian church, what-a vast signification lies in that term! The power of priestcraft thrown down; its lies, and its usurpations, and cruelties, its perversion of the truth, and its corruption of morals, all swept away, and the pure and divine religion of Christ rising once more in all its heavenly beauty and richness of blessing! Oh! that were a reformation indeed! Religion, pure and undefiled religion, the best birth-right of mankind, and the everlasting foundation of all freedom, justice, and sound knowledge, set free from the trammels of states, from the greedy hands and institutions of parties, from being the slave of kings and aristocracies, from the selfish bondage of chartered universities, breeding up its young broods into a perpetual swarm of bigots, spiritual and political tyrants, and devouring locusts—set free to exercise its benign influence on all hearts, distinct from the bitterness and the bickerings which are infused into the general mind by its being bound up with all manner of narrow and personal interests—that is what is implied by a reformation in its genuine sense.

But in no such sense has there ever yet been a reformation. It is only by a miracle that the human mind is at once to be cut clear from the cords and the swaddling-bands that priestcraft has for thousands of years wrapped around it; healed of the wounds and the sores that have been inflicted upon it, its limbs straightened and made supple after its long crippling and corrupting by hierarchies and governments, restored to a healthy vigour in all its functions, and unloaded of all its warpings and its prejudices. No; its injury, its degradation, was the work of fifteen hundred years; and if it had by a genuine reformation been endued with a perfect liberty, it could only by the exercise of that liberty for a long series of years, have again recognised the full extent of its faculties, felt the full return of its strength, and learned to act with the wisdom and gracious beneficence that are revealed to it in the gospel of Christ.

But that liberty was never granted it. Even in its most fa-

roured moment, that of its first outbreak in Saxony, under Luther and Melancthon, it was but a giant running rashly abroad in the obscurity of twilight;—a giant which had been so long cooped in the dungeon gloom of his captivity, that he knew not rightly the use of his limbs, and the danger of his progress. Before he could recover from the blinding blaze of day, the powers of antichrist and of the world were upon him, and he was once more a prisoner—though a prisoner at large. It is now seen, that old or primitive Lutheranism was but a faint and feeble approach towards the full recognition of the divine glories that lie in the New Testament. Luther and Melancthon were men who had lived in the bonds of popery, and could not all at once shake them off. It required time, and free discussion, to purify Christianity from all the errors and follies that had been piled up around it; like as we often see base buildings, which in the night of time have been reared around some magnificent cathedral, till they have shut out the light from within, and cased up its proud exterior in a vile crust of shops and offices. But, as I have observed, that liberty and that time for purification were both speedily denied. Where human governments professed to concede a reformation, it was but such an arbitrary distortion as they pleased; and the greater portion of governments, influenced by the cries of the pope, and by Romish inbred superstition, allowed of no reformation, but with fire and sword annihilated men and their opinions together.

We should not, then, have a real conception of what the Romish church was, and what it has inflicted on the world, if we did not, before quitting it, take a concise retrospect of its acts and doctrines, and look fairly in the face the disastrous influence it still continued and continues to exert, by its deeply ingrafted michiefs, on the public mind.

Without wishing in the least to impugn the genuine piety and sincere faith of modern catholics; we are bound to deal with the old catholic church as an historical fact; and so dealing with it, history itself compels us to state, that the crime of the Romish church, its offence against the happiness and interests of humanity, admits of no parallel for its enormity. I believe that the catholics of this country are enlightened enough to see what a curse it has been, not only to the world, but to their own religion, that their church became a *state church*; thus having by designing men been converted into a tool of ambition, instead of being left to pursue its still and holy path of rooting out the ignorance and soothing the woes of this world. I believe they deplore this fact as deeply as we do, and may therefore regard my remarks as directed by no means against them at the present day, but against the system of the old papal hierarchy. That hierarchy was a GREAT TRADING SPECULATION. It was a scheme to set priestcraft, with all its swarming brood of priests and harlots, on the shoulders of mankind, and to give them an everlasting kingdom of luxury and domination at the expense of the liberty, the enlightenment,

and the happiness of the whole human race : to do this, it at once set aside Christianity, and raised in its place THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

Amongst all the forms of priestcraft which we have had occasion in this history to notice, there is no other which, with all its audacity and pretension, has attempted to extend its dominion over every nation besides that in which it reigned. It is the exclusive character of popery, to have assumed to be the ruler and disposer of the world, and to have claimed, as its own proper position, the predicted throne of antichrist. So completely did it do this in all its forms, that it not only affected to rule both over people and kings, but to give away the New World on its discovery, as God's vicegerent on earth, and therefore spread its horrors and calamities over all those vast regions which were so strangely opened to the view of the modern world.

The pope divided the whole New World between the Spaniards and Portuguese just as you would divide an orange, giving to each a half. The farce in its solemn audacity is astounding to us with our present ideas, but it proved no farce to the poor victims ; who, as the unfortunate inca, Atahualpa, observed, had their countries given away by an Italian priest, whose name they had never before heard of. This act most completely fixed the title of antichrist on the pope of Rome, as clearly predicted by St. Paul :—"The son of perdition, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God ; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God. Even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish : because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie," 2 Thess. ii.

Nothing can be more descriptive than this of the papal church through the heyday of its influence. Let us consider what would have been the state of men and morals, if Christianity in its simplicity, independent of states and hierarchies, had gone on for a thousand years in its celestial labours. Let us consider how Rome set this aside, and to what a state she reduced the minds and the moral perceptions of men, and we shall comprehend her sin against mankind, and shall not be surprised that the world has not yet completely emancipated itself from this long incorporated influence ; from state religions, and a spirit of persecution and domination.

By the debauched moral principle, and the dislocation of sense of moral right and justice, which it had introduced in its long career of a thousand years, it sent forth the Europeans, not as Christians, but as robbers and murderers, into the New World, and thus inflicted on it all the horrors it has undergone.

"We here see what effects it had produced on even the best catholics in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries ; but, what per-

haps is not quite so much suspected, we shall have to learn in the succeeding section of this volume, to what an awful extent the influence of this system operated and still operates on the *protestant* mind."

Yes; popery became loaded with the superstitions and absurdities of paganism, which it adopted to render itself more palatable to the vulgar mind; and these superstitious and pernicious maxims and institutions, it has again, through the imperfect reformation, loaded protestantism with; amongst the most prominent of which are state churches, hierarchies, love of idle ceremonies, and a spirit of persecution. Till protestantism is purged of these, it is not purged of popery.

It has from time to time been fashionable to talk with admiration of the profound policy of the Roman church, and to cite as a proof of it, its continuance after the blow it received from the Reformation. Mr. Babington Macaulay has even revived these notions in the *Edinburgh Review*; but Hume long ago swept away in a few sentences all that was plausible in such fancies.

"The policy of the court of Rome," he says, "has been commonly much admired; and men, judging by success, have bestowed the highest eulogies on that prudence by which a power, from such slender beginnings, could advance, without force of arms, to establish a universal monarchy in Europe. But the wisdom of so long a succession of men who filled the papal throne, and who were of such different ages, tempers, and interests, is not intelligible, and could never have place in nature. The instrument, indeed, with which they wrought, the ignorance and superstition of the people, is so gross an engine, of such universal prevalence, and so little liable to accident or disorder, that it may be successful even in the most unskilful hands, and scarcely any indiscretion can frustrate its operations." Vol. I. p. 330.

Never was a finer illustration given of the truth of this, than in the history of the Romish church. Never was such a series of indiscretions and imprudences committed. In the first place, the whole system was built on frauds, forgeries, and follies, that can only hold their place in the minds of the ignorant and superstitious. Its *forgeries*, as we have shown, of the Decretals, its inventions of purgatory, and all its trumpery miracles, such as we have noticed; and such as were exposed in this country on the dissolution of the monasteries, as the angel's wing at Reading, which had been shown as having brought over the spear's point which pierced our Saviour's side; the Rood of grace at Bexley, that could bow, roll its eyes, and look pleased or angry, and which, though it had for ages drawn crowds of pilgrims, was exposed at St. Paul's Cross, as a cheat, with all its springs and machinery; and all the thousands of such things to be found then and still, all over the world, in catholic churches and convents, are trumpery, addressed only to the lowest state of the human mind. But if these were paltry as means of influence, how was the public conduct of the

Romish church in every age, to the very time of the Reformation, calculated to shake all faith except that of the most besotted superstition,—the bickerings, the rapacity, and the scandalous lives of its popes, cardinals, and clergy of every degree! Spite of the claim to infallibility, such were the wranglings and bitter strifes of the court of Rome within itself, and with the citizens of Rome, and different princes, that the church was continually torn to pieces, and presented to the astonished world, its rival popes battling with each other with all the fury of demons. More than once there were no less than three popes at the same time. In the eleventh century, Henry III. of Germany found three rival popes in existence, all of whom he deposed, and appointed Clement II. in their place. In the fourteenth century, the schisms and civil wars of the popes raged furiously. For seventy years, by the influence of the French kings, the seat of the popedom had been removed to Avignon; and scarcely was it removed again to Rome, when two popes were chosen, one of whom removed again to Avignon, and for thirty-nine years the world saw again two infallible heads to the true catholic and indivisible church. The first of the Roman line of these rival pontiffs, Urban VI., was a monster of cruelty. He put the cardinals on the rack who were opposed to him; and walking in his garden, while he recited his breviary, listened to their groans. He then bound them in chains, dragged them about with him, and finally had them strangled. "Concerning this miserable schism," says honest John Fox, "it would require another Iliad to comprehend in order all its tragical facts. What trouble in the whole church; what parts-taking in every country; what apprehending and imprisoning of priests and prelates, taken by sea and land, and what shedding of blood in consequence! Otho, duke of Brunswick, and prince of Tarentum, was taken and murdered. Johanna his wife, queen of Jerusalem and Sicily, who had before sent to pope Urban, in addition to other gifts, at his consecration, 40,000 ducats in pure gold, was by the said Urban committed to prison, and there strangled. Battles were fought between the two popes, whereof five thousand men were slain on one side." But, in short, these rival popes filled the world with horror. One of the last of these, John XXIII., had been a sea-robber.

Besides these rivalries with each other, the popes were in continual contest with the citizens of Rome itself, and with most other cities and princes. So little respect did the Romans entertain for them, that they frequently chased them out of the city. One was stoned to death in the street; another, Sylvester, was cut to pieces in his own palace. They cut off his nose and ears, and tore out his eyes: and on the death of Hadrian VI., they adorned the door of his physician with garlands, with the inscription of Deliverer of his Country! Such, too, was the hatred of these hoary old sinners to one another, and their eagerness to step into each other's shoes, that great numbers of them are said by their own historians to have been poisoned.

One Brazutus is said to have poisoned no less than six popes; so that the cup of Brazutus is proverbial in the church. Their rapacity was equally monstrous, and so drained all Europe, that nothing but the most stolid superstition could have tolerated it. In this country, William the Conqueror, who resisted many of the pope's demands, yet found it necessary out of 60,215 knights' fees, into which he divided the country, to place 23,015 under the church. But by the time of Edward I., to such an alarming extent had the absorption of lands by the monks and clergy gone, that that monarch passed the statute of Mortmain to restrain this abuse, as it was feared that the church would swallow up the whole country. Legates were sent out into every country, who levied the most surprising contributions, practised the most open simony, selling bishoprics, and all other dignities and livings, as well as absolutions; and Italians by troops flocked into every country, and occupied the best incumbencies. To such a pitch was this grown in Henry III.'s time, that the livings of the Italian clergy in England were valued, and found to amount to 60,000 marks yearly, a sum exceeding the king's own revenue! The tenths and first-fruits of all livings were claimed by the pope; as well as the property of all clergymen who died intestate. St. Bernard wrote to Pope Eugene III., that "his legate had so thoroughly plundered all the French churches from the foot of the Alps to the Pyrenees, that you might imagine that the Tartars had invaded the country;" and John of Salisbury, in the twelfth century, complained, that "when a Romish legate entered a province, it was as if Job's devil were gone out from the Lord to lay waste a land." To such a pitch did this shameless exaction arrive, that it became the proximate cause of the Reformation itself, as is well known, in the sale of absolution for all sins past and to come, by Tetzel, the pope's agent in Germany, who hawked them in the public market-places, as mountebanks did their nostrums. This fellow, who was but one amongst hundreds of such holy hawkers sent out all over Christendom, when he came into city or village, made a great fire, or set up a cross in the market-place, where he offered his wares. He then boldly showed the pope's bull, by virtue of which he had authority from the holy father himself to forgive sins. He protested that the red cross on which was the pope's coat of arms, was as mighty as the cross of Christ itself; that he had loosed more souls out of purgatory with his absolutions, than St. Peter had with his gospel; impiously crying,

Soon as the cash i' the coffer rings,
The soul from purgatory springs;

and his price for freeing a soul from the fire of purgatory was—a groat!

And for what purpose were these enormous sums drained from every civilized nation? for works of piety, and the spread of the gospel? No; for the most unparalleled indulgence of luxury and

licentiousness. The very money so shamelessly collected by Tetzel and his fellows, under the pretence of forgiving sins, and releasing from purgatory, and which the poor dupes who paid it fondly fancied was going to be spent in pious purposes, was to raise a princely marriage portion for the pope's sister! There is no history so scandalous and revolting as that of the popes, cardinals, and clergy of Rome. It was a perfect sink of wickedness and obscenity; whence the common proverb, "The nearer to Rome, the farther from heaven." From very early times this was the case, and the rank scandal grew rapidly with the flood of wealth which was poured in by the credulity of all nations. In the ninth and tenth centuries, a Roman lady, Theodora, and her two daughters, Theodora junior and Marozia, mother and daughters, rivalling each other in lewd lasciviousness, for nearly fifty years, by their influence with the nobles who ruled the city, made their friends and lovers, sons and relations, popes; so that the most scandalous and crime-laden men occupied the seat of the apostles. The fable of a female pope, Joan, had its origin in the complete command of the papal chair by these women. Leo X. has been highly and justly celebrated as a man of taste; he was, like most of the Medici, a finely accomplished man, of amiable sentiments, an enthusiastic friend and promoter of the fine arts; but, at the same time, he was so addicted to the grossest sensuality, and was of so unapostolic a spirit, that the papal dignity served him chiefly as an excellent means of living in splendour and enjoyment of life. The chroniclers of the time describe, in the strongest terms, the corruption of his bishops and clergy, who were so hardened in their crimes, that they took no pains to conceal their pride, their avarice, their voluptuousness, and beastly sensuality. Still worse had been Alexander VI. This man, who was a Spanish adventurer, had obtained the papal seat by the most lavish bribery. All who knew him were horrified at the news of his election. He is described by contemporary historians, as a shameless fellow, who knew no honesty, no decency, no love of truth. Truth and religion were his ridicule. Driven by insatiable avarice and ambition, he committed the most horrible barbarities, and was bent alone on elevating his bastards, he cared not by what means. He had five of these by one Rosa Vanozza, four sons and a daughter. The second son, Cæsar Borgia, his favourite, was a youth who combined the strength of the Spaniard with the wild, fiery spirit of the Italian. Out of his dark-red countenance blazed a pair of flaming and ever-rolling eyes. Such was his strength, that he could strike off the head of a bull at one stroke in full gallop. He had all the reckless ambition, the sensuality, and malignant spirit of revenge of his father. The pope heaped on his sons the most affluent livings and offices. Cæsar was made archbishop of Valencia, bishop of Pampeluna, and, finally, even cardinal; the abandoned pope having brought false witnesses to swear to his legitimate birth, and that he was the son of another person. But

as the pope was not content to do as the popes generally had done, enrich their illegitimate children with the offices of the church, which at their deaths passed to others, he resolved to rob the neighbouring princes, especially the Orsini, and to establish his sons in temporal principdoms. His eldest son was made duke of Benevento, but the father's further designs for him received a speedy and terrible termination. The two brothers, John and Cæsar, burned in an incestuous passion for their sister Lucretia Borgia, and as John was the greater favourite, Cæsar murdered him one night as they returned alone from a visit to their mother. But this did not check Alexander's blind fondness for Cæsar, he only set on the more zealous schemes for his aggrandizement, and the young man, aided by his father, now ran the most awful course on record. He was made duke of Valentinois for his adhesion to French interests, forsaking the church. The pope rent away Pesaro, Rimini, Faenza, Imola, Forli, Camerino, and Urbino from their possessors, and conferred them on Cæsar. Where arms did not avail, treachery was resorted to. Astorre Manfredi, the lord of Faenza, being, on assurance of full security, inveigled into their hands, was first shamefully mutilated, and then murdered. Cardinal John Borgia, Cæsar's cousin, was poisoned by him. The third husband of his sister Lucretia, Alfons, duke of Bisaglia, he caused to be murderously attacked; and as he did not die of his wounds, to be strangled. To supply funds, both for his aggressions and for the most unrestrained excesses of the court, all sorts of exactions were resorted to. Prelates, and other rich people, were compelled to make the pope their heir, or their possessions were violently seized on at their death. The offices of the church, as soon as they fell in, were put up to the highest bidders, and those who lived too long were hastened off with poison. As the neighbouring powers saw the hostile aggressions of the pope and his son spreading ever further around, they made a confederation to defend themselves. At the head of this were the principal members of the Orsini family. Cæsar's arms suffered defeat from their bravery, but he then flew to his usual arts of treachery, made peace with them, lured them into his clutches, and murdered them. The course of these monsters was only cut short by their own poison. The pope and his son had mixed this plentifully for a batch of rich cardinals, whom they invited to a feast, in order to send them out of the world and seize their riches, but by some accident the poisoned wine was changed, and the poisoners themselves drank it. The diabolical old pope died, but the giant constitution of the horrible Cæsar, though it could not throw it off, sustained the tortures which made his life a misery for some time, and he perished at in battle.

These are but a sample out of the thousand years' annals of the lawless and shameless rapacity and licentiousness of papal Rome. What the popes and cardinals were, became the monks, prelates,

and clergy all the world over. The history of every European nation is full of the fearful and disgraceful details of the rank licentious corruption of monasteries and priestly houses. The disclosures made, as is well known, by our commissioners, of the state of the monasteries in our own country, previous to their dissolution, are too offensive to human nature to be mentioned. What was worse, while they had been, for generations, living in this abhorrent style, having the very monasteries swarming with loose women, they had not only been burning all those who dared to differ with them in opinion, but it is declared by an Act of the fourth year of Henry VII., that "upon trust of the privilege of the church, divers persons lettered had been made bold to commit murder, rape, robbery, theft, and all other mischievous deeds," and had when pursued been constantly admitted to benefit of clergy. The Romish church, in fact, had not only become villanously licentious itself through all its frame, but had set up the devil's kingdom on earth in the name of God, and licensed and protected all his most desperate agents.

Surely there is no greater policy in all this than there is genuine religion in it. But, say the advocates of this strange church, its ability was shown in that it stood, and still stands, through all the wrath and vengeance which this corruption brought upon it. True; but how? By fire and sword, as we have seen in the preceding chapters. True, as Macaulay observes, protestantism has never advanced its boundaries beyond what it gained within the first few years of the Reformation, but, on the contrary, has lost some ground, where it was repressed by force, as in Austria, Italy, Bohemia, and France. And why? Because the doctrine and practice of the church of Rome, that religion is a thing which must be subjected to arbitrary government, were a doctrine and practice too agreeable to arbitrary monarchs not to be universally adopted. Force is one of the prime curses which the papal church has entailed on mankind. To protestantism itself it has handed over this deadly doctrine, and in England we are groaning under it to this time. But if it be meant that the papal hierarchy has maintained itself unscathed and even in extended prosperity, nothing is more false on the very surface of things. Popery continues the religion of great nations, because it is a most accommodating and comfortable religion. It requires little strictness at the hands of its disciples, and bleaches and white-washes the most foully sooty soul at any moment for a few pence. But the power, the almost superhuman power, which was once in the hands of the popes is passed away from them. They are mere shadows of the past, and Napoleon demonstrated, when he insulted, brow-beat, imprisoned, and almost trod on the pope of his day, to what a miserable scare-crow the priest of the Seven Hills, who once thundered over Christendom, has sunk. The power once in his hands is now usurped by the different monarchs, and in the most thoroughly catholic countries, as Austria and Bavaria, the court of Rome is

carefully cut off from all interference with the temporal matters of the church. The flood of wealth which rolled in stupendous torrents towards Rome from all lands has now dwindled to a feeble rill, the whole not being so much as the pontiff once received from the poorest state in Christendom.

Lastly, the favourite opinion of Mr. Babington Macaulay, which he advances with a fondness that makes one almost fancy that he rejoices in the belief,—that so prosperous and strong does the papal church stand, spite of all assaults, that there is no reason to believe that it will not remain just as extensive and buoyant a thousand years hence as it is to day, an opinion which he supports with the additional one, that it is not true, as is often asserted, that the perception of religious truth advances with the advance of science and knowledge,—is too superficial to demand much argument in exposure. He asserts, that there is a wide difference between physical and philosophical knowledge and religious knowledge. That the former have made great advances since the Reformation, but that the latter has made none, and in the nature of things can make none, for that religious knowledge is a matter of revelation, and was made known and was in the hands of men then as much as it is now. He instances Sir Thomas More, who was one of the most learned and sagacious men of his age, yet was a strict catholic and a persecutor; and adds, that Sir Thomas had the Bible as well as we, and was as well acquainted with it.

Now, all this is in truth very poor and unsound. Sir Thomas More had the Bible, it is true, as well as many other stanch catholics, and that he in his younger days understood its true spirit, comprehended its true philosophy, is plainly proved by his *Utopia*; yet he became a *persecutor*. This case is therefore simply one of personal weakness, or relapse with advancing years into the errors of his education. Spite of Sir Thomas More, Mr. Macaulay's proposition is a mere sophism. There is as great an advance to be made in religious as in physical or philosophical knowledge; the only difference is, that it is to be made in an opposite direction. In the developement of natural truth, we must go forward with the stream of nature; in that of religious truth, we must go back to the fountain of the New Testament. The advance is out of the prejudices and abuses of education, and the false ideas of things ingrafted on the human mind by Rome in the long career of its domination. This was the advance which was wanted in Sir Thomas More. Acute and enlightened as he was, his mental vision was governed and coloured by the spectacles of papal education, and he had not the power permanently to lay them aside, and to perceive the great and naked truths as they stand simply in the Gospels. His case is the case of thousands; yet, spite of this, great discoveries of these truths have been made since the Reformation, and the very doctrines of the anti-christianity of state churches, of the freedom of conscience, of our moral and religious independence of all creeds and priests, of the pre-eminence of love,

and the vile nature of all spiritual compulsion and persecution,—doctrines which prevail amongst the people, though they have not yet won their full victory over hierarchies and governments, are brilliant evidences of the advancing discoveries of the divine and affluent treasure laid up in the gospel pages.

For our parts, let us never abandon the grand doctrine of antiquity—"Magna est veritas, et prevalebit;" and let us utter, with Milton, that same noble sentiment, combined with the words of his godlike confidence, "Let truth and error grapple, for truth is mighty and will prevail," rather than, with Mr. Macaulay, insinuate that error is as mighty and enduring as truth. The prevalence of no religion is a test of its value, while it is upheld by the arm of political power or the reaction of persecution. Let state churches once be abandoned, and the progress of truth will not long remain dubious. Indeed, it is not even now dubious. The very catholics of to day are no more like the catholics of old, than we are like the wild ancient Britons. In the darkest countries, they profess, at least, as much to abhor the atrocities of the past as we do. Let us take care that they do not eventually outrun us in the essential spirit of Christianity. *We have still a great work to perform—to root out of our governments and our hearts, the fatal leaven which Rome left there of* STATE COMPULSION AND PERSECUTION OF ONE ANOTHER. Let us then give eternal thanks, gratitude, and honour to Huss, to Jerome of Prague, to Oldcastle, to Wycliffe, and other martyrs and reformers, who attempted, and to Luther and his contemporaries, who finally were enabled, to break down the mightiest of spiritual despotisms, and free mankind from the night-mare of a thousand years; and let it now be our business, to assist also by exposing the existing evils, to spread still wider the impulse of good they have given. Who shall tell what effects on the continental nations the regeneration of the religious institutions of this mighty and illustrious nation shall yet produce?

While writing this a circumstance has occurred in Germany, which shows the spirit which still animates the catholic church, even in countries where it exists side by side with protestantism; and should make us cautious of believing too easily the professions of catholics as to their church and actual liberality. At Treves, as at three or four other places on the continent *simultaneously*, a coat has been exhibiting by the clergy as the coat of Christ without a seam. Thousands and tens of thousands have flocked to see it, and a most profitable trade it has been. An honest catholic priest of the name of Ronge, indignant at this gross imposition on the people, and at the misery and licentiousness exhibited on the public roads to and from Treves, amongst the poor ignorant creatures, drawn from their business and homes by this vile cheat, addressed a noble letter to the bishop of Treves, calling upon him to put an end to the imposture, as derogatory to

the church and to Christianity. What has been the consequence? The poor priest was called upon by his superiors, the bishop and dignitaries of Breslau, in Silesia, to deny the authorship of this letter; accompanied by the announcement, that if he did not he would be forthwith excommunicated and degraded. The honest man stood firm to the truth, and accordingly, on the 3rd of December, 1844, he was formally excommunicated and degraded from the exercise of his office, by the assembled chapter in the cathedral of Breslau. Here, then, is an act of the catholic church in 1844, in philosophical Germany, declaring that the church shall be supported by the practice of the grossest imposture; and that any priest, a man, be it recollected, sworn and set aside to preach the truth, shall, if he dare to speak the truth, be excommunicated and degraded. When we add, that the catholic newspaper press, the representative of the educated classes, has universally denounced, not the imposture, but Ronge, the protester against it; it renders unnecessary any further argument about the altered spirit and moral progress of the catholic church.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

CHAPTER XVII.

The church of England doth all faction foster,
The pulpit is usurped by each impostor.

MAJESTY IN MISERY, BY KING CHARLES I.

Where one particular priesthood has rank in the state, others are not free; and where they all have, the people are not free. So far as the ceremonies of one particular faith are connected with filling any particular occupation, entering into the relations, or enjoying any of the advantages of civil life, there is not religious liberty. It is a fallacious distinction which has sometimes been drawn, that a state may patronize, though it should not punish. A government cannot patronize one particular religion without punishing others. A state has no wealth but the people's wealth; if it pay some, it impoverishes others. A state is no fountain of honour. If it declare one class free, it thereby declares others slaves. If it declare some noble, it thereby declares others ignoble. Whenever bestowed with partiality, its generosity is injustice, and its favour is oppression.

W. J. FOX'S SERMONS ON THE MISSION, CHARACTER,
AND DOCTRINE OF CHRIST.

ONE would have imagined, that when the horrors and enormities of that long reign of spiritual slavery which I have been detailing—that of the infamous papal hierarchy—had roused a great part of Europe to scotch the old serpent of Rome; to burst asunder the vile and envenomed folds which she had wrapped round the soul, the life, and liberties of man,—that the reformed churches would have been careful so to organize themselves as to prevent temporal power again enslaving religion. But, in the first place, it is no easy matter to escape the grasp of regal and political dominion; and in the next, it is rarely the case that men are prepared, after a long sufferance of slavery, to enjoy and secure freedom. To expect this, is to expect that he whose body has been cramped by chains and wasted by vigils in the dark dungeons of power for years, should at once, on coming out, stretch forth his limbs, acquire in a moment the vigour and elasticity of his muscles, and

ound over the hills with the breathing buoyancy of the youthful hunter, to whom every day brings exercise, and with exercise, force and adroitness. It is to expect that the issuer from the dungeon shall bear at once the light of day with an eagle's glance, and regard every thing around him with the perspicuous familiarity of those who have daily walked about in the eye of heaven. Besides, in the exultation of conquest over an old despotism, the populace are always, for the moment, too credulously trusting to the professions of those who pretend to rejoice with them in order to enslave them anew. In a while they wake from their dream of good nature, but it is too late,—they are again clasped in bonds, and environed with bars that nothing but the oppressions of ages can corrode, and some far-off out-breaking of popular indignation can dash asunder.

Such has been the fate, more or less, of all the reformed churches of Europe; but their fortunes we cannot follow, we must confine ourselves to the church of England—the least reformed, the most enslaved of all. The Reformation in England was commenced and continued, so far as it went, under unfortunate circumstances. It was not the result of such a ripened and irrestrainable enthusiasm of the popular mind as must have thrown down all before it; but it was brought about by the arbitrary passions of that monster, Henry VIII.—one of the most libidinous and bloody wretches that ever disgraced a throne. At one moment it was his will, because it suited his pleasure, to be the advocate of the pope; at another, because it was necessary to the gratification of his indomitable desires,—his most desperate antagonist. For this he threw off the papal yoke; but not to give the church freedom—nothing could be further from his intentions; it was only to make it his servant and his slave. He declared himself the head of the church of Christ in these kingdoms. What a head for such a church! He suppressed the monasteries on pretence of their licentiousness, and gambled away the money thence obtained, as Fuller assures us, by many a thousand a year. Stow, in his Survey of London, relates, that he staked a remarkably fine ring of bells, which belonged to a parish near St. Paul's, London, which were great favourites of the people, and called Jesus' Bells, on a throw of dice with Sir Miles Partridge, who, the very next day, took them down and sold them. It is added, that he gave away a whole monastery to a lady who had made a dish of pudding to his liking. In fact, the hoary tyrant either gambled away those immense revenues of the suppressed religious houses, which might have formed a perpetual fund for the maintenance of the poor, and the education of their children, or squandered them amongst a few court favourites, thus laying deeper the foundations of one of the greatest curses of the national futurity—a corrupt and liberty-hating aristocracy. The despotism of opinion was only changed in name; and it appears to have been the effect of the merest accident that it was changed at all. Every thing was on the point of being amicably settled

between the British and the Italian tyrant, when it was rumoured at the papal court, that Henry had witnessed a dramatic representation in which that court was ridiculed. In a moment of impolitic passion, the "triple tyrant" thundered against Henry his bull of denunciation, and the breach was made immortal. Heavily and long did the pontiff curse the moment in which he forgot, in his passion, the priest's proper cunning; but his regret was unavailing—England was lost for ever.

What the great Italian priest threw away by a momentary explosion of impolitic wrath, was snatched, however, from the English people by the base and interested fears of the native clergy. Henry, who "never spared man in his anger, or woman in his lust," had made so awful an example of Wolsey, that he struck terror into the whole clerical tribe. "Wolsey," says Sir James Mackintosh, "had exercised the legantine power so long, that the greatest part of the clergy had done acts which subjected them to the same heavy penalties under the ancient statutes which had crushed the cardinal. No clergyman was secure. The attorney-general appears to have proceeded against the bishops in the court of King's Bench; and the conviction of the prelates would determine the fate of the clergy. The convocation agreed to petition the king to pardon their fault. The province of Canterbury bought this mercy at the price of a grant of £100,000; that of York contributed only £18,840. Occasion was taken to introduce a new title amongst those by which the petitioners addressed the king—"*Protector of the Clergy, and supreme Head of the Church of England.*" Archbishop Warham supported the designation; and this new title, full of undefined and vast claims, soon crept from the petitions of convocation into the heart of acts of parliament. Thus, in the very outset of reformation, first the corruption, and then the servile selfishness of the clergy, cast at the feet of a tyrant the whole spiritual liberty of England; and when, even for their own sakes, they would have recalled the gift, it was too late."

Edward VI. was a truly pious youth, and was unquestionably desirous of doing what was right; but he was a feeble invalid, and was in the hands of priests, who did with him as they pleased. The liturgy framed for the church in this reign, Elizabeth afterwards revised by her bishops, and brought to that state in which it substantially remains to this day. It was not in the nature of that man in petticoats,—that Henry VIII. in a female mask,—to consult the inclinations of the people so much as her own high will, in which glowed all the dominance and all the spirit of the Tudors. Instead of being willing, say Heylin and Strype, to strip religion of the ceremonies which remained in it, she was rather inclined to bring the public worship still nearer to the Roman ritual; and had a great propensity to several usages in the church of Rome which were justly looked upon as superstitious. She thanked publicly one of her chaplains who had preached in de-

fence of the *real presence*; she was fond of images, and retained some in her chapel; and would undoubtedly have forbidden the marriage of the clergy, if Cecil, her secretary, had not interposed. Having appointed a committee of divines to revise King Edward's liturgy, she gave them an order to strike out all offensive passages against the pope, and make people easy about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament.

That an imperious woman, who, not finding it accordant with the love of undivided power to marry, was jealous of all who did; who even imprisoned her relatives and maids of honour who presumed to marry, should attempt to prevent the clergy marrying, was not very wonderful: but she did not stop here. Those of her subjects who were desirous of a purer, simpler, more apostolic, and less worldly system of worship; who had fled to the continent from the fire and chains of her sister Mary, and had returned, hoping better things at her hands, she ordered to submit to her royal will! and passed the famous Act of *Uniformity*, by which all her subjects were commanded to observe the rules her bishops had framed, and to take up with such a reformation of the church as she had pleased to give them, with herself as the visible head of the church upon earth. The puritans—for so they were called, for desiring a purer worship—refused their assent to these proceedings; pleaded the dictates of their consciences in behalf of their refusal; and complained heavily, that the gross superstitions of popery, which they had looked upon as abrogated and abolished, were now revived, and even imposed by authority. But they pleaded and complained in vain. What were their consciences to this she-tyrant? the indulgence of whose self-will was of more precious value in her eyes than the rights and consciences of millions of people. She not only commanded and exacted; but, following the example of popery, she set up the fire and the fagot, and stopped all objections with those powerful arguments. It is a singular fact, that no state religion, pagan or Christian, from the foundation of the world, as this history will show, but is stained with blood. Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth, all resorted to it, and while professing to reform religion, they gave the death-blow to liberty of conscience, and reacted all the horrors of Roman persecution.

What could be expected of a church thus born in the throes of the most evil passions, cradled in arbitrary power, and baptized in blood?—Nothing but a melancholy death of all those high and glorious hopes which the Reformation awoke, and had it been permitted, unshackled by regal and priestly power, to take its course, would naturally have realized. Elizabeth proceeded, with that rigorous and strong hand which made her civil government respected, but was most unhallowedly and calamitously thrust into the sacred tabernacle of conscience, to establish a court of high commission to enforce those popish rites, doctrines, and ceremonies,

which she had compelled the English church to adopt. It took its rise from a remarkable clause in the Act of Supremacy, by which the queen and her successors were empowered to choose persons "to exercise under her all manner of jurisdiction, privileges, and pre-eminences, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction in England and Ireland; as also to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts, offences, and enormities whatever; provided that they have no power to determine any thing to be heresy but what has been adjudged by the authority of the canonical Scriptures, or four first general councils, or any of them, or shall be so declared by parliament with consent of the clergy in convocation." These commissioners were empowered to make inquiry, not only by legal methods, but also by all other means which they could devise, that is, by rack, torture, inquisition, and imprisonment. They had authority to examine all persons that they suspected, or feigned to suspect, by an oath not allowed by their commission, and therefore called *ex-officio*, who were obliged to answer all questions, and thus to criminate themselves and friends. The fines they imposed were discretionary; the imprisonment to which they doomed was limited by no rule but their own pleasure; they imposed as they pleased new articles of faith on the clergy, and practised all the cruelties and iniquities of a real Inquisition.

Thus, indeed, was the Inquisition as fully and completely set up in England, by a *soi-disant* reforming queen and reformed church, as in Italy, Spain, or any of the old priest-ridden countries of popery; and how its powers were exercised may be seen in too fearful colours on the broad page of English history; in the more full relations of the nonconformists and dissenters. Clergymen who could not thus mould their consciences at the will of the state, were ejected without mercy from their livings, and they and their families exposed to all the horrors of poverty, contempt, and persecution. So far as the regular clergy, however, were concerned, the grievance was not great; for these principally consisted of catholics, who had got in during Mary's reign, and having a clear perception that they were well off, and that there was little hope of another Romish prince succeeding very speedily, they acted according to the dictates of the priestly cunning, accommodated their consciences to their comfortable condition, and came over in a body to the new state of things. The bishops, Hume says, having the eye of the world more particularly on them, made it a point of honour, and having, by a sickly season, been reduced to fourteen, all these, except the bishop of Llandaff, refused compliance, and were degraded: but out of the 10,000 parishes of England, only eighty vicars and rectors, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans, sacrificed their livings to their religious principles: a fact rendered more striking to us by a future one,—that of the Presbyterian clergy, who had

obtained livings during the Commonwealth, and who, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity again, on the restoration of Charles II., resigned, to the number of 2000,* in one day, to the astonishment of even their enemies, who had no notion of the existence of such high principle, especially as they had not failed to tempt the most able of these clergy with offers of deaneries and other preferments; and to Baxter, Calamy, and Reynolds bishoprics,—the last of whom only was weak enough to accept it. It was chiefly, therefore, on the dissenters, and on the more conscientious clergy who had been ejected from their livings in Mary's reign, that the weight of persecution from the Ecclesiastical Court fell. These were harassed with every possible vexation. They were fined, imprisoned, and destroyed without mercy. This state of things did not cease, excepting during the short interval of the Commonwealth, till the Act of Toleration, in the reign of William III., put an end to it, and gave to conscience some degree of liberty. The Stuarts, who succeeded Elizabeth, with far less talent than the Tudors, had all their love of tyrannical power: and so incorrigible was this principle in them, that it soon brought one of them to the block; made his son a fugitive for the greater part of his life; and, finally, notwithstanding the good-natured relentings of the people, who had restored his line to the throne, made them rise once more, and drive the hopelessly despotic family from the throne for ever.

But, before we quit Elizabeth, we must give some clearer idea of her notion of a reformed church establishment. She insisted that the simpler forms and doctrines of the church of Geneva should be avoided; and that a splendid hierarchy should be maintained of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, canons, and other officials; declared that the church of Rome was a true church, and adopted most of its relics and ceremonies. Its festivals and holidays in honour of saints were to be kept; the sign of the cross was to be used in baptism: kneeling at the sacrament of the Lord's supper; bowing at the name of Jesus; giving the ring in matrimony; confirmation of children by episcopalian hands; forbidding marriage at certain seasons of the year, and many other popish appendages, were retained. The doctrine of the absolution of sins, and the damnable creed of Athanasius, were held fast; so that to many—except as to the marriage of the clergy, auricular confession, and a less pompous and ornate form of worship—little difference between popery and the English church could be discerned; and to make the case still more intolerable, matters of indifference, such as were neither commanded nor forbidden by Scripture—as the external rites of worship, the vests of the clergy, religious fes-

* A clerical reviewer has charged me with dishonesty, in giving this fact, and omitting to state that three times that number of Episcopalian clergy vacated on what he calls the rebellion against Charles I. The fact is, as may be seen by reference to the authorities given at the end of the Chapter of Persecutions, they did not voluntarily resign; they were ejected, without option, and chiefly for scandalous lives.

tivals—were put under the authority of the civil magistracy; and those who refused to conform to them were thus made rebels to the state, and punishable accordingly. It was impossible to conceive a more thorough extinction of the rights of the subject in affairs of conscience—even in popery itself! The bishops having thus got power into their hands, speedily proceeded to exercise it,—to show the old priestly spirit. In 1588, Bancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, declared that the episcopal orders were, by express appointment of God, superior to the presbyters, and that all priests not ordained by bishops were spurious. This, says Mosheim, was the form of religion established in England, which laid the foundation for perpetual dissensions and feuds in that otherwise happy and prosperous nation.

Such was the formation of the church of England! such it remains to the present hour! After such an origin, can any one wonder that it needs reform, thorough reform; not merely of its abuses, which are, as might naturally be expected from so absurd and despotic a constitution, become monstrous, but reform and entire remodelling of its canons? While all around it has been progressing in knowledge and better understanding of the rights of conscience, and the true nature of Christianity, here has this eldest daughter of popery been standing still in body, covered with all her deformities, with the mark of the beast blazing on her forehead, and the filthy rags of cast-off popery fluttering about her; and while every clearer eye has been regarding this patchwork progeny of priestcraft and barbarism with mingled wonder, ridicule, and abhorrence, she has been hugging herself in the fond idea, that she was the queen of beauty, and the perfection of holiness! While the civilized world has been moving about her, casting off the mind, the manners, and the harsh tenets of feudal rudeness, she has lain coiled up in the bright face of advancing day, like some huge slimy dragon cast up by the sea of ages, in the midst of a stirring and refined city; and has only exhibited signs of life by waving her huge scaled tail in menace of her foes, and by stretching out her ten-taloned paws to devour a tenth of the land. Can such a monster longer encumber the soil of England? As soon might we expect St. George to come leading his dragon into London, or Dunstan present the devil, pincered in his fiery tongs, at the door of Lambeth palace.

Dissent was forced on the nation by the bigotry of the rulers and the priests; it has been fanned into inextinguishable flame by continual jealousies and persecutions under every reign, from the Reformation to the present day; and in our own time, has, by the lukewarmness of the established clergy, led to its extension tenfold in the new schism of the Methodists.* The history of

* The sagacious mind of Milton saw in his day the advantages of that system which Wesley in ours has put so successfully into operation. "Thus taught, once for all, and thus now and then visited and confirmed

the Society of Friends is full of the most singular persecutions on the part of the clergy, and the magistracy incited by them. To escape from this, William Penn, one of the greatest and most illustrious men which this country ever produced, led on his persecuted brethren to America, and there founded one of the states of that noble country, which has now arisen to a pitch of prosperity which is the natural fruit of liberty; and stands an every-day opprobrium of priestcraft, and a monument not merely of the uselessness, but the impolicy and nuisance of establishments. In the new, but great cities of that vast empire—in the depths of its eternal forests, and on its mountains, and its plains, that scorn to bear the scorching foot of despotism, millions of free men, who have escaped from the temporal and spiritual outrages of Europe, lift up their voices and their hearts in thanksgivings to Him who has given them a land wide as human wishes, and free as the air that envelopes it. They have gone out from us to escape our cruelties and indignities, and are become our practical teachers in the philosophy of religion and government.

The English church, which has been so lauded by its interested supporters, as a model of all that is pure, dignified, holy, and compact, has not only thus compelled dissent by its tyranny; but, by the consent of all historians, has, from its commencement, been composed, like Nebuchadnezzar's image, of most ill-agreeing materials, mingled brass and clay; and has consequently been continually rent with differing factions. The Tudors established popish rites, and Edward VI. introduced Calvinistic doctrines; and these, retained by Elizabeth and James I., Charles I. by a singular inconsistency sanctioned, at the same moment that, under the management of his domineering archbishop, Laud, he was, strangely enough, carrying Arminianism, and the claims of episcopal power, to the highest pitch,—that is, the doctrine of free-will, and a prelatical despotism, destructive of all free-will, hand in hand; and would not only force them upon the English, but on the Scotch. This prelate, as complete a papist in spirit as any that ever exercised despotism in the bosom of that arbitrary church, has been much eulogized by good men of the present day, who, themselves most amiable in their own private circles, exhibit in their writings

in the most destitute and poorest places of the land, under the government of their own elders, performing all ministerial offices amongst them, they may be trusted to meet and edify one another, whether in church or chapel, or, to save them the trudging of many miles thither, nearer home, though in a house or barn. For, notwithstanding the gaudy superstition of some still ignorantly devoted to temples, we may be well assured, that He who did not disdain to be laid in a manger, disdains not to be preached in a barn; and that, by such meetings as these, being, indeed, most apostolical and primitive, they will, in a short time, advance more in Christian knowledge and reformation of life, than by many years' preaching of such an incumbent, I may say such an encumbrance oft-times, as will be merely hired to abide long in such places."

too much of the harshness and the bigotry of the middle ages to be agreeable in this. The opinion of Hume has been often quoted in his favour; let us therefore see what Hume does say of him. "This man was virtuous, if severity of manners alone, and abstinence of pleasure, could deserve that name. He was learned, if polemical knowledge could entitle him to that praise. He was disinterested; but with unceasing industry he studied to exalt the priestly and prelatical character, which was his own. His zeal was unrelenting in the cause of religion; that is, by imposing, by rigorous measures, his own tenets, and pious ceremonies on the obstinate puritans, who had profanely dared to oppose him. In prosecution of his holy purposes, he overlooked every human consideration; or, in other words, the heat and indiscretion of his temper made him neglect the views of prudence, and rules of good manners. He was in this respect happy (how exactly the character of some eminent men of this day!)—that all his enemies were also imagined by him the declared enemies of loyalty and true piety; and that every exercise of his anger, by that means, became, in his eyes, a merit and a virtue. This was the man who acquired so great an ascendant over Charles, and who led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved so fatal to himself and to his kingdom." He adds, that, "in return for Charles's indulgence towards the church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain, or detestation, all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution." At the same time, he continues, that "while these prelates exalted the kingly power, they took care to set the priestly still higher, and endeavoured to render it independent of the sovereign. They declared it sacred and indefeasible; all right to private judgment in spiritual matters was denied to laymen; bishops held spiritual courts without any notice taken of the king's authority; and in short, rapid strides were made, not only towards the haughty despotism of popery, but towards its superstitious acrimoniousness. Laud, in spite of public opinion and private remonstrance, introduced pictures into the churches, shifted the altar back to its old papal standing, set up again the crucifix, and advised that the discipline and worship of the church should be imposed in all the colonies, and in all the regiments and trading companies abroad, and that no intimacy should be maintained with the reformed churches of the continent.

In his own person, he asserted all the lordly state of the old catholic dignitaries. "See," says a contemporary, "the prelate of Canterbury, in his ordinary garb, riding from Croydon to Bagshot with forty or fifty gentlemen, all mounted, attending upon him; two or three dainty steeds of pleasure, most rich in trappings and furniture, likewise led by him; and wherever he comes, his gentlemen ushers and his servants crying out, 'Room, room for my Lord's Grace! Gentlemen, be uncovered, my Lord's Grace is com-

ing!' Again, if you should meet him coming daily from the Star Chamber, and see what pomp, grandeur, and magnificence he goeth in, the whole multitude standing bare wherever he passeth, having also a great number of gentlemen and other servants waiting on him, all uncovered; some of them carrying up his tail; others going before him, calling out to the folks before them to put off their hats, and give place; tumbling down and thrusting aside the little children a-playing there, flinging and tossing the poor costermongers' and sauce-wives' fruit and puddings, baskets, and all into the Thames, though they hindered not their passage,—you would think, seeing and hearing all this, and also the haste and speed they make, that it was some mighty proud Nimrod, or some furious Jehu, running and marching for a kingdom, rather than a meek and grave priest.*

He willingly accepted from the sycophancy of the university of Oxford, in its Latin epistles to him, the titles of—*Sanctitas tua—Summus Pontifex—Spiritu Sancto effusissime plenus—Archangelus*, etc.—That is, Your Holiness—High Priest—filled overflowing with the Holy Spirit—Archangel, etc.

All his measures, in fact, tended to a most popish state of ceremonies in worship, and tyranny and intolerance in behaviour; and if any one, after reading the following account of his consecration of St. Catherine's church, given on the authority of Wellwood, Rushworth, and Franklin, can see any difference between him and a most thorough-going papist, he has better eyes than I.

"On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, 'Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in.' Immediately the doors of the church flew open, and the bishop entered. Falling on his knees, with eyes elevated, and arms expanded, he uttered these words: 'This place is holy; the ground is holy: in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy.'

"Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached, with his attendants, near to the communion table, he bowed frequently towards it; and on their return, they went round the church, repeating as they marched along, some of the Psalms, and said a form of prayer, which concluded in these words—'We consecrate this church, and separate it unto Thee, as holy ground, not to be profaned any more to common uses.'

"After this the bishop, standing near the communion table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed towards the east, and said—'Let all the people say, Amen.'

"The imprecations being also piously finished, there were

* The Library, by John Bortwick, 1627.

poured out a number of blessings on all such as had any hand in building and forming that sacred and beautiful edifice; and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction he in like manner bowed towards the east, and cried,—‘Let all the people say, Amen.’

“The sermon followed: after which the bishop consecrated and administered the sacrament in the following manner. As he approached the communion table he made many lowly reverences; and, coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back a step or two, bowed three several times towards the bread, then he drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

“Next he laid his hand on the cup, which had a cover upon it and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed thrice towards it. He approached again, and lifting up the cover, peeped in. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Then he received the sacrament, and gave it to others; and, many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended. The walls and floor and roof of the fabric were then supposed to be sufficiently holy.”

The consequence of these ridiculous ceremonies on the one hand, and severities on the other,—for the English Inquisition, in the form of the High Commission Court, and the Star Chamber, was in full exercise, and many cruelties and iniquities were continually practised in them on those who dared to have an opinion of their own,—was, that Laud was brought to the block,* and his sovereign was left in that calamitous course of unsuccessful despotism which actually brought him there, and deluged the whole nation in blood; and tossed it in years of anarchy and crime. By these circumstances, however, the church received, what Lord Chatham so expressively designated in parliament—a popish liturgy, a Calvinistic creed, and an Armenian clergy.

The heterogeneous materials of the church showed conspicu-

* It is pity that an archbishop like Laud should be brought to such an end; because there are so much cheaper ways, and more economical of human suffering, than the real murder of political enemies in the manner of Vane and Ney. But considerations of this kind should hinder no man from discerning, how entirely all that constitutes public and private freedom, happiness, and honour, has been obtained by the conquest and beating down, and is, in fact, the spoil of war carried off by the subjection and trampling under foot, of that political and ecclesiastical party who have just received another mighty bruise; and of whom it has been truly said, that but for their successive defeats, England would at this moment have been Spain, Portugal, or Turkey.—*Westminster Review*, No. XXXIV.

ously in the famous assembly of divines at Westminster during part of Charles's reign and part of the Commonwealth. This assembly consisted of clergymen expressly nominated by parliament, two from each English county, except Durham; one from each Welsh county; two from each university; from Jersey and Guernsey two; from London four; amounting to 100; afterwards increased to 120: with whom also were associated ten members of the House of Lords, and twenty of the Commons, with subsequent additions from parliament, and four delegates from the kirk of Scotland. Amongst the higher clergy were Browning, bishop of Exeter, Prideaux of Worcester, Westfield of Bristol, and Usher, lord primate of Ireland and bishop of Cashel, Morley, afterwards bishop of Winchester, Sanderson of Lincoln, and Hackett of Lichfield. Usher had already, in 1641, with the approbation of several of his most distinguished brethren, submitted to parliament a plan for reducing the hierarchy to a synodal government. A great portion of these divines were now for the pure Presbyterian form, others for that of the Independents, and some for an Erastian system of perfect freedom. Here was a house divided against itself. Clarendon, one of the advocates of church and state, declares, that "of the 120 divines of which the assembly was to consist, there were not above twenty who were not avowed enemies to the doctrine or discipline of the church of England;" yet Rushworth and Whitlocke tell us they were chosen from the most eminent the church possessed.

In after days, Tillotson, Burnet, and Stillingfleet were distinguished as authorized reformers of the church liturgy and canons, though their reforms were not carried into effect: and after them Bishop Clayton proposed, in the House of Lords, the omission of the Athanasian and Nicene creeds. Watson, Law, and Paley the propositions in their writings which startled their brethren; and Hoadley, preaching a sermon before George I., made such a declaration of the anti-christianity of a state religion, as rent the church with years of violent controversy. By the accession of William and Mary a great schism was made; part of the hierarchy adhering to the Stuart line, refusing to swear allegiance to the new dynasty, and thus acquiring the name of Non-jurors,—splitting the church into High-church and Low-church, two parties whose feuds and heart-burnings continued till late years, when the sect of the Evangelicals has appeared, to bear prolonged evidence to the internal destitution of the principles of cohesion in the Establishment. These lean towards the Calvinistic creed, which they justly assert is the strict literal creed of the church according to the Thirty-nine Articles; and advocate a reform in the manners, and a renewed zeal in the spirit of the clergy. To complete the confusion, and, as if providentially meant to prove before the whole world the folly of attempting to achieve uniformity of opinion by a state creed,—popery, under the sanction of the university of Oxford, and the advocacy of Dr. Pusey, has made a

party in the church. That popery which Henry and Elizabeth refused to allow to be purged out of their church, like a pestilent humour left in the constitution, has burst forth again. This party declares that the church of Rome is the true church, and that the church of England is not another church, but the same, purified from some errors that had crept in. In the latter assertion they are partly right. It is, undoubtedly, as we have always asserted, only the church of Rome in another shape, only not so much from its errors cast off, as from its very worst spirit and principles retained; its dependence on state power, not on the affection of its people; its ambition, intolerance, persecuting spirit, and greedy pursuit of the loaves and fishes. It is, however, gratifying to see that this heresy is pretty much confined to the clergy, and that the congregations begin to protest against it. Mr. Acaster, one of their own body, tells us that almost all varieties of doctrine have been, or may be, found amongst the ministers of the Establishment. When we add to this, that whereas in other countries the church is under the government of one deliberative body, and is in this split into two houses of convocation, which, again, have been a dead letter these hundred years and more, we have before us a picture of unconnectedness that is perfectly amazing.

This is but a melancholy sketch of the history of this celebrated church; but it is one so broadly, copiously, and overwhelmingly delineated in the annals of the nation at large, that it cannot be controverted;—a history, as that of every state religion must be, of power usurping the throne of conscience; thrusting the spirit of the people from free address to, and communion with, their God; and in refusal of obedience—an obedience more deadly and shameful than the most outrageous resistance could possibly be—following them with the fire and sword of extermination; or if that were not allowed, with the sneers and taunts of contempt. Alas! that such should be the miserable results of the Reformation, which at first promised such glorious fruits; that the blood of martyrs, and the fervid prayers and mighty exertions of the noblest intellects and holiest men, should be spent so much in vain.

But such ever has been, and ever will be, the result of that great fundamental error, of linking in unnatural union church and state; of making the church of Christ, who has himself declared that "his kingdom is not of this world," a tool of ambitious kings and rulers.

The nature of the Christian religion is essentially free; the voice of Christ proclaims to men—"The truth shall make you free!" The spirit of Christianity is so delicate in its sensibility, that it shrinks from the touch of the iron and blood-stained hand of political rule; it is so boundless in its aspirations, and expansive in its energies, that it must stand on the broad campaign of civil and intellectual liberty, ere it can stretch its wings effectively for that flight which is destined to encompass the earth, and end

only in eternity. And what has been the consequence of attempting to chain this free spirit to the car of state? Why, that in its days of earlier union, arbitrary power sought to quench in its own sacred name, its own very life!—pursued with fire, sword, fetters, dungeons, and death, its primeest advocates. The history of dissent is full of these horrors: and Ireland, in which the same system was pursued; and Scotland, that, sooner than submit to it, rose and stood to the death in many a mountain pass and bloody valley, can testify to the same odious policy. The oppressions and splendid resistance of the Scottish Covenanters; the bloody havoc made amongst them by the soldiery of reformed kings and a reformed church; and their undaunted and most picturesque celebration of their own simple worship, lifting up their voices amid the rocks and deserts whither they were driven for their adherence to their religion, are well told by their own historians, but have been made of immortal interest by Sir Walter Scott. From the first to the last—from the accession of James I. to the throne of England, to the expulsion of James II. from that throne, a period of upwards of eighty years, the Stuarts persisted in the most tyrannical endeavours to force on their native country of Scotland the episcopal church; and, in consequence, deluged that high-spirited and beautiful country with blood. Many a solitary heath, many a scene of savage rocks in that land, where the peasant now passes by and only wonders at its wild silence, are yet loud in the ear of Heaven in eternal complaints of the bloody and domineering deeds of the English church, wrought by its advice and by the hireling murderers of its royal head; many a name—as Kilsythe, Killicranky, and Bothwell Bridge—will rise up for ever in the souls of men against her. But it will be as well to go a little more particularly into these matters in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENGLISH CHURCH CONTINUED—A CHAPTER OF PERSECUTIONS.

I love to see a man zealous in a good matter, and especially when his zeal shows itself in advancing morality and promoting the happiness of mankind. But when I find the instruments he works with are racks and gibbets, galleys and dungeons; when he imprisons men's persons, confiscates their estates, ruins their families, and burns the body to save the soul, I cannot stick to pronounce of such a one, that, whatever he may think of his faith and his religion,—his faith is vain, and his religion is unprofitable.

ADDISON.

RECORDER.—My Lord, you must take a course with that same fellow.

MAYOR.—Stop his mouth, gaoler. Bring fetters, and stake him to the ground.

PENN.—Do your pleasure;—I matter not your fetters.

RECORDER.—Till now, I never understood the reason of the policy and prudence of the SPANIARDS, in suffering the INQUISITION among them; and certainly it will never be well with us, till something like the SPANISH INQUISITION be in England.

Trial of William Penn and William Mead, at the Old Bailey, for Preaching, in 1670.

THE desolating effects of a political religion never were more conspicuous than during the reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts in this country. The combined influence of royalty and priestcraft upon the Reformation deserves the most solemn consideration. Never were their evil powers more evilly exerted. The rising fabric of religious freedom was suddenly stricken into a melancholy ruin; and to this hour *we* feel the wounds inflicted on *our fathers*.

Henry VIII. made himself the most absolute of monarchs;—his will was the sole law. He declared that his proclamation was tantamount to an act of parliament, and acted upon it both civilly and ecclesiastically. He dealt out royal murders abundantly. This throned Bluebeard slaughtered his wives one after the other; he attainted of high treason sixteen people at once, and executed their sentence upon them without trial; and at another time, burnt six persons together, half papists, half protestants, tying a protestant and a papist arm to arm. The papists he killed because they did not go far enough for him; the protestants, because they would go too far. He made his parliament pass, in 1539, the famous Bloody Statute, or Statute of Six Articles, by which the

actual presence was declared to be in the sacramental bread and wine; priests were forbidden to marry; vows of chastity were to be observed; and mass and auricular confession maintained. This Act was in force for the remainder of his reign; those who opposed it were to suffer death;—*yet this was called a reformation!* This singular royal reformer issued his fiat, that no doctrine should be believed contrary to the Six Articles; no person should sing or rhyme contrary to it; there should be no book possessed by any one against the holy sacrament; no annotations, or preambles in Bibles or Testaments in English; no women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, or labourers, should read the New Testament in English; nothing should be taught contrary to the king's instructions;—*yet this was a reformation!* The bishops and priests took care to oppose his will no further than they were safe; and lay in wait for opportunities to bring back what little popery was taken away. When the pope excommunicated Henry, and declared by his bull that all faith towards him was abolished; that his subjects and enemies should cease all league and allegiance; he issued his royal threat of confiscation of all clerical property, if the clergy did not implicitly adhere to him, and abandon the pope. They knew his nature and their own;—they clung to their livings, and were as quiet as they knew how. Towards the end of his reign, Gardiner, Bonner, and others regained, by their artful conduct, much influence: they managed to overthrow and destroy Lord Cromwell, the friend of liberal measures; and to restore almost every attribute of popery, but the pope himself;—if even that could be said, for they had only abjured an Italian, and got an English one—Pope Henry VIII.

When Henry took the ecclesiastical power into his own hands, nothing could be more despicable than the sycophancy and subserviency of the clergy. There was but one bishop, Fisher of Rochester, who refused to take the oath of supremacy—and for this he was beheaded with Sir Thomas More.* The rest, though

* Sir Thomas More, as we have seen, is one of the most signal instances in all history of the inconsistency of human nature. He was the glory of the age in which he lived, for his brilliant genius, his refined wit, and his integrity of mind,—he would rather lose his head than the approbation of his conscience. Yet this man was at once a declaimer against persecution, and a bloody persecutor himself. In his character of lord chancellor and privy counsellor, he was excessively severe upon those who came before him for violation of the king's Bloody Statute, and even had poor Bainham to his own house, and there whipped and tortured him with his own hand, because he could not persuade him by reasoning to alter his opinions. If we could believe that this resulted from his sharing in the darkness of the age, from not comprehending the divine law of toleration, we might pity and lament; but when we turn to his own writings, and there behold what clear, what philosophical, what Christian views of the truth he had, we are filled with the pro-

they were as hostile to the change as possible, as full of popish bigotry as ever, satisfied themselves with giving all the opposition they could to the spread of real reformation amongst the people. They voted, indeed, in parliament against the bill for investing the king with the power of choosing the bishops and cutting off all payments to the pope; but after it passed, they took care to sign it, according to the custom of those times. They would gladly have stirred up a rebellion, could they have hoped to see it succeed; and hence arose the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the insurrections to which I have already alluded; but the summary measures of the king, the execution of More and Fisher, and of three friars and a monk of the Carthusian order, and three monks of the Charter-house, beside the unceremonious attainder of numbers without any trial, struck terror into them, and quieted them for a time.

Their sycophancy was the more remarkable, in that Gardiner, Bonner, and others of those bloody monsters, subscribed and recommended, along with the archbishops, seventeen other bishops, forty abbots, various deans and prebendaries, and the lower house of convocation, that remarkable book, "The Institution of a Christian Man," called the Bishops' Book, because it was drawn up by several of them; a work which maintains, that there are but two orders of the clergy; that no bishop has scriptural authority over another; that no church shall be consecrated to any being but God; and that we are justified by the merits and salvation of Christ: the very doctrines for which these very men imprisoned, hanged, and burnt such members, and made such havoc amongst honest people in the succeeding reign of Mary.

But it may readily be supposed what sort of a reformation it was, while the old papal canons were retained, with a royal discretion in their administration; while such a man as King Henry VIII. framed the articles of the church himself—amongst which, transubstantiation, auricular confession, and worship of images and saints, are conspicuous: while the parochial livings were

foundest wonder. In his Utopia, which he wrote when about thirty-four years of age, he shows us that he saw completely through popery. At page 21, he calls the abbots "*holy men*, who thought it not enough to live at their own ease, and to do no good to the public, but resolved to do it hurt instead of good." He was the friend of Erasmus, and ridiculed the monks and friars as cruelly as he did in his caustic "*Colloquies*." He makes Utopians worship no being but God; put all images out of their churches; choose their own priests, who are independent of all bishops, and exercise no authority over their flocks except to exclude wicked members. He represents them decreeing the *most perfect liberty to every man to worship how and where he would*; that men might be persuaded, but not persecuted for their religion. P. 191. How is such a fall from his philosophy to his practice to be explained, except by force of a bigoted education over the generous liberality of youth, and the contagious spirit of persecuting zeal?

filled with ignorant friars and monks, who had been turned out of their convents, in order to save government the forty-five shillings which had been stipulated to be given to every such friar and monk at the dissolution of their houses;—monks so ignorant, that they could not read a syllable; and so habitually luxurious, that, says Giraldus Cambrensis, “the monks of St. Swithin’s came in a body to complain to Henry, that his commissioners had reduced their fare till there was no living. Henry inquired into this lamentable reduction, and found that they had been accustomed at dinner to thirteen dishes, and the commissioner had reduced them to ten : on which* Henry exclaimed, with his usual oath—‘By God’s teeth! my good fellows, he hath left you too many; for I myself have but three!’” There is also a letter from these same commissioners, preserved in the Bodleian Library, in which they give an account of the good abbot of Maiden Bradley, who told them, in perfect simplicity of heart, that he had brought up a large family of children, and settled them all well in the world, except one daughter, whom he hoped soon to portion off advantageously with abbey revenue; and who thanked God especially, that he had never meddled with married women, but always maids, and the fairest he could find, and afterwards got them well wedded! Such were the men put into the pulpits of this singularly reformed church; and such is the manner in which the alliance of state and church has always operated; the policy of the former poisoning the very fountain-springs of the latter’s existence.

In fact, the head of the reformed church was as rank a papist as he was a tyrant to the last. His will discovered the fact, that, spite of the diffusion of the Bible, he put implicit faith in the most groundless fables of the papal creed to the last moment of his existence. Like his father, he left six hundred pounds a year, a great sum then, to the church at Windsor, *for priests to say mass for his soul every day*, and for four abbeys a-year, and sermons, and the distribution of alms at every one of them, and for a maintenance of thirteen poor knights.*

Edward VI., as I have already observed, was well disposed, but he was only a child; and Cranmer and Ridley, with a few privy-counsellors, taking advantage of the Act of Supremacy passed by Henry VIII., proceeded to model a religious establishment according to their own notions; and how unfit they were to organize a Christian church, must be apparent from the circumstance of the spirit of persecution, even to the death, being alive in them. Having drawn up their Book of Common Prayer, they obtained an act of parliament, though eight bishops and several noblemen pro-

* The poor knights are kept up, but what is become of the funds for the masses? Have the clergy, who, in the case of endowed grammar schools, contend that the testator’s will can in no wise be departed from, violated it in these? Or who say the masses? The quarterly abbeys, I am told, are still celebrated, though a popish practice, founded on the doctrine of purgatory.

tested against it, decreeing heavy penalties, even to imprisonment for life, against all who should dare to refuse to use it, or should write against it; thus making penal the very liberty they themselves had just used of dissenting from Rome. Nay, as if to give practical proof of the folly as well as wickedness of attempting to compel uniformity of opinion in matters of religion, within three years, having changed their own mind, they altered their Book, and got another act to make dissent from *that* penal also. Cranmer in a manner compelled the boy-king to sign the death-warrant of Joan Bocher; who did it after much resistance and remonstrance, with tears, and saying, that if it were wrong, Cranmer must answer it to God. As Cranmer had been concerned in the burning of Lambert and Ann Askew, a beautiful and witty woman, of noble descent, who gave them a very striking test for the real presence in the hallowed bread, telling them to put it in a box for a fortnight, and they would then see,—if it were mouldy, they might be very sure there was no God in it; so he now proceeded to burn this poor woman; and two years afterwards Van Paris, or Pare, as Burnet calls him, a Dutchman. He and his colleagues were doubtless well-intentioned men, for they afterwards testified their sincerity in their own blood; but they had been nurtured in the cruel faith of papacy, and were far enough from having truly learned the merciful gospel of Christ. So little had they advanced out of the Romish darkness when they began to legislate for Christianity, that they stiffly persecuted the venerable Hooper, because he could not consent to wear the popish canonical robes, on his installation into the bishopric of Gloucester. Rather than wear those copes, and tippets, and rochets, which afterwards occasioned so much suffering, he would have declined the bishopric; but, no!—he must both be a bishop, and wear those abhorred robes; and till he consented, was harassed, menaced, and finally imprisoned. So miserable was the progress made in real reformation in this boasted reign, that, after all their alterations, neither the king, the bishops, nor the people, were satisfied with their handiworks. Bullinger told the exiles at Frankfort, that “Cranmer had drawn up a book of prayers, a hundred times more perfect than the one then used; but that it could not be introduced, for the archbishop was matched with such a wicked clergy and convocation, and other enemies.” The celebrated Bucer, divinity professor at Cambridge, drew up and presented to the king, at his own particular request, a work containing a plan of ecclesiastical reform, in which he contended, that “the old popish habits should be laid aside; that godfathers should not answer in the children’s name as well as their own; that bishops should confine themselves strictly to their spiritual functions; that some should have coadjutors, and all a council of presbyters—an excellent suggestion; that there should be rural bishops set over every twenty or thirty parishes, who should often gather their clergy together, and inspect them closely; and that a provincial synod should meet twice

a year; when a secular man, in the king's name, should be appointed to observe their proceedings."

Here was a plan of strict discipline, likely to keep the clergy in order. The book made a great impression on the king's mind,—as may be seen by remarks on it, left in his own hand-writing; but he was already sinking in health, and it never was proceeded in; although Cranmer both approved it, and exceedingly disliked the plan of convocations now established.

Mary succeeded, and deluged the country with protestant blood; and those priests who had pretended conversion to keep their livings, now fell back to avowed popery, and became terrible persecutors; especially Bishop Bonner, one of the most sanguinary wretches in history—who, with the characteristic selfishness of all tyrants, when confined in the Tower in Edward's reign, for his insolent intractability, sent this message to his servants, that "he gave them to the devil, the devil, and all the devils, if they did not send him plenty of pears and puddings;" a man who now thrust the best spirits of the age into his coal-hole, and tortured them in his own house, with a fiendish delight in agonies scarcely to be paralleled by the worst of Spanish Inquisitors.

It has been generally calculated by historians, that the martyrs of this short reign amounted to from 274, as Speed has it, to 290; but Lord Burleigh, in his treatise, *The Execution of Justice in England*, asserts that 290 were burnt alive, and that the total number of those who perished by imprisonment, torments, famine, and fire, amounted to nearly 400. Amongst these were twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, a hundred husbandmen, labourers, and servants; *fifty-five* women, and four children! The most eminent were John Rogers, who had assisted Tyndale to translate the Bible; Bishop Hooper; Lawrence Saunders, an eminent preacher at Coventry; Dr. Rowland Taylor, the noble pastor of Hadleigh in Suffolk; Dr. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, at Caermarthen; John Bradford, prebendary of St. Paul's, reputed the holiest man of his time; and with him John Leaf, a tallow-chandler's apprentice; the venerable and apostolic Latimer, in his eightieth year; Ridley, and Cranmer. *Four, five, six, seven,* and on one occasion *thirteen*, were murdered in one fire. The prisons of London, and the Tower, were absolutely crammed with victims, and thousands fled in consternation out of the realm.

Elizabeth followed, and filled all men with hopes, soon to be lamentably disappointed. On her first coming to the crown, she desired Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, when officiating in the royal chapel, to omit the elevation of the host in the mass, and on his refusal, marked her displeasure by withdrawing with her ladies; yet immediately afterwards set about confirming all sorts of popish ceremonies, and revising the liturgy of Edward to bring it nearer to popery; omitting the prayer in the liturgy for delivery "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities," and introducing words into the administration of the

sacrament more favourable to the notion of bodily presence. In her civil government she was prudent, bold, and successful, though too harsh for a female sovereign; but in religion she was one of the most intolerable of tyrants. The whole reign of this queen, of glorious memory, exhibits but one continued attempt to crush all reformation. In truth, she was a thorough papist, and actually sent an ambassador to the pope, on her accession to the throne, to treat for the restoration of England to the mother church; but the pontiff assumed such lofty language on the occasion, and talked so largely of her unconditional submission to his paternal authority, and of receiving her as an erring but repentant child, that it touched her haughty spirit, and she broke off the negotiation. She was a true daughter of Henry VIII., and could not bear the idea of surrendering that precious supremacy, which he assumed and transmitted to her. As with him, so it was with her, not a question of religion, but of personal power. Burnet states, that when the revived liturgy was introduced at Midsummer, 1559, the oath of supremacy was tendered with it, and that out of the fifteen bishops, all then remaining, fourteen refused the oath. It seems, therefore, more than probable, that the liturgy might have been swallowed, had the oath of supremacy not been in the way; for the compliance of the clergy in general was by no means trivial. It was found, that out of nine thousand four hundred beneficed men in England, there were no more than fourteen bishops, six abbots, twelve deans, fifteen heads of colleges, fifty prebendaries, and eighty rectors of parishes, that left their benefices on account of the change of religion. In truth, none but the most compliant of consciences could pass through the violent changes of those days; from old popery to Henry VIII.'s popery, from that to Edward VI.'s protestantism, then to Mary's old popery, and back to Elizabeth's semi-popery. In her hands the bishops became most passive, non-resisting slaves. Every one is familiar with her message to one of them—"I made you, and, if you do not obey, by God, I will unfrock you!" What she ordered, however contrary to their consciences or wills, they dared not, for the life of them, oppose. Dean Colet, being once appointed to preach before the convocation, in one of the most remarkable sermons ever delivered, exposing and condemning the whole system of a state church in uncompromising terms, said—"The church is disgraced by the secular employment in which many priests and bishops involve themselves; they are the servants of men more than of God; and dare neither say nor do any thing but as they think it will be acceptable and pleasant to their princes:" so it was now. There were a few, however, who ought to be excepted from this charge—such were Parkhurst and Grindal, who suffered the queen's displeasure in consequence. Parker, too, would fain have declined the primacy, and pleaded strenuously his unfitness, both from age, need of mental quiet, and from bodily infirmities, but, as in Hooper's case, the office was forced upon him. Much better for him had it been, had he con-

tinued firm in his refusal, for the unnatural elevation of the archbishopric brought him to become a persecutor. Other good men, whose talents and piety had rendered them illustrious, kept out of the way of the court as much as possible, to avoid being put into bishoprics, which they regarded as not founded in the spirit of the gospel. Parkhurst, returning from Zurich, in 1559, got quietly down to his living in Gloucestershire, and zealously entreated all his influential friends to get him excused when the bishopric of Norwich was offered him, but he was compelled to accept it. Sampson refused a bishopric, writing to his friend Peter Martyr, that "he could not think it lawful to swear to the queen as supreme head of the church under Christ. He thought, likewise, that the want of discipline made that a bishop could not do his duty. The whole method of electing bishops was totally different from the primitive institution. The consent of the clergy or people was not so much as asked." The worthy old apologist Jewel, in a letter to his friend Simler, congratulated himself on his nomination to a see, with the "hope that our bishops will be made pastors, labourers, and watchmen. And that they may be the better fitted for this, the great riches of the bishoprics are to be diminished, and to be reduced to a certain mediocrity; that so, being delivered from that king-like pomp, and the noisiness of a court family, they may live in greater tranquillity, and have more leisure to take care of Christ's flock." In another letter, he earnestly denounces those popish vestments retained in the church, calls them habits of the stage, and says a good cause does not need them; but that ignorant priests, stupid as logs of wood, having neither learning, spirit, nor good life to commend them, seek to recommend themselves by that *comical habit*; and wishes that these things may be taken away, and extirpated to the deepest roots. On these grounds, also, the venerable Miles Coverdale, Bernard Gilpin, John Knox, Whitehead, and others refused bishoprics.

Such was the pernicious scheme of church government settled by Elizabeth, and which has continued to this time to be lauded by the interested of this age as beauty and perfection itself—a scheme which, while it drove away such men as those we have mentioned, or compelled, with reluctance, into its service such as Jewel, Parkhurst, and Grindal, was just to the taste of the time-serving and venal. Elizabeth, however, regarding neither scruples on the one hand, nor greediness on the other, proceeded, without parliament or convocation, to decree, rescind, instal, or depose dignitaries at pleasure—having no idea of the liberty of any conscience but her own. She had Edward's forty-two articles revised and reduced to thirty-nine, as they now stand; bringing them as near to popery as possible, and expecting every one to conform entirely to them. She declared that she did not want to look into people's hearts;—they might think as they pleased; but they should outwardly, and in all points, conform to her plan: with

her, hypocrites and good subjects were synonymous! Whoever dared to differ in doctrine, or rites, she visited with the utmost severity. The distress this produced, was general and extreme. Numbers of worthy clergymen were expelled from their livings, and they and their families brought to ruin. They were fined and imprisoned, and that to death. By a survey made in 1585 and 1586, it appeared that out of nearly 10,000 parishes, there were but 2000 which had ministers; the rest had been driven from their pulpits by her arbitrary and sanguinary laws, and those who remained were notorious papists, or men so ignorant that they could not preach, but were obliged to have homilies framed for them to read—many of them common mechanics, ordained because better could not be had. The people prayed and petitioned earnestly for preachers—the bishop of Bangor having but two in all his diocese; and when Archbishop Grindal ventured to urge her to comply with the desires of her subjects, she told him it was good to have but few preachers,—three or four in a county were sufficient. She herself seldom attended preaching, though she did prayers. She was averse to the spread of education, thinking it made the people less submissive. The universities were in an equally low condition. There were few able and learned men in them, but the majority of professorships were filled by ignorant and indolent papists. Thus were all the noble souls of this great country cast at the feet of one woman, who maintained with a feverish asperity her absolute prerogative over the understandings, consciences, and persons of every creature. Did any one print a pamphlet which in the most distant manner reflected on the then state of things, or breathed a freer sentiment, she speedily sent forth an order to bring in all those books and burn them, and happy was the author if he escaped a good sound fine and severe imprisonment. Did a member of parliament venture on a bold expression, his fate was the same. Privilege of parliament was utterly extinguished. The Commons, in 1571, ventured to represent to her the woeful lack of preachers, and to implore her to see that better instruction was provided for the people, but she broke it up without taking any notice of the petition. In the next session, they ventured to touch on the subject of church ceremonies, and framed two bills to regulate them; but she quickly sent them word that those matters belonged exclusively to her, and desired them to give up the two bills to her, which they did in the most humble manner. In 1579, the House passed a vote, that the members should, on a certain day, attend Temple church, and hear preaching and prayers for the preservation of the queen and the realm; which she no sooner heard of, than she sent, by her vice-chamberlain, to let them know “that she did much admire at so great rashness in that House, as to put in execution such a project without her privy and pleasure first made known to them.” Whereupon the House humbly acknowledged its offence, and craved forgiveness.

She exacted the same passive obedience from the bishops. San-

dys, when bishop of Worcester, ventured to advise her to take down a crucifix, with the Virgin and St. John, from her chapel, but she threatened to deprive him; and when Grindal refused to put in execution some of her arbitrary laws against the clergy, and went so far as to tell her that, though a mighty queen, she was accountable to God; and that without offence to God, their ministry could not be suppressed; her wrath was so violent, that by an order from the Star Chamber she confined him to his house, suspended him from his archiepiscopal functions, threatened to deprive him, and, in spite of his submission, continued his sequestration till the year before his death; never after liking him.

The Star Chamber and High Commission Court, a court of her own special erection, were the great instruments of her inflictions on her suffering people; and sad would be the list of her victims, could we afford to detail them. In one year she deprived one hundred parish clergymen; and at the same time that she passed a law, fining every person who absented himself from his parish church twenty pounds a month, such was the dearth of preachers, that in many places there was not service done for twenty miles round. Hume blames the nonconformists for not setting up separate congregations. But what were they to do? Had they withdrawn from their parish church, the enormous penalty would have fallen upon them, as it did on thousands. The truth is, however, that they did attempt to set up such separate congregations; and what was the consequence? They held meetings in private houses, in fields, and woods, near the metropolis. In 1567, a congregation of about a hundred met at Plumbers' Hall, in London, where they were soon pounced upon, and as many of them as could be seized, hurried off to gaol, where they were kept for more than a year. They formed also a presbytery at Wandsworth in 1572, the first established in England; but the bishops had speedy intelligence of it, and instructions were soon issued by royal proclamation for a more rigorous prosecution of such offenders against uniformity. In 1575, a congregation of Dutch Baptists were discovered near Aldgate. The bishop's officers were soon amongst them, and twenty-seven of them were seized and hurried to prison. Four recanted, and were sentenced to bear fagots at St. Paul's Cross during sermon, as a token that they were worthy of the flames. *Ten men and one woman were condemned to the stake; the woman recanted; eight out of the ten condemned were banished, and two actually burnt!* Great and vehement appeals were made to the queen on behalf of those sufferers, by John Fox, the martyrologist, and the Dutch residents, but they could not make the slightest impression on her. Such were the inducements to set up separate congregations under the rule of the virgin queen. Let us select a few other instances of the treatment of her subjects, from the mass.

Mr. Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was a profound scholar and most popular preacher, so much so, that his

lectures drew large crowds of students; and when he preached at St. Mary's, they were forced to take down the windows. In his lectures he attacked certain blemishes of the English hierarchy, and insisted, especially, that the names and functions of archbishops and archdeacons ought to be abolished, as having no foundation in Scripture: that bishops and deacons ought to be reduced to the apostolical institution; the bishops to teach, and the deacons to take care of the poor: that the church should not be governed by bishops, chancellors, or officials of the archdeacons, but every church by its own minister and presbyters; every minister to have charge of one certain flock; every bishop to be chosen by the church, and not by the state. For these doctrines he was speedily deprived of his fellowship, and expelled the university. Whitgift undertook to refute his opinions; and a long and strenuous controversy was the result; Whitgift obtaining by the defence of the political creed, wealth, honour, and bishoprics—poor Cartwright, poverty, houseless wanderings, vexations, and imprisonment, from his prosperous antagonist. One clergyman was imprisoned till he died, for omitting some passages of the marriage service, and form of baptism. In 1578, John Stubbs, a student of Lincoln's Inn, published a tract called the *Gaping Gulf*, showing the danger of the projected marriage of the queen with the duke of Anjou, a papist. Elizabeth quickly laid hold on him, his printer, and publisher, and sentenced them in her wrath to have their right hands cut off, which was publicly done upon a scaffold in Westminster, by driving a cleaver through the wrist with a mallet. What would our authors and publishers say to this sort of treatment now-a-days? Copping and Thacker, for spreading the tracts of the Brownists, were also, some time after, put to death, after long and severe imprisonment, with many of their friends.

The lords of the council, Lord Burleigh, the earls of Warwick, Shrewsbury, and Leicester, Lord Charles Howard, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Francis Walsingham, were so much disgusted with the cruelties practised by the bishops, that they wrote to Whitgift, now primate, and to the bishop of London, saying, "they had heard of sundry complaints out of divers counties, of proceedings against the clergy; some deprived, and others suspended, by them and their officials; but had delayed writing them, in hopes their Lordships would have staid their hasty proceedings; but they were compelled to do it now, hearing of great numbers of zealous and learned preachers being ejected from their cures in Essex; and that no service of any kind was done in many of those parishes; in others, it was performed by persons notoriously unfit, being ignorant, chargeable with enormous crimes, as drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming, haunting of alehouses, etc., against whom no proceedings were taken." With this they sent a list of worthy persons deprived, and one of vicious persons continued, and a third of pluralists and non-residents—people as

common in that day as this; being the peculiar growth of the aystem. The prelates took no notice of this remonstrance; but went on persecuting the good, and winking at the bad. The magistrates of Essex ventured to make a similar expostulation, but only got themselves into trouble: the people generally petitioned, but in vain. What was to be hoped from these bishops may well be imagined from this circumstance:—His Lordship of London, before his preferment, published a book, thus addressing the hierarchy: "Come off, ye bishops; away with your superfluities; yield up your thousands; be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priest-like, and not prince-like. Let the queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands, to maintain the wars which you procured, and to build and found schools in every parish; that every parish may have its preacher, to live honestly, and not pompously, which will never be till your lands be dispersed, and bestowed upon many, which now feed and fatten but one." When he was, in his palmy days of bishophood, reminded of this, he replied, "When I was a child, I thought as a child, I spoke as a child!" A more striking instance cannot be found of the Satanic influence of a political religion on the weakness of human nature.

Most of the prisons were now filled with nonconformists, fifty-six being committed at one time. "In these dungeons," says their historian, "they died like rotten sheep," from hunger, cold, and the noisome state of the prisons; and three of their ministers, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, were executed at Tyburn with peculiar circumstances of severity. The two former were taken and placed under the gallows, to see if the terrors of death would not appal them; but that not being the case, they were remanded for some time, and then brought out and hanged. The latter was hurried away unexpectedly from his dinner, and despatched with a frightful haste.

By these atrocities, misery was spread through the country, and ignorance in an equal degree, for where the honest pastors were turned out, who were to take their places but the low and unprincipled? Thousands fled to the continent, from the iron hand of this reforming queen: spies from the spiritual courts were every where watching the ministers, if they deviated in the least from the prescribed mode of worshipping the image of uniformity which this she-Nebuchadnezzar had set up; and the people, if they had absented themselves from church, were noted, and summoned into these courts, the ruinous penalties laid on them, and, in default of their payment, they were cast into prison. The messengers of the High Commission Court had thirty-three shillings and four pence for forty-one miles, so that they looked out vigilantly for business; and nothing but the preserving power of God could have left alive a remnant of the faithful. Burnet, the church's own historian, closes his account of this reign with sad regret for the crushing of

true reformation, and endeavours to console himself and readers with the hope of a better state of things in heaven! The queen obtained credit abroad, for sending to Scotland and to the continent aid to the protestants; but her chief motive was the political influence this gave her;—at home she was one of the most implacable enemies to the freedom of conscience.

In 1583, John Slade, a schoolmaster, was hanged, drawn, and quartered at Winchester for refusing to take the oath of the queen's supremacy; and the same year John Bodie, also a schoolmaster, suffered the same cruel death at Andover, on the same charge. The next year, John Mundy, a priest, had the same sentence executed on him on the same ground, at Tyburn. Two years afterwards, Robert Anderton and William Marsden, two catholic priests, for a like charge, were similarly put to death in the Isle of Wight. The same year, John Adams was executed at London for being a catholic priest, and daring to exercise his religious functions. In 1591, Roger Dickenson and Ralph Milner were executed at Winchester; the former, a priest, for executing his office; the latter, a poor man with seven children, for aiding him. Lawrence Humphrey, in the same city, was put to death the same year for calling the queen a heretic in the delirium of a fever; and Jonas Bird, a youth of nineteen, was, at the same place, in 1593, hanged, drawn, and quartered, and his head set upon a pole over the city-gate, for being a catholic, and maintaining the pope's supremacy. The whole number of those who were put to death during this reign, on account of their religion, is calculated at 200, exclusive of such as died in prison, in banishment, or from injuries and hardships.

With such prelates as Whitgift, and Bancroft, the first publisher of the divine right of bishops, about her, as she grew old, she grew more and more intolerant. Whitgift, who laid the foundation of his advancement in his controversy with Cartwright, and furthered it by a course of most consistent bigotry, and subserviency to the crown, was one of the most fierce persecutors that ever wore a mitre. He used to go down on his knees before Elizabeth to implore her never to give the slightest favour to the nonconformists, lest they should be able to say that she had been in error. Under his guidance, she, in church matters, forsook the wiser counsels of her great statesmen, Burleigh, Walsingham, and Raleigh, who protested against his cruelties, and even enacted a law, that whoever above sixteen years of age should refuse to go to church, should attend a conventicle, or deny her supremacy, should be imprisoned without bail till they conformed to the church, and signed a formula of recantation. Refusing to sign this, they should be banished for life; and if they did not quit the realm within the time appointed, or returned to it without the royal licence, should be put to death without benefit of clergy. Such was this nursing-mother of the English church; and then came James I.

This poor man, whom the servile bishops of his court cried up as a second Solomon, had been educated by the celebrated George Buchanan, who had stuffed him out with musty Latin, as his tailor had done with padding and quilting till he assumed the shape of a man, deplorable as it was. A more empty, silly, talking, self-satisfied, vaunting, and despotic creature never sat upon a throne. Bishop Burnet says "he was the scorn of the age; a mere pedant, without true judgment, courage, or steadiness; his reign being a continual course of malpractices." While in Scotland, he addressed the general assembly, and thanked God that he was the head of the best and purest kirk in the world, making sad comparisons against the English establishment, "with its ill-sung mass, wanting nothing of popery but the liftings;" and declaring that to his death he would stand by his own kirk. But, when he arrived in England, the bishops, with their servile obeisance; their kneelings before him; their rank flatteries; their listening with affected admiration to every word that he spoke, soon produced a marvellous change; and he thanked God as fervently, that he was king where the church knew how to reverence a king. The bishops were delighted with their discovery. They had trembled at the apprehension of a presbyterian king; and they found they had got a weak, conceited boaster, who, by adulation, was ready to be the creature of their extremest will. They made him the most contemptible of tyrants. It is humiliating to hear his continual boastings of the omnipotence of kingship: "As God can make and kill in his creation, so can a king in his kingdom;" this was his favourite language to his parliament. The bishops having prepared their puppet of a king so well that, within nine months after his arrival in England, he was continually uttering the cuckoo-note—"No bishop, no king," prevailed upon him to call a conference between them and the puritan divines; where he thundered out his displeasure against the latter, and declared he would "make them conform, or he would harry them out of the land, or worse;" and the prelates took care that he did not forget his promise. They laboured to inspire him with the opinion of his absolute power, a belief to which he was prone enough of himself. In the Hampton Court conference, Whitgift, who had figured as the prime persecutor of Elizabeth's reign, was so delighted at the king's approbation of the *ex officio* oath of the High Commission Court, that he exclaimed, "Undoubtedly, your Majesty spoke by the special assistance of God's Spirit!"

Sir John Harrington, who was present, in relating what passed, said in reference to this remark,—"The bishops said his Majesty spoke by the assistance of the Spirit. I wist not what they mean, but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed." James, in fact, had not allowed the puritans to send such persons to the conference as they chose, but had summoned four of his own selection, and pitched himself, nine bishops, and nine other dignitaries against them. His object seemed only to insult and brow-beat them, and

his language was such as would have disgraced a coal-heaver. When Dr. Reynolds requested that they might be allowed to hold those meetings for religious worship called prophesyings, which had been so much commended by Archbishop Grindal, he broke out,—“Ay, is it that ye would be at? If you aim at a Scotch presbytery, let me tell you, it agrees as well with monarchy as God with the devil. Then shall Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick meet, and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, *Le roi s'avisera*. Stay, I pray you, for me seven years before you demand, and then if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken to you, for that government will keep me in health, and find me work enough.”

Bancroft, at the hearing of language so delectable to episcopal ears, fell on his knees, exclaiming—“I protest my heart melteth for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given such a king as since Christ's time hath not been!”

Bancroft became archbishop of Canterbury, one of the basest sycophants that ever wore a mitre; what Neale calls “a perfect creature of the prerogative, and a declared enemy of the religious and civil liberties of his country.” Under his superintendence the book of canons, now in force, revised and enlarged from those of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, passed the two houses of convocation. By these canons it is provided, that whoever shall speak against the Thirty-nine Articles, or against the established mode of church government, shall be excommunicated, and not restored, except by the archbishop; and whoever shall separate from the church to form any new brotherhood, shall be excommunicated, and by no means be restored; that is, he should, at that time of day, be put out of the benefit of all law, and subjected to all manner of injuries and injustice. If a barrister presumed to plead for him, he was himself, as in the case of Nicolas Fuller, immediately shut up in prison for life. A member of parliament even alluding in his speech to the sufferings of the people, James was so highly offended, that he immediately dissolved the House, and was advised by Bancroft and his servile associates to do without a parliament. A more utter state of slavery cannot be imagined than this, in which a man might neither speak a word against any thing in the church, nor withdraw himself quietly from it; the subject was gagged and bound, and reduced to something worse than an automaton. The consequence was, that the nonconformists were persecuted with such bitter cruelty, that they fled in crowds to Holland and Germany, as in the last reign; and now also in large companies to America, where this royal bigot, in the overruling of God's providence, was thus made the unconscious means of planting the vast republic of the United States.

In 1611, James burnt two men for heretics; Bartholomew Legate, in Smithfield, and Edmund Wightman, at Lichfield. A third was to have shared the same fate, but the people expressed so strong a feeling on the subject, that it was thought better to

let him lie for life in prison. Dr. Milner, in his History of Winchester, says, that between 1604 and 1618 he signed the death warrants of twenty-five catholic priests and laymen, besides banishing one hundred priests.

In 1617, he went to Scotland, and there proceeded to aggravate the evil of episcopacy, which he had inflicted on that country in 1606, telling the parliament and general assembly, that it was "a special prerogative of kings, with their bishops, to order the church as they thought fit; and, sirs," said he, "for your approving, or disapproving, deceive not yourselves. I will not have my reason opposed." So he went on to suspend, deprive, and banish, whoever did oppose him, as he had done here. Having finished this work to his kingly satisfaction, he returned home, and adopting the doctrine of Arminianism, made it a fresh cause against many of the clergy and people, who were disciples of Calvin; and, as if this were not enough of royal folly and inconsistency, he endeavoured to marry his son Charles to a popish princess. As the foolish old man despised any match for his son less than the daughter of a king, he entered into treaty for the infanta of Spain; and, to effect its accomplishment, submitted to make the youth swear that the children resulting from the marriage should be educated in popery till thirteen years of age, and that he himself would, as often as the infanta desired it, listen to popish persuasions for his own conversion. When the match was happily broken off, the hypocritical old fellow declared that nothing did he detest so much as popery; and that all this was but an experiment of his kingcraft! A son thus educated in despotism and duplicity; thus taught to regard all human laws as subject to his fiat, and all conscience as a farce; might be expected to inflict misery on the realm, if he did not experience it himself; but he did both. The sins of the father fell heavily upon him. As for James himself, like Hezekiah, the evil did not come in his day. The parliament and people had both been so smitten with the iron hand of Henry and Elizabeth, that they were like a pack of beaten hounds; they dared not for their lives resist the most arbitrary act; they crouched and trembled, and obeyed. But the weakness of the Stuarts did not escape national observation; the ass was discerned through the gaps of the lion's skin, in which he had wrapped himself; the spirit of the people revived, and in Charles's reign showed itself with an aspect of terrible retribution. Wealth, population, commerce, and intelligence, spite of all obstacles, had been on the increase; the civil government of Elizabeth had been politic and successful. The Bible, too, had been secretly working a mighty revolution in the popular mind. In the troubles and sufferings, which kings and priests had inflicted, it had been the secret and precious companion: its poetry, the most magnificent; its maxims, the most profound; its promises, the most momentous in the world, were not lost on the human heart: its doctrines became more clearly understood; and the

spirit of man rose with its dignifying knowledge. An awful path was before Charles. He was moulded to despotism, and the people to its resistance. The people had become conscious of their strength. Charles, blinded by his royal education, perceived not that consciousness:—he therefore proceeded with the temerity of a man who has one day crossed a frozen lake, and the next advances upon the ice without observing that it has thawed in the night, and is lost. He acted with a more fatal, because a more solemn wilfulness, than his father had done under very different circumstances; and at his right hand soon stood a high priest and counsellor, most admirably fitted to hasten and make sure his ruin this was Laud.

There had been an ascent in prelatical evil through Parker, Whitgift, and Bancroft—Laud completed the climax. Charles trod in the steps of his father—Laud marched far beyond the track of his predecessors with a daring hardihood, more haughty and cruel than they ever reached. Every one is familiar with their deeds and their fate, and therefore I shall but glance at them. In Scotland, Charles proceeded to complete the work which his father had begun, of bringing the kirk to conformity with the English church. Laud had filled him with a lofty idea of the glory to be derived from this labour; stirred him up to go there in person; attended him there; and together, king and priest, produced such a storm of popular resentment as prepared the way for the destruction of both these tyrannical men. When the dean of faculty began to read the new liturgy in St. Giles's church, the people assailed him with such violence, that it was with difficulty the provosts and bailiffs of the city could rescue him and the bishop from their hands. Jenny Geddes, an old woman, at nearly the first words of the liturgy uttered, flung a stool at the dean's head, crying, "A pape! a pape!" and the whole congregation followed her example with hideous noises, and clapping of hands, while the populace without thundered at the doors, and sent showers of stones through the windows. The whole town and country were in a ferment; and it did not end till the general assembly had condemned the king's measures, and put down the bishops. Charles prepared to resent this, and to enforce his scheme with arms: but here again the spirit of the Scots was too much for him. They compelled him to retreat before them; followed him over the border, and obliged him to treat with them at Ripon, and to call a free parliament in England, where the matter should be decided. To what humiliation the priests had brought him! It was they who had inflated his silly old father with such notions of kingly despotism; they it was who had contaminated both father and son with their pernicious doctrines; who had set them upon this work of reducing their own country to the slavery they had effected in England;—history therefore does not present a more luminous fact than this—to priestcraft Charles became a fearful victim, and the whole realm suffered risk with him.

V In England his conduct was exactly of the same character. Those of his bishops who were inclined to be moderate, were disgraced and banished from their sees. Abbot, the primate, a good man, was suspended for refusing to license a sermon eulogizing the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was treated in a similar manner; whereas Montague and Manwaring, for preaching up the royal prerogative against the people's rights, were promoted to bishoprics, in defiance of parliament, which had voted them incapable of any ecclesiastical preferment; and Sibthorpe, whose sermon Abbot would not license, was made prebendary of Peterborough, and rector of Burton Latimer, in Wiltshire. Davenant, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burgess, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Hall, whose poetry and liberality of spirit will both be held in long and honourable remembrance, and others, were harassed because they did not preach exactly to the king's mind; but Dr. Leighton was treated in a manner that could only have been expected from savages. He had published a pamphlet called "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," wherein he had shown the bishops their own likeness, telling them that "they were men of blood; and that there never was a greater persecution, nor higher indignities done to God's people, in any nation, than in this, since the death of Elizabeth: that prelacy was notoriously anti-christian, and that the church had the laws from the Scripture, not from the king; for no king can make laws for the house of God." This was sure to raise all the prelatical fury. Accordingly they soon had him in the High Commission Court, and condemned him to *prison for life; to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; to be degraded from his ministry; whipped; set on the pillory; have one of his ears cut off; one side of his nose slit; and to be branded on the forehead with a double S. S., for a sower of sedition; then to be carried back to prison, and, after a few days, be pilloried again; whipped; have the other side of his nose slit; the other ear cut off; and shut up in his dungeon, to be released only by death.*

~ Laud pulled off his cap when this merciless sentence was pronounced, and gave God thanks for it!!

~ All this was inflicted on this learned and excellent man, formerly professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh; and when, on the sitting of the long parliament, he sent in his petition for his release, the whole House was moved to tears by the recital of those sufferings which priests had inflicted and rejoiced in. They were thus expressed: "That he was apprehended coming from a sermon, by a High Commission warrant, and dragged along the streets with bills and staves to London House. That the gaoler of Newgate clapped him in irons, and carried him, with a strong power, into a loathsome and miserable dog-hole, full of rats and mice, that had no light but a little grate; the roof being uncovered, so that the snow and rain beat upon him, and where he had no bed, or place for fire, but a ruinous, old, smoky chimney.

In this woeful place he was shut up fifteen weeks, nobody being suffered to come to him. That, the fourth day after his commitment, the pursuivant, with a mighty multitude, came to his house to search for Jesuits' books, and used his wife in such a barbarous and inhuman manner, as he was ashamed to express. That they rifled every person and place; holding a pistol to the heart of a child of five years old, threatening to kill him if he did not discover the books; broke open chests, presses, boxes; carried every thing away, even household stuff, apparel, arms, etc. That, at the end of fifteen weeks, he was served with a subpoena, on an information laid against him by the attorney-general, whose dealing with him was full of cruelty and deceit. That he was then so sick that his physician thought he had been poisoned, because all his hair and skin came off; and that in the height of this sickness, the cruel sentence was passed upon him, and executed, Nov. 26th, 1630, when he received thirty-six stripes upon his naked back, with a threefold cord, his hand being tied to a stake, and then stood almost two hours in the pillory, in frost and snow, before he was branded in the face, his nose slit, and his ears cut off; after which he was carried by water to the Fleet; shut up in a room that he was never well, and, after eight years, turned into the common gaol!!!

The treatment of William Prynne, of Dr. Bastwick, and Mr. Burton, is known to every body; for Prynne being an eminent lawyer, and Bastwick a physician, the indignation excited in the members of their respective professions, caused their sentence to become more political in its consequences. Prynne had written "*Histriomastix*," a work against plays, maypoles, church festivals, and sports, things of which the royal family were extremely fond, and which James, by his "*Book of Sports*," had encouraged and made not merely legal, but essential, but which the puritans conscientiously disapproved, and for the non-reading of which from their pulpits, many of their clergy had been severely handled. This strange book recommended races, football, dances, archery, leaping, and various sports in the church-yard, immediately after service, and tippling by the drinking of church-ales, clerk-ales, etc.; to attack it was therefore to attack the church. For writing "so malicious and dangerous a libel," as the attorney-general styled it, Prynne was condemned "to have the book burnt by the common hangman; to be put from the bar for ever, and rendered incapable of his profession; to be turned out of the society of Lincoln's Inn; to be degraded at Oxford; to stand in the pillory at Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay a fine of five thousand pounds, and suffer perpetual imprisonment."

Dr. Bastwick, for his book "*Elenchus Religionis Papisticæ*," which denied the divine right of bishops, was discarded from his profession; excommunicated; fined one thousand pounds, and imprisoned till he chose to recant. Burton, who had been clerk of the closet to two successive princes of Wales, for publishing

two sermons against Laud's popish innovations in the church, had his study broken open by the serjeant-at-arms, and was committed to the Gate-house. ✓

But these stout fellows daring even in prison to protest against the prevailing tyrannies, and to contend for liberty of religion, were again brought up to the Star Chamber, and condemned;—Burton to be deprived of his living and degraded from his ministry, as Prynne and Bastwick had before been from their professions; each to be fined five thousand pounds; to be set in the pillory, and have their ears cut off. Prynne had already lost his ears by the sentence of the court of 1633; *but it was ordered that the remainder of the stumps should be cut out*, and that he should be branded on each cheek with the letters S. L. These sentences were all duly executed, the hangman rather sawing the remainder of Prynne's ears than cutting them off; and then they were sent, under a strong guard, one to the castle of Launceston, another to that of Lancaster, and the third to that of Caernarvon in Wales; but their prisons not being thought distant enough, they were afterwards removed to the islands of Scilly, Jersey, and Guernsey, where they were kept without pen, ink, or paper, or the access of their friends, till they were released by the long parliament. ✓

I have already said that Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, was ill-treated by this arch-demon Laud; but before closing the account of his tyrannies, this case deserves a few more words. Dr. Williams had been the strenuous advocate with King James for the advancement of Laud, who, as soon as he got into the good will of Charles, repaid his benefactor by getting him removed from all his preferments at court. Williams retired to his diocese, and spent his time in its duties; but the envy, or some similar passion of Laud's, followed him there; and having once in conversation happened to speak well of the puritan clergy, and censure the king for his treatment of them, this was carried to court—he was cited before the High Commission, suspended, fined ten thousand pounds, and committed to the Tower during the king's pleasure. His house was plundered of all his rich goods and library, and his private papers seized. Amongst these were found two letters from Mr. Osbaldeston, written five years before, and containing some obscure expressions, which Laud construed to apply to himself. As if it had not been unwarrantable tyranny enough to ruin the bishop for words spoken in private conversation, he was charged with having by these letters divulged scandalous libels against the king's privy counsellors—letters he had never put out of his desk, and had even forgotten. But proceeding on this their own violation of all the sacred rights of the subject, of all privacy, they fined the bishop another eight thousand pounds, three of them to go to Laud himself. Mr. Osbaldeston, the writer of the letters, they fined five thousand pounds to the king, and five thousand to Laud, and ordered him to be deprived of all his spiritual dignities, imprisoned, pilloried in the dean's yard opposite his own school, and *to have*

his ears nailed to the pillory. His ears, however, were good enough to save themselves, for not being in custody, but present in the crowd when the sentence was passed, he escaped, and continued to keep in concealment till the sitting of the long parliament; but in the mean time all his goods were seized, and property confiscated.

The catholics charge Charles with hanging no fewer than ten catholic priests, in the early part of his reign, for the exercise of their religion.

Such are a few specimens of the innumerable and amazing tyrannies of this king and this priest, which made all England such a scene of oppression and misery, that a great part of the best subjects fled out of it, and the rest at length rose in wrath and destroyed their bloody destroyers in their turn.

Before closing our brief sketch of the ruinous career of Charles, we must notice the poetical justice which befell the bishops and their victims. The bishops having stimulated Charles to overthrow the church of Scotland, and restore episcopacy there, brought him, as we have seen, to such shame, and into such a dilemma, that by the clamour of the armed and victorious Scots, whom he had roused to a desperate determination of securing themselves from future royal inroads, he was compelled to call a parliament. The parliament also showed immediately the temper to which the arbitrary spirit of the king, stirred up to worse violence by the insolent ambition and cruelty of the bishops, had brought the English nation. This parliament, from its sitting ten years, called the long parliament, immediately set to work in a way which must equally have astonished the king and his hierarchy. They at once abolished those two Inquisitions, the Star Chamber and the High Court of Commission, in which so much villany had been worked by those who pleased to call themselves the ministers of religion. They did not satisfy themselves with that, but cast about to see if they could not repair, in some degree, the injuries of its last victims. Dr. Leighton was liberated on his petition. His relation of his sufferings during his incarceration of eleven years, the three last of which had been in the common prison, embodied such a scene of misery as rarely ever before was laid open to English ears; and when it was recollected that all this time his holy persecutors had been lying on their beds of down, sitting at their luxurious tables, "raising their mitred fronts in courts and parliaments," ministered to with every delicacy and honour, and pretending to do the work of God in his national temple, it raised a feeling which speedily dashed down these priestly hypocrites from their mischievous elevation. The venerable old prisoner of conscience, when released from his dungeon, could hardly walk, or see, or hear. Parliament allowed him a small pension for the remainder of his life, which was about four years. He died in 1644, in his seventy-sixth year; so that he was a prisoner to the age of seventy-two! All who had been imprisoned by the same unholy authorities were set at liberty, and

amongst them Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who were met by immense multitudes, and conducted in triumph into London. Dr. Williams, the bishop of Lincoln, was released from the Tower, and made archbishop of York; and Dr. Hall was ordained to the see of Norwich.

Parliament having shown this disposition to redress the grievances of the nation, was soon overwhelmed with petitions, which exhibited a frightful state of ecclesiastical as well as civil affairs. Inquiry laid bare the most wretched condition of the church, from pluralities, non-residence, and the immorality of the clergy. Parliament put forth the pruning-knife of reform with right good will. The bishops, who trusted to the power and favour of the king, resisted with all their characteristic haughtiness and contumacy, and were speedily expelled from the House of Lords. Laud, the primate, was accused, with Strafford, for his crimes of high treason, and beheaded. The prelates had soon the mortification to see the incompetent and immoral clergy whom they had put in, and had suffered to remain in their parish livings, unceremoniously rejected, and better men take their place, many of them those pious and laborious nonconformists whom they had so barbarously treated. It would have been worth something to have lived then, to see so satisfactory a turning of the tables. But the end was not yet. The king, equally urged forward by the bishops and the bigots of the church, the Tories of the state, and his own wilful temper, resorted to arms, and after a bloody warfare, whose details do not lie within our province, brought his own head to the block.

During the Commonwealth arose a singular people, whose doctrines and conduct marked another epoch in the advance to the true understanding of Christianity, and acquirement of its freedom,—this was the Society of Friends. It will have been seen that, notwithstanding all that the nonconformists had suffered, notwithstanding all the great minds and noble hearts which had appeared among them, they had not yet come to perceive the full liberty of Christ. They objected to certain ceremonies and habits, and certain religious opinions, but they did not object at all to the establishment of a state religion; many of them even to the episcopal hierarchy, but were a part of it. The Independents had made the nearest approach to the apprehension of perfect freedom; they had adopted and acted upon the opinion, that every congregation is independent of all others, and that no minister of the gospel possesses any jurisdiction over another; but they still admitted the right of a state establishment, and under Cromwell accepted office in one. The Friends not only proclaimed the doctrine, that all state establishments of Christianity are unscriptural, but that they violate the political rights of the subject; they therefore denounced all usurpation of human lordship over conscience; all hiring teachers of a state creed; tithes, church rates, and every ecclesiastical demand whatever. To George Fox we owe this bold and manly system, this sudden leap from the chains

of long spiritual slavery, into the full freedom of the gospel law,—a man to whom yet there has never been full justice done beyond the pale of his own society. I do not assert for him an exemption from the spirit of fanaticism, prevalent at that time; both he and his adherents were unquestionably a good deal touched with it; but independently of this, the theory of his religious belief comprehended the ideal of all religious freedom. This I attribute in a great measure to the circumstance of his being an unlearned man. Free from every educational dogma, he became struck with the importance of religion, and taking the Bible with him into the fields, he there carefully studied it, and soon discerned the true nature of this beneficent dispensation; that Christianity is a thing so spiritual, so entirely a gift of God to every man that is born, that no other man in the shape of king, bishop, or priest, has a right to come between this divine gift and the human soul; consequently, no state religion, no state priest, no state compulsion for their support, can be justified; consequently, all tithes, church rates, Easter offerings, and such things, are anti-christian, and to be resisted by every constitutional means. He saw as clearly that Christianity proclaimed the civil freedom of every rational creature; it enjoined obedience to good government, but discountenanced by its very benevolence and its celestial maxim, "Do to others as thou wouldst be done to," all tyranny and slavery. On the same ground, he was thoroughly satisfied of the nature of that most fatal of infatuations—war.

Whatever his sagacious mind once embraced as truth, he had the integrity and boldness to proclaim every where. He advanced into the presence of princes, and declared it there with the same ease and freedom as amongst his own peers. It may well be imagined, that when members began to flock around him, as they soon did, and from every class of society, clergy, soldiers, magistrates, gentlemen, and men of the general mass; that his system would bring down upon him and his followers, the unmitigated vengeance of the persecuting hierarchy. It was no partially reforming system; it did not object to this or that dogma, this or that ceremony in the state religion, but it assailed, root and branch, state religion itself. It was a system peculiarly odious to priests, for it was an entirely disinterested one; for it went even to declare, that nothing should be received for preaching when it could be at all dispensed with,—nothing, in any case, without the voluntary consent of the people. The state clergy saw, that if it succeeded, priestcraft was gone for ever;—royalty, on its restoration, saw that it would lop off the right arm of despotism,—a craft, paid to preach the divine right of kings, and passive obedience of the people. But Fox and his friends were prepared to speak, write, and suffer for it. He himself traversed great part of the kingdom, visited America and Holland, holding immense meetings in the open air, and addressed many letters to various princes and people in power, in its behalf. Barclay delineated its features in his

celebrated "Apology for the true Christian Divinity." Penn wrote boldly for it, and spoke boldly too on his trials, especially that with William Mead at the Old Bailey, an account of which has often been reprinted, as a splendid instance of the vindication of trial by jury. Anthony Pearson, who had been a justice of peace, published his "Great Case of Tithes," in which all the evils and anti-christianity of the tithe system were duly exposed. Thomas Lawson wrote "A Mite in the Treasury;" and "The Call, Work, and Wages, of the Ministers of Christ and of Antichrist;" two most spirited and able expositions of political religion. Elwood wrote his interesting Life, abounding with scenes of imprisonment and patient endurance for his principles. Besse compiled from the official documents of the society, the "History of the Sufferings of Friends;" a work of everlasting condemnation to the priests of the church of England; and Sewell wrote the "History of the Society" at large, a work declared by Charles Lamb to be worth all ecclesiastical history put together. In these, and other works, they asserted those great principles of religious freedom now so generally adopted; and for these they suffered. Seeing clearly how a royal religion disturbed and oppressed the real church of Christ, how it neutralized all its benign doctrines, they determined, cost what it would, to hold no communion with it. They would neither marry at its altars, nor bury in its soil; and for this their dead were torn out of their graves by the parish priests and their minions; and they were not only heavily fined and imprisoned for their marrying, but their children were declared bastards. At Nottingham, in 1661, an attempt was made, by a public trial, to disinherit some orphans on this ground; but the worthy old judge, Archer, brought Adam and Eve as precedents, and declared, that their taking each other in marriage in the presence of God was valid, and if those children were bastards we were all bastards. On this singular decision, the marriages of Friends were recognised and made legal. But had it been otherwise, such was the sturdy firmness of the Friends, that they would have suffered loss of both property and life to the last man, sooner than concede an iota to this unjust system; and the whole fury of the executive power was let loose upon them. They were given up a prey to vindictive parsons, and ignorant, priest-ridden justices of the peace; and to the whole greedy race of informers, constables, and the lowest of the rabble. In 1670, the king issued an order in council, signed by the archbishop of Canterbury and thirteen others, commanding Christopher Wren, Esq. to pull down their meeting-house at Horsleydown, which was done, and the materials sold; the same was done to Ratcliff meeting-house; and Peel meeting-house was ransacked, and the doors and windows carried away. But the Friends still met on the ruins of those places, where they were assailed by soldiers, who fell upon them with the butt-end of their muskets, and maltreated them so dreadfully, that the blood lay in the streets, and several died in consequence. Old age was not

spared; the women in particular were treated with brutal indecency, and finally, all their places of worship were nailed up, and soldiers set to keep them away. Nothing, however, could prevent them meeting; and often, especially all the hard winter of 1683, they collected in the streets, and suffered incredible hardships from the cold, the soldiers, and the mob. They were ruinously fined under Elizabeth's statute of £20 a month. Twenty-eight individuals alone paid £520 15s. 2d. Their houses were broken open without ceremony with sledge-hammers and screws, and their property plundered by wholesale, under the plea of collecting tithes, church rates, and fines for non-attendance at church. One parson declared, "he would rather see all the Quakers hanged *than lose a sixpence by them.*" For shillings they generally took pounds, leaving, in many instances, not a tool, or a piece of goods for a man to pursue his trade by; not a horse or a plough for him to work his farm with. This one specimen may serve as an illustration of the general mode.

The fines for non-attendance of church at Bristol, for 38	£
men for eleven months	8,360
For two of their wives, for the same time	220
For 111 men for three months	6,660
For forty of their wives for the same time	1,200
	<hr/>
	£16,440

By a careful examination of the records of the society, I find an amount of property taken from them for these fines, church rates, tithes, and some few military demands, but chiefly the former, given in from 1655 to 1833, of £1,192,820. Besides this, a great quantity of property was given in with no value attached to it, which, with the utter ruin of trade, and wanton destruction of the effects of many families, cannot amount at all to less than one million and a half—a sum which is still increasing, from distrains on this small society, at an average of £11,000 a year.

The very poorest, even the fatherless children, did not escape this stripping system of the established priesthood. Amongst thousands of such instances, take this one. A poor orphan lad of Farnsfield, in Nottinghamshire, Nathaniel Price, whom his friends had put out apprentice, being taken at a meeting, and having nothing else to pay his fine, the officers took away his coat and breeches, four halfpence, his knife, sheath, and scissars. In some instances, they threw away the food of infants, and carried away the very vessels. Nothing is harder to bear than the vulgar insolence of low fellows in authority; and this the Friends were made to feel in its fulness. These informers, constables, *et hoc genus omne*, came into their houses and did as they pleased. When the men were in prison, as they were at one time, to the number of 2500, they came and plundered their wives; often frightened and abused them and their children; put the key of the door in their

pockets, so that they and their tribe had free ingress and egress, night and day; and there they eat, drank, and caroused jovially, declaring they "would eat of the best, and drink of the sweetest, and those rogues of Quakers should pay for all!" There was no redress. A deputation once waited on the Archbishop Sancroft, and complained of such vile rascals being employed in the service of his church; but he only replied, "There requires crooked timber to build a ship."

But what avails attempting to delineate the sufferings of these people for their adherence to the system of a free gospel, a principle which I trust *we* shall live to see triumphant? Their sufferings lasted for thirty years; and the simple and mere matter-of-fact recital of them, fills two thick folio volumes, containing upwards of one thousand four hundred closely printed pages. They consist of every imaginable species of outrage and insult, petty vexation, and agonizing suffering; confinement in horrible, pestilential dungeons, as the *HOLE* in Newgate, which was the death of numbers; every species of legal and illegal plunder; loss of estates, friends, liberty, and life itself; such as the same number of Englishmen scarcely ever suffered, or suffered with such invincible firmness. In London they filled the prisons in suffocating crowds, where, in 1662, twenty died, and seven more soon after their liberation, in consequence of their treatment; in 1664, twenty-five more; and in the following year, fifty-two others. Through the whole kingdom the same inhuman persecutions were practised; and the number which perished under them, as may be seen in Besse, was 369. Every where their meetings were broken up by parish priests, with troopers and mobs at their heels; their persons shut up in prison, till scarcely an adult was at large. At one time, in Bristol, this was literally the case; but the very children collected to meeting, in spite of the beatings and insults of their persecutors, who struck them in the face, as they were accustomed to do even the women, whom it was a favourite plan to drag by the hair of the head, pinch their arms till black and blue, and prick them with bodkins and packing-needles. When all this would not do, they banished them to the colonies and sugar plantations, and sold them for slaves, where their doctrines soon spread, and persecution became as hot as at home, especially in Barbadoes and New England, where monstrous fines, cutting off ears, and hanging, became the order of the day.

After the passing of the Toleration Act, tithes and church rates still exposed them to the persecution of the clergy, who were inclined to show no mercy, amongst whom I am sorry to find one of my own ancestors, Thomas Howitt, rector of Eastwood in Nottinghamshire. The numbers prosecuted on these grounds from 1690 to 1736, were 1180; of whom 302 were imprisoned, and nine died in prison. The list of these cases exhibits many instances of clerical rapacity and hard-heartedness, as,—W. Francis, confined nineteen months for a *groat*; Adam Lawrence and

Elizabeth Vokin, between six and seven years for nine shillings for both of them; A. Henderson and son, eleven months for *one penny*; Thomas Kipling, two years for *marriage fees*; Israel Fell, four years for *one shilling*; Daniel Abraham, nearly three years for *twenty pence*; John Richards, for small tithes, five years, *till he died*; John Constantine, five years for tithe of a little garden; Jamel Binim, *aged 91, blind and deaf*, several months for tithes; Elizabeth Hughes, *widow, with six children*, sixteen months for tithes, *pretended to be due from her mother*; Robert Grimes, for fifteen shillings, about a year, *till he died*; several others till they died; Joseph Smith and Thomas Bird, *for a church rate, eight years and four months*; Boswell Middleton, for two pounds, five years; and again, four months after his liberation, two years more for small tithes, etc. etc.

Taking this connected, though brief view of the sufferings of Friends, has carried us beyond the due course of the sufferings of the nonconformists in general, as well as of the catholics, who had, between 1641 and 1654, twenty-one of their priests put to death. Charles II., on his restoration, renewed all the persecutions of his bloody race, and that in the very face of his promises, both before and after his restoration, to restrain the power of the hierarchy, and grant liberty of conscience. The liberty of conscience which he granted was to the bishops to tyrannize over all other consciences, and they made him reign more bloody than that of any of his predecessors. Sheldon, the bishop of London, was the Laud of his time. He obtained the restoration of the "Act of Uniformity," which demanding unqualified assent to all and every thing in the Book of Common Prayer, and subscription to the doctrine of passive obedience, at once threw out of their livings *two thousand* of the most able and honest ministers, without making the slightest provision for their maintenance, a severity which neither Elizabeth in enacting her liturgy, nor Cromwell in ejecting the loyalists, had practised,—both having set apart a fifth of the revenue of each benefice for the ejected priests. "Many hundreds of those," says Baxter, "with their wives and children, had neither house nor land." Such of them as dared not in their consciences lay down their ministry, preached in fields and private houses, whence they were haled to prison, where vast numbers of them perished. They who ventured to offer them sustenance, if discovered, were treated the same. On the other hand, according to Burnet, the bishops and the clergy who rushed into the vacant places of these pious men, came as if with appetites made ravenous by abstinence. "The bishops, by renewing leases of church estates, raised in fines a *million and a half* of money. In some sees *forty or fifty thousand pounds* were raised, and applied to the enriching of the bishops' families." High living, expensive luxury, and sloth, were introduced. All these vices were imitated by the lower clergy to such a degree that, he adds, "had not a new set of men of another stamp appeared, the church had quite lost her esteem with the nation."

Such being the state of the clergy, the churches were deserted by the people, who had flocked after the ejected ministers, spite of the penalties. To quash this altogether, and to *compel* the people into the churches, the famous "Conventicle Act" was passed, empowering all magistrates to levy £10 on the minister, £5 on every hearer, at any place of worship where the Common Prayer was not exclusively used; and £20 on the house where it was held. This for the first offence, or three months' imprisonment; £10 a hearer, or six months' imprisonment, for a second offence; £100 a hearer, or seven years' transportation, for a third; and death, without benefit of clergy, in case of return or escape. This inhuman law was vigorously enforced by Sheldon; the goods of the accused were sold for the fines, and if they did not defray the whole, the whole congregation was hurried to prison. This was the reason why, in this reign, the prisons were so filled, and that so many perished in them; for the informers, receiving one-third of the penalties, were as ravenous of their prey as the parsons themselves. All this being hardly sufficient to bring people to a church where the pastors were such unequivocal wolves in sheep's clothing, Sheldon, in 1665, procured "The Five Mile Act," which, on the refusal of an oath so framed that no honest man could take it, restrained all ministers from coming within five miles of any place where they had exercised their ministry, and from teaching school, under a penalty of £40 for every such offence.

Such were a few of the blessings which the restoration of the Stuarts brought upon this country. No adversity could teach that tyrannic family either wisdom or mercy; but it is impossible to wade through the wide sea of their cruelties till the expulsion of James II. I shall therefore only remind my readers, that Charles II. renewed the slaughter of the Scotch Covenanters, pursuing them to the mountains and morasses with fire and sword; enacting all the horrors of racks, thumb-screws, and the iron boot; as can be seen no where so vividly detailed as in Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather," and "Old Mortality,"—and then give this summary from Neale. "The writer of the preface to Mr. De Laune's Plea for the Nonconformists, says, that De Laune was one of near EIGHT THOUSAND who had perished in prison in the reign of Charles II.; and that merely for dissenting from the church in some points for which they were able to bring good reason. As for the severe penalties inflicted on them for seditious and riotous assemblies, designed only for the worship of God, he adds, that they suffered in their trades and estates, within the compass of five years, at least TWO MILLIONS. Another writer adds, that Mr. Jeremy White had carefully collected a list of the dissenting sufferers, and of their sufferings, and had the names of SIXTY THOUSAND PERSONS who had suffered on a religious account, between the restoration of Charles II. and the revolution of King William, FIVE THOUSAND of whom died in prison. James

II., during his reign, heard of this MS., and offered *one thousand guineas* for it! but Mr. White refused to part with it, yet afterwards committed it to the flames. It is certain that, besides those who suffered in their own country, great numbers retired to the plantations and different parts of America. Many transported themselves and their effects to Holland, and filled the English churches of Amsterdam, the Hague, etc. If we admit the dissenting families of the several denominations in England to be one hundred and fifty thousand, and that each family suffered no more than the loss of three or four pounds per annum, from the Act of Uniformity, the whole will amount to twelve or fourteen millions; a prodigious sum for those times. But these are only conjectures. The damage done to the trade and property of the nation was undoubtedly immense, and the wounds that were made in the estates of private families were deep and large; many of whom, to my knowledge, wear the scars of them to this day." *Hist. of Puritans*, vol. ii. page 608-9.

The reign of James II. was remarkable for the striking instances of retribution which follow bad principles. James I. had boasted of his "kingcraft," which meant any crooked policy which could serve his turn. He had brought up his son Charles in it, and kingcraft brought him to the block. Part of his kingcraft was, "No bishop, no king," and that had been verified too. He had wilfully allied his son with popery, and popery descended as a curse to his children. Charles II. was mean enough to hold it without daring to avow it. James II. avowed it, and was chased from the throne. So much for kingcraft; it ruined the family for ever.

But in James II.'s reign the bishops and the church were also taken in their own net. To crush the dissenters, they had, in the last three reigns, been for ever and most officiously preaching up the doctrine of "non-resistance and passive obedience," and now they were called upon by James to practise it in favour of popery; when at once they knocked down their own idol, and showed what a farce they had been acting,—but at the expense of the lives of at least 100,000 men, and of the happiness and repose of the whole United Kingdom.

The persecutions of the dissenters in the early part of the reign of James were as fierce as in the reign of Charles. All dissenting places of worship were shut up; informers roamed all over the land; the prisons were full, and the spiritual courts the only prosperous portions of the empire. The bloody Jefferies had a particular hatred to nonconformists, and in his great western campaign against the adherents of Monmouth, while professing to hang off rebels, he dragged into his clutches especially all persons that were noted for piety. The cases of Mrs. Grant and Lady Lisle will more particularly be held in lasting remembrance. The Quakers, in an address to James, informed him that, since 1660, *above three hundred and fifty of their people had perished in prison*;

and that at that moment there still lay in the common gaols *one thousand three hundred and eighty-three* of them; of whom *two hundred were women!* When this wretched and heartless bigot saw that there was no chance of obtaining the restoration of the papists except the dissenters would aid him against the church, he began to fawn on them, but they spurned his base overture, and assisted zealously to chase him from the throne.

The lesson presented by the history of the English church, since Henry VIII., is most solemnly important. If all the annals of the world were set aside, the records of those reigns are enough to determine a rational people to put down a national church, as one of the most terrible of the scourges of the earth; the most inimical to human rights and interests. They present one frightful image of kings and priests united to crush all religious reformation, the exercise of free-will, or free understanding; to set themselves up as sole thinkers and actors for the whole world; and prepared, if the multitude refuse to surrender their reason and faith into their keeping, to deluge the earth with blood; to chase the peaceable from their habitations, and people dungeons with them and their miseries.

Does the Establishment stand before us and call herself holy, and meek, and beneficent, with all these crimes, all these lives, all this blood and misery on her head? Well would it have been for Ireland, well for England, well for the Episcopalian church itself, if some Jenny Geddes had been found, as in Edinburgh, to launch her three-legged stool at the head of the clergyman when he began to deal out a state liturgy; and had been followed by the simultaneous efforts of the whole people, to teach kings and priests to respect the inalienable rights of conscience: but in default of this, what has been the consequence? While power was left to the church, it persecuted, and would have continued to persecute. The act of William III. put an end to this, to the extent of blood and total confiscation; and we must henceforth look for the spirit of priestcraft in a different shape. The whole course of this volume has shown that this wily spirit has conformed itself to circumstances. Where unlimited power was within its grasp, it seized it without hesitation, and exercised it without mercy. Egypt, India, all ancient Asia, and all feudal Europe, are witnesses of this. Where it could not act so freely, it submitted to the spirit of the people; and worked more quietly, more unseen, but equally effectually as in Greece and pagan Rome. England, after William III., afforded no further scope for the martyr's flaming pile, or the bloody axe of the public executioner. It was rapidly careering in a course of knowledge and civilization, which made men acquainted with their rights, and has eventually lifted this nation to the proudest position ever occupied by any people in the whole history of the world. The established clergy, therefore, restrained from the most *piquant* department of persecution, for the maintenance of their political power, addressed themselves diligently to secure the

full enjoyment of their revenues, and that parochial influence with which they were invested; and the consequence is, that, in the noblest nation of the earth, they have become the richest body of priests, and the most apathetic towards the people, from whom their wealth is drawn. The clergy, from these circumstances, have been long gradually diverging into two classes,—one, sunk into the slumberous bed of enormous wealth and gross luxury; the other, into the miserable slough of interminable toil and poverty. If we look at the dignitaries of the church, and at the description of the dignitaries of the papal church in its latter days of universal influence, can we avoid being struck with the coincidence of character? “They pass their days amidst the pleasures and cabals of courts; and appear rather the slaves of princes, than the servants of Him whose kingdom is not of this world. They court glory; they aspire after riches; while very few employ their time and labour in edifying the people, or in promoting among them the vital spirit of religion; and, what is more deplorable, those bishops who, sensible of the sanctity of their character, and the duties of their office, distinguish themselves by zeal in the cause of virtue, are frequently exposed to the malicious efforts of envy, often loaded with false accusations, and involved in perplexities of various kinds.”

But it is not the bishops alone to whom this applies. These are the features of the Establishment, at least as they appear in the eyes of the people at large:—

A clergy, in part, overpaid, and inactive; in part, overworked, and ill paid.

Loaded, in part, with opulent sinecures and shameful pluralities; the greater part doing the duty of the lazy and absent—on a paltry pittance.

Lukewarm in their duties; and proudly cold in their intercourse with the poor of their flocks.

A clergy, doggedly adhesive to the Establishment as it is, in spite of the progress of the public mind; adhering to its most absurd and most impolitic institutions, rites, and dogmas.

For ample details of the facts given in this Chapter, and abundant similar ones, see Fuller's Church History; Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials; Fox's Acts and Monuments; Heylin's History of the Reformation; Neale's History of Puritans; Brooke's History of Puritans; Burnet's History of the Reformation, and History of his own Times; Godwin's Commonwealth; Rushworth's Historical Collections; Vaughan's History of the Stuart Dynasty; Sewell's History of the People called Quakers; Gough's History of Quakers; Besse's Sufferings of the People called Quakers; Yearly Epistles of Friends; History of the Covenanters.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENGLISH CHURCH,—THE BLATANT BEAST MUZZLED, BUT STILL MISCHIEVOUS.

What is that blatant beast?—
 "It is a monster bred of hellish race,"
 Then answered he, "which often hath annoyed
 Good knights and ladies true, and many else destroyed.

"Of Cerberus whilome he was begot,
And fell Chimæra in her darksome den,
Through foul commixture of his filthy blot;
Where he was fattened long in Stygian fen,
Till he to perfect ripeness grew : and then
Into this wicked world he forth was sent,
To be the plague and scourge of wretched men :
Whom with vile tongue, and venomous intent,
He sore doth wound, and bite, and cruelly torment."

he took a muzzle strong
Of surest iron, made with many a link ;
Therewith secured he up his mouth along.

Yet greatly did the beast repine at those
Strange bonds, whose like till then he never bore,
Nor ever any durst till then impose.

SPENNER'S FAERY QUEENE.—Book VI. c. i. and xii.

WILLIAM III. had the honour to quail and muzzle the blatant beast, more commonly known by the name of state church; but he did not clip his talons. Had he expedited him, as, according to the old forest laws, they were wont to do all great dogs in the neighbourhood of the king's deer, that is, had he chopped off his toes, he would have prevented many a grievous injury which he has since inflicted on innocent people. He took away by muzzling the worst of his destructive powers, but he left him the liberty to roam along, casting to the right hand and left the venomous foam of his internal rage; and his deadly paws, to plant desperate wounds in the very front of piety and truth. That is, William, by his Bill of Rights and Act of Toleration, took from the church the axe and the fagot; but he left, as time has only too well proved, the dungeon, and the hand of plunder, which has been ever since stretched forth triumphantly over house and

field, and a thousand other means of insult and vexation, by which the base may irritate the better, and the peace and fellowship of society may be destroyed. No doubt, from the crouching of the beast under his chastising hand, he thought he had humbled him for ever.

He trembled underneath his mighty hand,
And like a fearful dog him followed through the land.

Him throughout all the land he followed so
As if he learned had obedience long,
That all the people, whereto he did go,
Out of their towns did round about him throng,
To see him lead that beast in bondage strong:
And seeing it, much wondered at the sight:
And all such persons as he erst did wrong,
Rejoiced much to see his captive plight,
And much admired the beast, but more admired the knight.

As Spenser, however, most prophetically foresaw, after William's death, once more

he broke his iron chain,
And got into the world at liberty again.

Thenceforth more mischief and more scath he wrought
To mortal men, than he had done before;
Nor ever could by any one be brought
Into like bands, nor mastered any more.
So now he rangeth through the world again,
And rageth sore in each degree and state,
Nor any is that may him now restrain,
He grown is so great and strong of late.

B. VI. c. xii.

Nay, even in William's own time, though muzzled, he did not conceal his rage. The temporary subjection of the beast was not effected without a determined struggle. Besides those instances of retribution brought on the clergy, noticed in the last chapter, they also had now caught themselves in this dilemma. In driving out a monarch who threatened them with popery, on one hand, they had got another who threatened them, on the other, with a liberal settlement of religion on the basis of common right, which was far more hateful to them. For this reason Sancroft the primate, and seven other bishops, besides a great number of the clergy, refused to swear allegiance to William, and thence acquired the name of Non-jurors. William attempted first to abolish the Test and Corporation Act, which required all who took civil office to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the established church, and to take the Lord's supper in the prescribed form of that church, a profanation of what the church itself professed to regard as a most sacred rite, which one would have thought they themselves would gladly see removed. But what rites, or what sacred prin-

ciples, has any state church ever regarded as of the value of a midge's wing, in comparison of the grand delight of treading down the heads of those who dared to think for themselves? The attempt to free the consciences of his subjects in this respect was rejected by the church bigots, though the king himself, their own lawful church-head, particularly insisted on the scandal of thus prostituting the sacrament. It was not till three attempts had been made to relieve the nonconformists, that the firmness of the king triumphed, and the Act of Toleration was passed in 1689.

Encouraged by this success, William proceeded to fill up the bishoprics with such men as Tillotson, Burnet, Sharp, Patrick, More, Cumberland, and Fowler, who were not only reckoned amongst the most pious men, but the ablest preachers of their time. Fifteen such men, in the course of two years, he elevated to sees, who were esteemed the most wise, learned, and exemplary men that sustained the episcopal dignity. They preached diligently in their dioceses, whence they were ridiculed by the bigots both of church and state as "preaching bishops." William set them to work to reform the liturgy and canons, and prepare such proposals for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, as should meet the objections of the nonconformists, unite all the worthy and pious, and relieve all good subjects from priestly irritations and vexations. For this purpose, to those named he added such men as Stillingfleet, Kidder, Williams, etc., in fact, all that were eminent for learning and piety, forming a commission of thirty divines. "They began," says Dr. Nichols, in his *Defence of the Church of England*, "with reviewing the liturgy, and first they examined the calendar, in which, in the room of apocryphal lessons, they ordered certain chapters of canonical Scripture to be read. Athanasius' creed, because of the damnatory clauses, was left to the minister's choice, to use it, or change it for the Apostles' creed. New collects were drawn up, more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, for the whole course of the year; and these with that eloquence and brightness of expression, and such a heat and flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Patrick; Dr. Burnet added to them yet further force and spirit; Dr. Stillingfleet afterwards examined them with great judgment, carefully weighing every word in them; and Dr. Tillotson had the last hand, giving them some masterly strokes of his great and flowing eloquence. Dr. Kidder, who was well versed in the Oriental tongues, made a new version of the Psalms, more agreeable to the original. Dr. Tension made a collection of the words and expressions through the liturgy, which had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room, that were clear and plain, and less liable to exception. Other things also were proposed, that were left to be determined by the convocation; as, first, that the cross in baptism might be either used or omitted, at the choice of the parents: second, that a nonconforming minister, going

over to the church, should not be ordained according to the common form, but rather conditionally, much in the same manner as the baptizing of infants is ordered in the church, if there be not evidence of their being baptized before, with the addition of the episcopal benediction; as was customary in the ancient church, where clerks were received that had been ordained by heretics, of which way Archbishop Bramhall had given a precedent, when he received some Scotch presbyters into the church in Ireland." It was, moreover, proposed to lay aside chanting in the cathedrals; to administer the sacrament to such as objected to kneel in receiving it, in their pews; to abolish all high titles to the king, queen, etc. in the prayers, retaining merely the word sovereign, as more accordant with the simplicity of Christian worship; to omit the prayer beginning, 'O God, whose nature and property,' as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and, moreover, as not being in the original, but foisted in by another hand; to allow such as desired, to omit godfathers and godmothers for their children, and the children merely presented in their own names for baptism."

At these proposals, wise and necessary as they were, the blatant beast immediately set up all his bristles, raged and ramped with fury. The bigots who were included in the commission fled out of it amain, and the convocation threw them out with indignation. But this transaction left a striking and invaluable example on the face of our history, of the real and incurable nature of a state church. Here were those reforms, which the fathers of the English church, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Tindale, Coverdale, Hooper, etc., had declared were absolutely necessary to its perfect reformation, and which for endeavouring to carry out, they had suffered in property and life, now, under the direct sanction of the royal head of the church, prepared by such a constellation of its own divines, as for learning, eloquence, wisdom, piety, and prudence, the church had scarcely ever seen at one time, and could not, at any one time, hope to see again. Here were those reforms, which would give to the ritual of their church an eminent character for liberality and Christian wisdom; and to its offices, in the words of one of its own members, "such eloquence and brightness of expression, and such a heat and flame of devotion, that nothing could more affect and excite the hearts of the hearers, and raise up their minds towards God." Here were the means offered by its own bishops and dignitaries, which would annihilate that dissent of which it expressed such jealousy and alarm, by absorbing it into its own substance, and thus strengthening its own constitution, and expanding its own borders beyond all reach of envy or enmity:—and what does it? It strikes down the offered benefit, and snaps at the hand which presents it.

Thanks be to God for the everlasting blindness of bigotry! In the case of a state church, as in that of every thing which is unnatural, irrational, and pernicious, it is one of the eternal laws of Providence, that an institution hostile to the good of man, how-

ever it may be built up by the power of kings, and cemented by the cunning of selfish erudition, bears within it the ineradicable principles of self-destruction ! A state church, once organized, can never remodel itself—to this glorious fact all history testifies ! A state church, once organized, can never undergo any change, except that which time ploughs upon it in bringing it to the earth ! Like those tabernacles and towers which bear its own name, amid the everlasting freshness and vitality of nature, it grows grey, and crumbles piecemeal to the dust. Around it the elements of free mind, the winds of discussion, the dews of pure and heartfelt sentiment, the fructifying sun of knowledge, nay, the very thunder and blackness of opposition and threatening, keep the whole world beautiful in perpetual youth ; while over its walls creep grey lichens of age, humid mosses of superstitious stagnation ; the worm and the weather work faster than hands, which dare not renew lest they endanger ; and the whole huge fabric stands at length a venerable ruin !

A state church, to secure the purposes of the state, must be founded on narrow and corrupt principles. If the state, in patronizing religion, desires only to promote Christianity, all history shows that no power can bring the human intellect to agree in one idea of the whole scheme and form of Christianity ; therefore, to promote Christianity, the state must promote the security and profession of it under all its denominations. But if the state requires a Christian church to support and strengthen its own measures, it requires it to support its measures for good and for ill. It requires it to support those measures in opposition to the rights of the multitude ; for if it requires only the support of measures righteous and of universal application, all good men of all creeds will support these. A state, therefore, whatever may be pretended otherwise, in seeking the establishment of a state church, seeks an ally and abettor for good and for evil. A state church thus is necessarily and unavoidably built on false principles, and as knowledge and political right advance, these principles must become every day more apparent, and must in time work its destruction ; for, by the fatal law of a righteous Providence, it can never change in order to its own rescue ! It is compelled to assert and maintain at once its own divine origin, and its perfection. If its origin is only human, men have a right to alter it ; if it be not perfect, they have the same right to make it so. While all voluntary institutions can go on reforming and renewing themselves, it is therefore obliged to stand still, protesting it is perfection, till it becomes the laughing-stock of the public. It cannot dissent from its own doctrines, or it admits the right of dissent in others : it cannot even admit that it is not perfect, or it is justly asked why it claims to take precedence of all other churches.

It is, in its own nature, rooted down in a suicidal dilemma ; and thus the history of the English Establishment has always presented the singular inconsistency, of attempting forcibly to compel all

men into it with one hand, while it has as pertinaciously, with the other, driven the best men, and large numbers of them, out of it. It has at once denounced and created dissent.

It has never, from the day of its origin, dared to rest its claims on its own natural merits, but has leaned for life on enactments and the arm of political power. Having an instinctive consciousness of the unsoundness of its fundamental principles, it has never for a moment trusted to *the principle of attraction*, but to *the principle of compulsion*. It has not pleaded, and sought, and invited, but it has striven to put all men into its hydraulic press, and squeeze them into one dull and indistinguishable mass. For this, then, have existed all its Acts of Uniformity, Five Mile Acts, Conventicle Acts, Schism Acts, Occasional Conformity Acts, Test and Corporation Acts; its Star Chambers, High Commission and Spiritual Courts; which, with a vain ferocity, have battled from age to age with the sturdy independence of English hearts and intellects. On the other hand, with that fatal madness which nothing but so monstrous an invention as a state religion could have produced, it has driven from it, and forced into a hostile host, its best and most zealous members. It is another fatality of a state church, not to be got rid of,—that it must dread every thing like a zealous piety in its members, as much as dissent in opinion. And why? Because zeal of sentiment will assuredly evoke difference in opinion. The creed of a state church being not what Christianity demands, but what state policy demands, will not bear investigation. Its only security depends on a state of indifference which prompts no doubts and no inquiries. Its temperament, therefore, must be a low, a frozen, and an inert temperament. The moment the flame of zeal bursts out, the hearts of hearers will kindle, the faculties, as well as the affections, will be excited by warmth into activity; there will be inquiry into the origin of forms, search into the grounds of opinions,—and the foundation of all being found rotten and defective, there will be a speedy walking forth into the open air of God's daylight and freedom. Nothing can be more conscious of all this than the low cunning of worldly natures; and therefore, from the earliest days of nonconformists to those of Wesley and Whitefield, university professors, prelates, and parish priests, have, with one accord, started at the first symptoms of religious zeal within the pale of the church, and have hastened to drive out those who would have called thousands and tens of thousands to them, but being rudely refused, have arrayed as many against them. Why does the church complain of dissent? For dissent is entirely its own work. In this respect the church of England has not shown half the cunning of its mother, the church of Rome. Unrelentingly, and in every nation, as popery has burnt and slaughtered those who refused utterly to have any thing to do with it, yet it has carefully embraced and employed all that *could* be so embraced and employed. It has never expelled or burnt enthusiasts, or zealots, however

extravagant; but has set them to work in its cause. Its maddest women and maddest men have become saints, sisters of charity, monks, heads of new orders, etc., who have roamed over the whole earth preaching and proselyting. Its St. Antonies, Loyolas, and Dominics; its Ursulas, Catherines, Lady Guions, might see as many and as absurd visions as they pleased, so that they worked for mother church. Popery is like the Tarn-cap in the German story of Peter Schlemihl, it may be stretched over the head of one or of a thousand: but not so church-of-Englandism. Cold, haughty, and repulsive, it wonders at the spread of popery, and yet spurns from it all the zealous heads and eloquent tongues that could not longer exist in its frozen field of immovable indifference. It compelled the old nonconformists to go out, who assuredly did not wish it; it has done the same in these days by Wesley, Whitefield, the countess of Huntingdon, and others. In Scotland and England various have been the attempts to level the high barriers of episcopacy so as to form one open platform for the meeting of men of not widely differing faith, but in every instance the English hierarchy has refused the smallest concession. I shall notice some particulars of the treatment of such men as Wesley, Whitefield, and others anon; but my immediate business now is to show the perpetual strift of the blatant beast, from the days of William to the present time, to get off his muzzle and fly open-mouthed at the dissenters.

William achieved the Act of Toleration, but all his endeavours to reform the church failed, though he had taken the precaution to put as many men of liberal minds into power as he could, to enable him to accomplish that object. The nature of a state church was too much for him, and it had even the effect of corrupting in some degree such minds as those of Stillingfleet and Tillotson, who in their latter days showed symptoms of a narrowed, if not a persecuting spirit. But William, and Mary, who was equal or superior to her husband in liberality and sense, being gone, the blatant beast raised his head, and threw off all his temporary tameness. Anne was a Stuart, and though surrounded for a long time by the statesmen and liberal churchmen whom William and Mary had raised, she gradually discovered more and more inclination to Tory measures and men. This was felt, and scarcely was she on the throne, when attempts were made to nullify the Act of Toleration. This was by the proposed Act against Occasional Conformity, which provided that all who took the sacrament and test who held offices of trust, or were magistrates in corporations, and did after that go to the meetings of the dissenters, or any meeting for worship which was not according to the practice or liturgy of the church of England, when *five* persons more than the family were present, were to be fined £100, and £5 a day for every day which they continued to act in their employment after having been at such meeting. All persons, down to the lowest, who filled offices in corporations, or took part in elec-

tions, were included in this bill, and, after conviction, were declared incapable of holding any other office till after a whole year's conformity to the church.

This was one beautiful attempt of the church to crush opinion, instead of influencing understandings; to make proselytes, not by convincing, but by convicting; and to swell its body, though it were with slaves and hypocrites. A lovely system of religion, certainly! Failing to carry this bill, they lowered the penalty from £100 to £50, and enlarged the number constituting a conventicle from five to twelve; but it would not do. The late king had infused too much liberality amongst the bishops, and when the convocation found that, it fell to loggerheads within itself, and the clergy became split into the distinction of high and low churchmen; that is, regular bigots, and men of some sense and conscience. A third time this disgraceful bill was introduced, and was lost. In all these cases, it passed the Commons, and was rejected in the Lords, through the influence of the liberal bishops created by King William. These repeated defeats of the wolves of the church, roused the wrath of the bigot herd to an excessive heat. The cry of "The church in danger" arose, which always marks the most rabid moments of intolerance; a cry peculiar to state churches only, for churches which rely on Christ, and not on a compulsory provision of loaves and fishes, never are in danger. Bishop Burnet, who, while he never failed to stand firm for the maintenance of religious liberty, and to whom the people of England are, and ever will be, indebted for his liberal acts and counsels, and for his faithful record of the civil and ecclesiastical transactions of his time, was always, at the same time, watchful for the real wants of his own church, seeing now the destitute condition of many of the small livings, prayed the queen to bestow, for their augmentation, the first-fruits and tenths of ecclesiastical livings, which at that time amounted to about £16,000 a year. This, it was hoped, would allay, in some degree, the howling of "The church in danger;" but, says Burnet, the clergy took it, and scarcely showed themselves thankful for it. In fact, the wealthy pluralists got it, instead of those for whom it was intended, being equally ready to rob their poor brethren as to crush the dissenters. What a most notorious job this became, and still is, we shall show elsewhere.

Spite, therefore, of this rich sop the blatant beast kept crying out, that the church, that is, the money-bag, was in danger; and Oxford, always the hotbed and high school of bigotry and popish superstition, was loudest in the cry. It aimed to fill the church with a race of the most hardened bigots, says Burnet, "by corrupting the principles of those sent thither to be educated, so that few of them escaped the taint of it, and the generality of the clergy were not only ill-principled, but ill-tempered." Failing to gain their object through parliament, the clergy determined to try what could be effected by rousing the mob and intimidating government.

Trusting, therefore, to the well-known Tory bias of the queen, they pushed forward that wretched, shallow, and vain creature, Dr. Sacheverel. He had been declaiming rampantly from his pulpit against dissenters and low-churchmen. He was now brought up to London; his sermons were cried up to the skies by the intolérants; all the world was made to run after him; the rabble running after him, crying, "The church and Sacheverel!" Being impeached by the Commons, he was made the champion of the church and the deluded people. For three weeks, during his trial, he was conducted by crowds in his coach to Westminster Hall; the clergy every where beat "the drum ecclesiastic" in his behalf; the queen's chaplains stood around him on the trial encouraging him, and the queen, with satisfaction little concealed, was a spectator of it. The cry grew to "The queen and Sacheverel!" The mob, worked to a pitch of fury, and incited by the emissaries of the clergy, who attended them in hackney coaches, and were seen throwing money amongst them, cried, "Down with the meeting-houses!" and before they could be stopped, had ransacked five, and burnt the pews in them. When the trial ended in merely ordering his sermon dedicated to the lord mayor to be burnt, the exultation of the bigot priesthood and the priest-ridden mob was unbounded. There were general illuminations and bonfires, and Sacheverel was speedily appointed to a good living in North Wales, whither he was conducted in triumph.

This success attained, the bigots pushed on their cause. The queen, seeing the public current of opinion, seized the opportunity to dismiss the Whig ministry, and chose a Tory one after her own heart; and no sooner was this accomplished, than the Occasional Conformity Bill was immediately passed. Fifty new churches were ordered to be built in London and its suburbs; and to crown all their efforts, and extinguish those hated dissenters, that would not submit to have their feet put into the Establishment stocks, they now got passed their famous Schism Bill. And what was this bill? Neither more nor less than a bill to prohibit dissenters from educating children, or having any education for their own. No person was to be allowed to keep "any public or private school, or seminary, or to teach or instruct youth, as tutor or schoolmaster, unless he subscribed a declaration that he conformed to the church of England, and had a licence from the archbishop, bishop, or ordinary of the place, under his seal of office." All offenders against this Nebuchadnezzar decree, were to be imprisoned for three months. And if any person licensed thus, did not teach the catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer, his licence became void, and he was liable to the penalties of the act. This act would, if put into operation, as was intended, at once shut out every dissenter from a liberal education. He must not only not teach himself, but he must not have his children taught, except by a churchman, and in the principles of the church. All learning would be monopolized by the church,

and it was hoped that a compelled ignorance would extinguish the spirit of inquiry, and swamp dissent in Gothic darkness. A more diabolical attempt, and which shows the deadly malignity of priestcraft more thoroughly, never was made in the worst ages of the church. And this bill passed in the year 1714, having, however, two mitigatory clauses, gained in the House of Lords. One, that *dissenters might have a schoolmistress to teach their children to read*; and another, that they might themselves instruct youth in *reading, writing, or arithmetic*, or such parts of the mathematics as belong only to navigation and mechanics. Every thing like the education fit for a gentleman or a minister, and which might open the way to advancement in the state, or enable him to propagate truth from the pulpit, was carefully guarded against. Such was the fate prepared for the dissenters by the state church, but Providence defeated its worse than murderous object; on the very day on which the act came into operation Queen Anne expired, and George I., a firm friend to religious liberty, became the possessor of the throne!

Burnet describes the clergy of that period as "dead and lifeless;" as being "the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives," of all that he had seen amongst all religions at home or abroad: the gentry, "the worst instructed, and the least knowing, of any of their rank that he ever went amongst;" and the common people beyond all conception "ignorant in matters of religion." The state church had, therefore, brought the whole public mind to a pretty pass; a brute multitude, ready to do any deed of Vandalism to which they excited them. So, though the prince was liberal, the beast still raged. Not being able to spread its intended boon of mental darkness over the dissenters, the church was again in danger. Oxford again was in tumult. Rather than a liberal protestant prince, it was, with its old popish tendency, for a popish one, and therefore was plotting for the Pretender, who being defeated, with a hollowness equal to its disaffection, it presented a congratulatory address to the king, who treated it with just contempt. At Oxford, the students, with a mob, broke into the meeting-houses of the Quakers, Presbyterians, and Baptists, gutted them, and made bonfires of the seats, doors, windows, etc., on the anniversary of the restoration of Charles II. Similar outrages were perpetrated in Birmingham, Norwich, Bristol, and other large towns. It was a bitter pill to this savage party to see the Schism and Occasional Conformity Bills repealed in 1719, in which the celebrated Dr. Hoadly took a decided part. This noble-minded prelate, who ought to be held in everlasting honour by all lovers of freedom of conscience, thus added to that hatred with which they regarded him for his famous sermon preached in 1717 before the king, in which he openly asserted that Christ alone is head of his church; that religion is entirely a spiritual matter, with which the civil magistrate has no right to interfere; a sermon for which the convocation proceeding to cen-

sure the bishop, the king prorogued it; and it is a singular fact, that from that hour it has never been allowed to transact business—to do more than to meet and separate again.

In the reign of George II., the clergy, though much curbed in their malice towards the dissenters, still did not omit any occasion which offered, to show that it still existed. From the very passing of the Toleration Act to that time, tithes and church rates had enabled them, as shown in a former chapter, to plunder and imprison even to death numbers of the Quakers. In this reign that practice was still continued, and to the last hour, while the Schism Bill was in force, they asserted the power it gave them. Dr. Doddridge, by the advice of Dr. Watts, and other leading men amongst the Independents, commenced an academy at Northampton for training students for the ministry; but he was speedily prosecuted by the clergy in the spiritual court for teaching an academy, and it was only by the king's express command that their proceedings were put a stop to.

The treatment of Wesley and Whitefield, and their companions, who were first ridiculed in the university, and then successively driven from the pulpits of the church to which they belonged and leaned, while the clergy stirred up the rabble against them, is well known. By this means, that zeal and those members which might have adorned the church, have been forced into a separate body. It is only in our day that the Test and Corporation Act has been abolished, and emancipation granted to the catholics. The principle of compulsion and restraint, instead of attraction and conciliation, has been carried out to the last possible moment; and at the present instant, the persecuting spirit of an Establishment is manifested in church rate and tithe persecutions, even to the display of a spirit of dark and furious revenge by personal imprisonment. We see, by the severe exercise of the power which is left, that "the ancient spirit is not dead," and that, did the law allow it, the state church would "play its fantastic tricks before high heaven" as wantonly as ever. The tithe and church rate exactions we shall notice under another head.

CHAPTER XX.

ENGLISH CHURCH.—IRISH CHURCH A POLITICAL ENORMITY.
CHURCH RATES AND TITHES.

Thrice happy days! thrice blest the man who saw
 Their dawn! The church and state, that long had held
 Unholy intercourse, were now divorced!

POLLOK'S COURSE OF TIME, B. IV.

Forced consecrations out of another man's estate are no better than forced vows, hateful to God, "who loves a cheerful giver;" but much more hateful, wrung out of men's purses to maintain a disapproved ministry against their consciences. MILTON ON HIRELINGS.

So intolerable has the state of the church, described in the conclusion of the last chapter, become, that the public is loud in demanding its reform. The ministers of a reformed government under Earl Grey, while in the first glow of accession to power, and while mighty things were expected from them, began their boasted plans of church reform, with reform of the church of Ireland—that monstrous excrescence, where a revenue of £800,000, according to the last clerical returns to parliament, but according to other calculations, little short of £2,000,000, is appropriated to a population of 800,000 protestants; while 8,000,000 of catholics not only help to support their establishment, but their own priests. That reform consisted principally in reducing the archbishoprics and bishoprics from twenty-two to twelve; in reducing the incomes of the remaining ones; in laying on a tax of fifteen per cent. on the general income of the clergy; in taking off the church cess, or rate, from the people; and in selling off the lands of the extinguished bishoprics as they fall out of lease. This bill passed, and was received by the Irish with raptures. In England, the reformers, on the contrary, regarded it as a meagre reduction of a monstrous excrescence, which ought to have been utterly removed. Ministers, they said, had indeed taxed the Irish clergy for the repair of their own churches with one hand, but then, with the other, they had given them the incomes of ten bishoprics. They asked, what could the Irish people care whether there were twelve bishops or twelve thousand, so that the same enormous wealth was doomed to maintain the state church? The only practical particle of reform, they contended, was the abolition of the cess, in every other respect the evil being

aggravated by leaving the same vast amount of revenue amongst a diminished number of ecclesiastics. But time has shown, the Irish had cause to hail even this piece of reform with a joyful surprise. It was the greatest which the Whigs achieved. In Ireland, the tithe bill has produced some quietness, if it have not removed the grievance itself; but no other reform of the monstrous Irish establishment has been effected; and in England, the whole corrupt mass of the church stands untouched, after the many years of Whig government. All the fervour, or pretended fervour, of church reform had evaporated in the cabinet, long before its dissolution, and the public now looks with amazement at the simplicity of expecting sweeping church reforms from such men as Earl Grey, who had bishops to create out of his own family; Lord Stanley, in possession of whose family is one living worth £8,000 a year; Lord John Russell, whose family has at least twenty-five livings; and the lord chancellor, with a vast mass of church patronage to dispose of. But reform of the Irish church, an institution so opposed to every principle of justice, must one day come; and what will satisfy them? Why, nothing short of the utter abrogation of protestant episcopacy as a state religion. If it were necessary that a religion should be established, as it is called, it ought here to be the catholic. The opinions of the majority of a nation ought surely to command some respect; ought surely to be the guide in such matters. If a *nation* is to patronize and support one religion in preference to another, it ought surely to be the *religion of the nation*. The religion of Ireland is catholic,—the religion of Scotland is presbyterian,—why should Scotland be permitted to have a church of her own, and Ireland be refused one? Why should the majority in the other parts of the empire decide the establishment of their party, and in Ireland an *insignificant sect* be thrust upon the people as the NATIONAL RELIGION; and be bolstered up with tithes, glebes, and wealth enormous? These are plain questions, and suggest a plain answer.

One circumstance connected with Irish church reform was characteristic of its real nature and extent, as proposed by the Whig ministers, and ought to have opened the eyes of all men. The bishopric of Derry, the most enormously endowed in Ireland, was vacant at the very moment of the organization of this plan of reform. If a number of bishoprics were to be reduced, why should not this have been one? Or if it were not thought desirable to extinguish it, why should not the incumbent of one of those sees which were to be withdrawn, be translated to this, and thus one at least have been instantly removed? The surprise which the appointment of a bishop to this see, under these circumstances, created, was at once dissipated, and gave place, in the public mind, to a higher surprise, and feeling of indignation, by the discovery that the bishop thus installed, was Dr. Ponsonby, *the brother-in-law of Earl Grey*! This was an assurance sufficiently intelligible.

Will a man set himself heartily to cut down a tree in whose topmost branches he has placed his brother? Will a man essay to sink a vessel in which he has embarked his own family? Will a general proceed cordially to blow up a fortress in which his near relative is commandant?—Then, was Earl Grey likely to set himself heartily to work, to reform efficiently the Irish church?

The abolition of this bishopric would have been a thing of the highest importance. Its revenue, according to the last return, was £13,000; and it was proposed to reduce it to £8,000. But what is the estimate of Mr. Wakefield of the value of this see?—a most competent authority. He calculates that the whole of its property, over and above the tenth part of the gross produce of the land, cannot be much short of £3,000,000; and that the bishop's land, at a fair rate of rent, would produce an income of £130,000 a year. This, then, is the berth into which Earl Grey, in the face of a reformed parliament—of his own professions of real reform—of suffering England and starving Ireland, comfortably put his brother-in-law, and proposed to satisfy the country by the abatement of £5,000 a-year out of this immense property. By the extinction of this bishopric alone, a saving to the country would have been made at once of £3,000,000!—for the question in this case is, not what the bishop actually derives from the land, but what it is worth to the nation.

But the whole of this extraordinary establishment of state religion is of a piece. For the government of the whole church of England, twenty-six archbishops and bishops exist;—for 800,000 Irish protestants there were twenty-two, and still the wealth which maintained the twenty-two! According to former returns, there are 1238 parochial benefices; according to the last, 1401, in which are 860 resident clergymen. To provide for these archbishops and bishops, who superintend about as many people as one bishop in England would very well manage, it is calculated that out of 14,603,473 statute acres under cultivation, 13,603,473 are tithed. The glebe of the parochial clergy varies from 300 to 40,000 acres. The glebe in the diocese of Derry alone, amounts to more than 17,000 acres. The glebes, indeed, it is calculated in Derry and Kilmore would, if equally divided, give twenty acres to every parish in Ireland. Mr. Wakefield estimates that the property of six of the bishops, when out of lease, would produce £580,000 a year;—a sum which would give an income of £500 a year for each of the clergy, and a fund for the establishment of a school in every parish in Ireland. But if the property of six bishops amounts to £580,000 a year, what becomes of the clerical calculation which makes the whole income of the Irish church but £800,000?—leaving to the whole body of parochial clergy and sixteen bishops little more than £200,000?

The following is an extract from the returns to the House of Commons in February, 1824.

Secs.	Acres.	Secs.	Acres.
Derry	94,836	Tuam	49,281
Armagh	63,470	Elphin	31,017
Kilmore	51,350	Clogher	32,817
Dublin	23,784	Cork and Ross .	22,755
Meath	18,374	Cashel	12,800
Ossory	13,391	Killaloe	11,081

Total, 439,953 acres; which, at 20s. per acre, give a rental of £439,953.

If we estimate the remaining ten bishoprics at one-third of the amount, there is 146,651,—a rental of diocesan lands of £586,604.

If we estimate the glebes at 100,000 acres, which is, probably, far too little, when the glebe of Derry alone exceeds 17,000 acres, and the parochial glebes vary from 300 to 40,000 acres, at 20s., here is £100,000.

The tithe of upwards of 13,000,000 acres, at only 2s., a tithe of the rental, not of the gross produce, would be £1,300,000—making a total of income for the Irish church, of £1,986,604.

Mr. Leader, in a speech in parliament, December 15th, 1832, calculating on these returns, made the amount nearly the same. If, therefore, the last returns of £800,000 be correct, we must ask, what has become of a vast quantity of property? The same question strangely presents itself to our minds, as regards the English church. The editor of the Extraordinary Black Book says, "The returns to the circular inquiries by the Board of Agriculture, make the tithe, throughout the kingdom, in 1790, average, per acre, 4s. 0½d.; in 1803, 5s. 3½d.; in 1813, 7s. 9½d. Adopting the rate of tithes of 1803, and taking, with the Quarterly Reviewer, the land in tillage at 31,795,200 acres, the whole amount of tithes collected is £10,267,200: from which, if we deduct one-third for lay tithes, and tithe-free land, the amount of church tithes is £6,844,800 per annum." If, therefore, the church tithe alone, in 1803, was nearly £7,000,000, and the whole income of the church, in 1833, was but about THREE MILLIONS AND A HALF, where, we must demand, has an immense amount of church property vanished? Nothing, I am satisfied, will ever elicit the real amount of church revenue, except a LAY COMMISSION. Should any one think this opinion unjust to the clergy, I refer them to the returns of the Commissioners of Public Charities, which exhibit the clergy as the most wholesale and unscrupulous betrayers of their trust in these endowments; having, in a majority of instances, engrossed to themselves the revenues bequeathed to the poor, to teach the young, and provide for the old. But the commutation of the tithes has now proved, that the church tithes actually amount to upwards of SIX MILLIONS; thus at once most fearfully proving the utter falsity of the clerical return of 1833, which made the whole income of the church but about three millions and a half!!!

As women's fortunes are said to be paid in sixpences, so when the incomes of the clergy are returned to government, they seem to be calculated in farthings, or something less. Tithe and glebe seem suddenly to lose their natural value, surplice fees and fines shrink into insignificance. Yet these fines are pretty things, though they do not always amount to so much as the present bishop of Durham is stated, on the authority of Mr. Beverly, to have received of Mrs. Beaumont, for the renewal of the lease of her lead mines—£72,000.

Now, admitting that, owing to the low rate of clerical leases, to waste land, to lay impropriation, and to the popular inability or repugnance to pay tithes, the income of the church falls far below this estimate; the question, so far as the country is concerned, is the same. Here is a monstrous amount of property appropriated to a certain purpose; and what good is done? What good, indeed, as it regards Ireland?—A prodigious waste of property, (for, in addition to all the rest, it appears that, at different times since the Union, about *half a million* has been voted to augment poor livings,) only to render the name of Protestant hateful to that nation, by the laziness, non-residence, and tithe-exactions of the clergy of a church, which the Edinburgh Review, some years ago, happily compared to an Irish regiment of volunteers, which consisted of sixteen lieutenant-colonels, two drummers, and one private! The same able journal has well remarked, that "whatever may be the supposed effects of a richly endowed church, in maintaining a particular creed, it is evidently not the machine for the conversion of a people."

The justice and intelligence of the British people cannot long therefore, be satisfied with lopping off a few enormities from such a system; they will demand its total extinction. Religion, and the best objects of all human government, demand it! For, if protestantism is to prosper in Ireland, it must not come before the people in the shape of a corporation, chartered in opposition to the predominant feelings of the country, and endowed with a vast portion of the people's wealth; it must not come in the shape of two and twenty archbishops and bishops to superintend some few hundred clergymen, on incomes of £10,000 a year; in the shape of tithe-fed clergymen without parishes, parishes without churches, and churches without people; in the shape of men who profess to be teachers of Christian meekness and love, but are seen only as zealous collectors of tithes; in the shape of tithe proctors, with troops of soldiery at their heels; in the shape of noon-day exaction, and midnight retaliation and revenge; in short, of wealth and violence on the one hand, and destitution and despair on the other:—but if it come really to prosper and to bless, it must come as Christ himself came,—as a free personification of disinterested kindness; zealous love for the souls of men, rather than their purses; active endeavour to soothe the irritation and enlighten the minds of the poor; it must be offered to men's hearts, but not thrust upon

their shoulders: it must stand before the public eye as a thing to be chosen, or refused; as a thing which invites observation, and can bear it; as a thing which obviously has no interest but what is blended with the whole happiness of man;—whose nobility is so striking, and its beauty so attractive, that hearts are drawn to its embraces, not crushed beneath its tread. The system of compulsion and lavish endowment has been tried long enough; long enough has state religion, to use Burke's sophistical metaphor, "reared its mitred front in courts and parliaments;" its effects are before the public, in characters of fire and blood! Instead of peace, we have had horrible anarchy—instead of the milk of human kindness, deadly exasperation and relentless murder;—in God's name, let us see what the system of the apostles will now do!—a free offer, —an open hand,—and a zealous heart!—a system less of the bag and scrip, than of virtues and arguments that address themselves to the wants, the understanding, and the generosity of a generous nation.

To come now to England. The dissenters, now a great and important body of people—a people alive to their civil and religious rights, must be relieved from church rates. Ministers, though they may wish to forget it, acknowledged the justice of this demand, by abolishing them in Ireland—the principle in both cases is the same. The Irish cess, it appears, produced only about £94,000; but the church rate for England and Wales amounts to £665,114 18s., besides Easter offerings, claims of bishops, deans, and chapters, etc., on parishes and private property; and claims of the clergy on a multitude of pretences, as fees most offensive in their nature; and I do know, that the Society of Friends, a comparatively small body, suffers the violence and vexation of distraint of their goods, for such things, to the amount of about £11,000 a year; and these people maintain their own religion, and their own poor.

That English dissenters should be compelled to contribute to the support of an established church, is a moral and political absurdity. By the Act of Toleration of King William, the rights of conscience are recognised: but by this compulsion all the rights of conscience are violated. In the words of the able writer from whom I have taken the motto at the head of the 17th chapter—"A government cannot patronize one particular religion without punishing others. A state has no wealth but the people's wealth. If it pay some, it impoverishes others." To tell us that we may all enjoy our own opinions, and celebrate our own worship in perfect freedom, and yet to compel us to support another mode of religion, and another set of opinions, in our eyes erroneous and unchristian, is at once an oppression and a bitter mockery. It is not so much the sum of actual money that we pay, which constitutes the grievance,—that might be borne; but the *gravamen* lies here,—that by supporting an establishment, we support what, in the abstract, both religiously and politically, we believe ought not to exist. We believe it is the duty of a government, and especially

of a Christian government, which acknowledges the sacred rights of conscience, to protect every modification of the Christian religion; but not to support one in preference to, and at the expense of, the rest. This is not to patronize religion, but a party. That an establishment, unjust and impolitic in itself, never can, and never has, promoted true religion, is shown abundantly by this volume; it is testified equally by the apathy of the established church, and the activity of the dissenters. Is it not a source of continual complaints and bitterness amongst clerical writers, that the dissenters are for ever intruding themselves into their parishes; and, with what they are pleased to term their fiery fanaticism, continually turn the heads of their parishioners, and seduce them to the conventicle? Now, whether this zeal be healthful or not, whether it be pure or alloyed, refined or coarse, rational or fanatic, it matters not to our present question,—it is zeal,—and the vital question is, whence does it arise? how is it maintained? Not, certainly, from a state establishment!—not by charters and endowments. It springs from the soul of the people, and asks no breath of life but their approbation. Here, then, is an acknowledged principle of religious propagation, more efficacious than all the boasted influence of canonicals and mitres; of cathedral piles and sounding orchestras; of all the political machinery of tithes, and glebes, and church rates, and forced payments, called by the sarcastic name of *gifts* and *offerings*, as if the imposition were not enough, but we must suffer the mockery of being placed in the light of free donors and bowing offerers of gifts at a shrine that we inwardly abhor. Here is a confessed power to keep alive the popular zeal for religion:—if that zeal wants better guidance, it becomes every good man to lend his hand to its due direction,—but the principle itself is indisputably manifested, and sets the seal for ever to the non-necessity, and therefore to the political oppression, of a state religion. Nothing could justify a state religious establishment but the total and proven impossibility of keeping alive Christianity without it; but here it is seen that religious zeal rather takes any other form than that stamped upon it by legal enactments. Like the acanthus, pressed under the tile, it rises up with unquenchable vitality all around, and not only buries the dead tile of policy under its vigorous vegetation, but gives origin to new orders of Christian architecture. While the zeal of the established clerical order languishes under the weight of good things which its friends have cast upon it; while bishoprics, and deaneries, and prebends cannot stimulate it to the vital point of proselytism; while tithes, and glebes, and fines, and parochial fees cannot enliven it,—the free breath of popular societies can blow it into a flame that spreads far and wide, and even scorches the canonical skirts of the state clergy. Who, after this, shall dare to repeat the stale sophism, that Christianity needs the arm of human legislation to support her,—that she must be perched on cathedral pinnacles to be fairly seen; that she must be wrapped

in alb or surplice, and crowned with shovel-hat or mitre, to be revered, and seated on the episcopal throne to be adored? Who shall dare to turn his eye on the United States of America, where there is no state religion, yet where Christianity flourishes not less than amongst us, and then attempt to palm upon us the canting and selfish falsehood, that religion is bound up in the bundle of life with an act of parliament?

By compelling us to support an established religion, we are compelled to support and propagate all its errors, its injustice, and its absurdities, however great, and numerous, and pernicious they may be. Every sect in England at present, in contributing to the Establishment, contributes to that which it abhors. The denouncer of episcopacy is made to maintain a whole hierarchy of bishops; the catholic, what he declares to be pestilent heresies of the most damnable sort; the Calvinist maintains Arminianism; the Arminian, Calvinism; for, in the church are combined "a Calvinistic creed and an Arminian clergy." The Friend, who believes all hierarchies anti-christian, who holds that all ministers should speak from the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, and abominates hireling ministers, written sermons, a cut-and-dried liturgy, and half the doctrines of the church to boot, is forced, by restraint of his goods, to feed and uphold all these enormities: every man is made to maintain the doctrine of priestly absolution, for the church maintains it; and every man is made most heartily to damn himself, for the Athanasian creed, which is one of the creeds of the church, does declare every man to be damned who doubts it.

Such a preposterous abuse of power never can be much longer tolerated in this country. The church rates must be abolished, and with them tithes must cease also. Spite of church rate imprisonments and tithe commutations, both these impositions must disappear for ever. A more ingenious method than maintenance by tithes could not have been devised for the support of a minister of religion, had it been the object of the deviser to place an eternal subject of hatred, heart-burning, and dispute between him and his flock; to place him in the position of a harpy over the table of every one of his hearers; and to thus render abortive all his religious endeavours. A more iniquitous one never was conceived,—for it taxes not simply a man's land, but his capital, his genius, his skill, and industry; so that the priest reaps not merely a tithe of the fruits of the earth, but of the fruits of every man's heart and mind who ventures to till the earth.

The history of tithes is a singular one. Never were any poor people so troubled to contrive a plausible title to ill-gotten booty, as our protestant clergy have been to this popish plunder of tithes. They have asserted for them rights of all kinds,—a right divine; a right constitutional; a right from possession; and have, in turn, been driven from them all. Their right divine was founded on the Mosaic law. But this they soon found they could never estab-

lish, unless they could prove us all Jews, and themselves genuine Levites; for God gave tithes only from his own people, and that to the tribe of Levi. The PRIESTS, a particular family of that tribe, were only to receive of the Levites *a tithe of their tithe; that is, a hundredth part*; so that could our priests have proved us real Israelites, and bound to pay tithes, *they* could claim only a hundredth part; the ninety would go to the vergers and beadles, the cleansers and orderers of the temple. As this did not appear very promising, they then fell upon the constitutional, or legislative right. Here they grounded their claims upon various enactments. The earliest were those of some of the kings of the Saxon Hephtharchy, which only extended to their own portions of the empire; and were to be given by the people to what body of clergy or religious house they pleased. There was no general Act for their payment till the reign of John, about 1200, when the mode of appropriation was specifically defined in obedience to the bull of Pope Innocent III. But their institution was so perfectly popish, —ordered by the pope himself, given by a popish monarch, and for most popish pretences, that no protestant clergy could ever set up any claim to them on these grounds. They were obtained in the first place by a species of holy swindling. They were granted, both by monarchs and private individuals, not for the maintenance of the church and religion, but for a private and selfish object,—for the expiation of enormous crimes, often crimes of blood; as in the case of Athelstan, king of the West Saxons, to pacify the soul of his murdered brother Edwin, of which he was supposed to be guilty; and of Edgar, cruel to citizens, a deflowerer of virgins, and concerned in the murder of Ethelwold, that he might possess his wife, Elfrida; of Canute, guilty of the blood of Edward and Edmund, sons of Ironside. The clergy had persuaded these, and all other men, that they could pray their souls out of purgatory, and remit the punishment of such heinous offences—thereby creating such sins against society; and to obtain these inestimable services, the powerful and the wealthy gave these pretended keepers of the keys of heaven and hell, the wages of tithes. They were therefore so dyed in blood, both by the givers and the takers, who were the actual encouragers to bloodshed, by holding out so easy a remission, that no reformed clergy could plead upon this title. But the gross *delusion*, by which they were obtained, was equally indefensible. In this midnight of popery, tithes were called THE SOUL'S RANSOM; and were so preached up by the covetous clergy, that the credulous people gave them eagerly. Who indeed would deny the SOUL'S RANSOM—endless life, if so to be purchased? By this fraud the church got into possession of the third part of the land; and but for the Statute of Mortmain, it is believed, would have swallowed up the whole. That such was the origin of tithes; that they were given, not with the pious view of affording an ecclesiastical maintenance, but in a private and selfish bargain for salvation, may be seen by any one who will examine

the original grants. Take these specimens, from the reign of Henry II.

Be it known to those that are present, and to those that shall succeed, that I, NICHOLAS, the son of TERROLD, FOR THE SALVATION OF MY SOUL, AND OF MY PARENT, etc., have granted to the church, to be held for ever, the TITHES of my land, which I possess in the village of CHILTUNE.

I, WILLIAM DE ALBINEIO, do grant unto God, and to ST. ANDREW OF ROCHESTER, and to the monks having residence there, all my TITHES, etc., for the soul of King WILLIAM; and for the soul of King HENRY; and for my own soul; and for the souls of my father and mother; and of my wife; and of my brother NIGELLUS; and of my brother HUMPHREY; and for the souls of my other parents, alive and dead.

And this passage from the charter of King Stephen to the priory of Eye, in Suffolk.

I, STEPHEN, by the grace of God, king of England, touched by the love of God, and for the salvation of my soul; and of my father's soul, and of my mother's soul; and of my ancestors, kings, do give unto God, and the church of ST. PETER of EYE, and to the monks there serving God, that they may have all their profits, quiet, and free from all exactions, in land, tithes, churches, possessions, etc. etc.

And having procured these good things by these hypocritical means, they were always ready to maintain their possession of them by the same, as may be seen by this curious farce, got up to suit the gross ignorance of the age. "St. Austin coming to a certain place called Compton* to preach, the priest of the place made complaint against the lord of the manor, for detaining his tithes. For which thing Austin excommunicated him; and, saying mass at the altar, forbade excommunicated persons to be present thereat. Presently, a dead corpse, buried one hundred and seventy years before, arose out of his grave, and stood afar off during the celebrating of holy mass. Austin asked him what he was. He said he was a man that, during his lifetime, would never pay tithe to the priest, so was excommunicated; and dying, went to hell for the crime. Austin raised the dead priest, who affirmed—that that man would never pay his tithe. Austin sent the live-dead corpse to his grave again, saying, he had suffered long in hell, that is, in purgatory. The lord of the manor seeing all this, was much terrified, and fell at Austin's feet, confessing his fault, and became a due payer of his tithes all his lifetime!"—*Anglici Historia Aurea*.

No protestant clergy, I say, could receive them on this foundation. When it was once admitted that they had been obtained by a piece of the grossest priestly delusion, and that the object for which they were given was an utter chimera,—neither did nor could exist in such agency,—they ought immediately to have been

* See, for a fuller account of this strange scene, Dugdale's Warwickshire.

restored to the families whence they had been thus extorted, or if they could not be found, to the state. All modern title therefore must rest on the act of Henry VIII., who took them from their original possessors, and gave them to whom he would. But the very means by which they were converted into the maintenance of a protestant clergy, implied a power of resumption. They were taken from the papal church, to which they were given for purposes peculiar to that church, and given to another body of men. Nobody could possibly have so good a title to them as the original body, bad as we have seen it was; if therefore they were conveyed to the protestant clergy *by the government, because this appropriation appeared to the government more for the public good*—the only justifiable reason,—*it followed, that, whenever the government saw another plan, in its belief still MORE conducive to the public good, or because the former plan did not produce the proposed end, the government could resume them, and apply them according to its wisdom;—besides, that no government can legislate for posterity, except conditionally. If we admit none of our laws in our own day to be irrevocable, but are continually examining their utility, revoking and framing anew, how much more must this power of rescinding belong to posterity, who cannot be present, and therefore cannot be consenting to our enactments? If, therefore, we cannot legislate for posterity but conditionally, our ancestors could bind no burdens upon us but with the same proviso of our approval, and thus the clerical title to tithes, in every point of view, resolves itself solely into the will of government.*

One fact, not yet noticed, is very remarkable:—we have seen that tithes were the accredited SOUL'S RANSOM; and as CHARITY was declared by Scripture to cover a multitude of sins, they were made to include the principle of charity as an effectual means of expediting the operation of ransoming, or praying out of purgatory. This was the cause that they were not merely given to the clergy, but to the poor. One part to the bishop,—one to the clergy,—one to the support of ecclesiastical buildings,—and one to the poor. All this, which was religiously observed, even by the swindling, deluding popish priests, was done away with by the *reformed clergy*. They robbed the poor of their part, and threw both them and the churches on the country!

Such is the *history* of tithes; their *operation* has been shown by the ablest writers to have been most deplorable—the source of everlasting rancour between minister and people—of indolence and riot on one hand, of poverty on the other—destructive alike to the progress of agriculture and to religious reformation. But it is in Ireland that the system has produced its amplest horrors. There rapacious priests, for the most part pluralists and absentees, have deputed their claims to voracious tithe proctors, who have dragged this *soul's ransom* from the members of the church which first held it, to give it to the pastors of a church who do not believe it a *soul's ransom* at all, but a very good *body's comfort*,—have dragged

it from the poorest cultivator of the poorest and smallest patch of ground, till they have roused the spirit of the whole people to resistance. Hence the hostile meetings of tithe proctors and tithe payers,—hence interference of soldiers,—hence the murders and bloody skirmishes which have made that fine country a waste, and a land of horrors in the ears of all civilized nations. Let any one that reads this recital from the Waterford Chronicle, December 19, 1831, reflect that the country has been full of such cases, from one end to the other; and then wonder, if he can, at all that has occurred:—

“Catherine Carroll is a poor woman, living at Ballytruckle, on the Kil St. Laurence road, in a wretched cabin; and, till this year, she was never called upon to pay incumbent-money. The hand of affliction was upon this poor creature; her son lay on his death-bed, if bed may be called a wretched wad of straw. A daughter, too, was lying ill of a severe cold, with lumps in her throat. The collector called to demand the tax. The wretched woman had not the means of paying it. What was to be done? The whole house did not contain a sufficient restraint; but—let me restrain my indignation while I tell it—the poor woman had taken advantage of her children’s illness,—of their being confined to bed,—to take off the only shirt and shift they possessed to wash them; and unfortunately had them upon a bush at the door, drying, at that moment. The collector saw the prize—and at one fell swoop, carried off the shirt of the boy!—the shift of the girl!—the trowsers of the poor man!—his stockings!—a waistcoat, belonging to another child!—and an apron belonging to another daughter!—all went to make nectar of the wine of some pampered ecclesiastic! The boy died yesterday; and on the bed of death, although this worse than Turkish act occurred on Friday week, this unhappy child knew not the comfort of a shirt; and his little corpse is now lying naked, owing to the ruthless system of the church establishment.”

At length the people resolved, *en masse*, to refuse the payment: and what did our reforming ministers? Abolish those odious tithes? No! As the Irish would not pay them, they decreed that we should,—giving us the Irish landlords as our sureties for repayment. A million of good English money was *lent* to the Irish clergy to supply their larders which no tithes came in to fill—money never to find its way back to the lenders!

But tithes are condemned: and let them go, with this one observation of Milton’s—“As well under the gospel as under the law—say our English divines, and *they only of all protestants*—is tithes. That the law of tithes is in force under the gospel, all other protestant divines, though equally concerned, yet constantly deny. When any one of ours has attempted, in Latin, to maintain this argument,—though a man would think they might suffer him, without opposition, in a point equally tending to the advantage of all ministers,—yet they cease not to oppose him, as in a doctrine not fit to pass unopposed under the gospel: which shows the modesty, the contentedness of those foreign pastors with the

maintenance given them; their sincerity also in truth, though less gainful; and the avarice of ours, who, through the love of their old papistical tithes, consider not the weak arguments, or rather conjectures and surmises, which they bring to defend them." What a striking fact is this! and what a singular feature it presents of the English church—the only one that has advocated and suffered itself to be fed by this iniquitous system! If we add to this the following paragraph, which appeared in the *Essex Independent*, and the principle of which, whatever the calculations may be, is notoriously correct, what an image of clerical rapacity and want of conscience we have before us! "The church ought to relinquish the property of the poor. The original tripartite division of tithes is acknowledged—one-third portion of the revenue of the church being the undoubted property of the poor. The entire possessions of the church, in tithe and landed property, amount in value to the sum of £170,450,000; and the extensive leaseholds lately reverted to the bishopric of London, raise the amount to £180,000,000. One-third of this, £60,000,000, is therefore the sum which the state is most equitably entitled to demand from the church." After reading this, who can prevent himself recalling the words of Christ—"The poor ye have always with you, but *me ye have not always!*"

In the next place, the church must be divorced from the state. This unnatural union, the device of artful politicians, is an injustice to the subject, and an indignity to the church itself. The natural effect upon a church in becoming a state religion is, that its freedom is instantly extinguished; every principle of progression and improvement is annihilated; and the generous spirit which would lead it to expand, and spread itself abroad on the kindred spirits of men, is frozen by the cold breath of worldly policy. Like metal molten in the furnace, it flows into the state as into a mould, receives its shape and stamp, and sets for ever. It may be dashed to pieces by the application of external force; but, last as long as it may, it will never be moved, remodelled, or purified, from within. It becomes stationary for ever. However all around may be quickened with the moving spirit of knowledge, and excited to activity and fruitfulness, it stands silent and barren—like a tree covered with the knots and burs of antiquated absurdities; its head, a chaos of rotten boughs amid the green vigour of the forest; and while it is insensibly falling to decay, it bears itself with a sturdy and sullen pride, and wears a ludicrous air of superiority in the very moment of its fall. That such is the situation of the Establishment, who can deny?—Who that calls to mind its doctrine of absolution of sins; its Athanasian creed,—a thing so monstrous as to horrify and make ashamed the best minds of its own sons, and which compelled Tillotson, long ago, to wish they were well rid of it; and, moreover, its Thirty-nine Articles, that precious medley of follies and contradictions,—a medley, however, which every one, owing to the inflexible nature of the

church, is obliged to swallow before he can be ordained a minister; and which Paley, after acknowledging that it was a Gordian knot, endeavoured to cut asunder, by declaring these Articles, *articles of peace*; as if it would enable men to escape the guilt of falsehood, by treating bitter and contradictory professions of faith as physis, and swallowing them as a necessity? These Articles lie at the door of the church as a threshold of lying; and, if perjury does not depend on a form of words, but on the inward denial of a solemn truth,—of perjury, to every one of its ministers who is not wild enough to believe impossibilities; and in one university, stand in the way of every student. The great Jeremy Bentham, one of the noblest as well as most sagacious minds which ever blessed earth by its presence, has left on record what it cost him to subscribe them; and numberless are the conscientious spirits which have turned away from them in disgust. Yet there they stand at the church-door, in all their glorious contrariety, and would for ever stand while the church was a member of the state.

When a church stands on its own simple basis, it may renovate its constitution; it may explode worn-out creeds; abandon dogmas or rites that have become hideous in the increased light of universal knowledge, and preserve itself in keeping with the spirit of the age, and in consequent capacity for usefulness; but, make it a portion of the state, and it immediately becomes a species of high treason to attempt the least change in it. Make its ministers illustrious with dignities, and fat with good livings, and they will for ever cry, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" The church will be the best of churches,—immaculate and divine; and they will growl on any one who even dares to look curiously at it, as a jealous dog growls over his bone. Make it the road to political power and honour, and you make its highest ministers the most obsequious slaves of state; the most relentless enemies of freedom and mercy.* This has been too conspicuous in the House of

* The bulk of the incidents in the History of Priestcraft are bloody and revolting; but there are a few that are the very fathers of merriment. When Tetzel was selling indulgences in Germany, for all sins, past, present, and to come, and had well filled his chest with the money of pious fools of that generation, and was about to depart, a nobleman called on him to procure one for a future crime. Tetzel inquired what it was. The nobleman replied, he could not tell—he had not yet quite decided; but the holy father could charge what he pleased, and leave that to him. Tetzel charged accordingly; and the next day, as he was riding through a wood near Jüterbogk, the nobleman met him, and seized on his chest. "This," said he, "is the sin I meant to commit:" and rode back in triumph to Jüterbogk, where the chest is preserved to this day. V

Waller, in his Life, gives a curious instance of prelatical obsequience, which most miraculously was well met, by a brilliant instance of prelatical wit and independence. At a dinner with James I., were Neal, bishop of Durham, and Andrew, bishop of Winchester—"Have not I a

Peers. Lord Eldon said some years ago in the House of Lords, that he could not bring himself to believe the slave trade was irreconcilable with the Christian religion, as the bench of bishops had uniformly sanctioned, by their votes, the various acts authorizing that trade. A biting sarcasm, which ever way intended!

But, say the advocates of state religion, how does this appear, in the recent conduct of the bishops in the same House? Have they not opposed both government and people, to their great exasperation, by voting against the Reform Bill? Yes; they have—and on the same principle. What Selden says, is most true—"It hath ever been the gain of the church when the king would let the church have no power, to cry down the king, and cry up the church; but when the church can make use of the king's power, then to bring all under the king's prerogative." In every case, the state clergy are the enemies of the people. They may occasionally spurn at the monarch, when he ceases to be a prelatical jackal—but at all times they are averse to the liberty of the subject. Their hostility to the Reform Bill will not readily be forgotten, and has, no doubt, hastened by many years the downfall of their order.

Let us now hear our noble Milton, on the effect of a state religion. "That the magistrate should take into his power the stipendiary

right," said James, "to take money from the people, without all this ceremony of going to parliament?" "Undoubtedly your Majesty has a right," replied Neal; "you are the breath of our nostrils!" "But what says my lord of Winchester?" added James. "I say," returned the bishop, "that your Majesty has a right to take brother Neal's; for he has given it you."

Bloody Mary sent a commissioner over to Ireland, with a royal commission to the lord lieutenant to burn, destroy, and confiscate the property of the protestants, and bring them to what is called justice. The man lodging at a widow Edmonds', in Chester, was waited on by the mayor; to whom he boasted that he had that with him that would bring the Irish heretics to their senses—and opening a box, he showed him the commission. The widow, who had a brother in Ireland, a protestant, happened to hear this, and was alarmed. As the commissioner showed the mayor downstairs, she adroitly withdrew the commission, and supplied its place with a sheet of paper, in which was wrapped a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost. The deception was undiscovered. On the commissioner's arrival at Dublin, he had an audience of the lord lieutenant, in the presence of a splendid assembly. He made a fine speech, and boasted much of his powers—when, on going to produce his commission, behold, to the astonishment of himself and his hearers, nothing but the pack of cards, and the knave of clubs uppermost! "It was the queen's commission," said the crest-fallen delegate, "but how it is changed I know not." "Well," said the lord lieutenant, "you must return to England for fresh powers; and in the mean time we will shuffle the cards!" He returned, but he was too late—the queen was dead; and on the subject being related to Elizabeth, she was highly diverted by it, and settled on Mrs. Edmonds £40 a year.

maintenance of church ministers, as compelled by law, can stand neither with the people's thought, nor with Christian liberty, but would suspend the church wholly upon the state, and turn the ministers into state pensioners. For the magistrate to make the church his mere ward, as always in minority;—the church, to whom he ought, as a magistrate, 'to bow down his face towards the earth, and lick up the dust of her feet,'—her to subject to his political drifts, or conceived opinions, is neither just nor pious; no honour done to the church, but a plain dishonour: and upon her whose head is in heaven,—yea, upon Him who is the only head in effect; and, what is most monstrous, a human on a heavenly, a carnal on a spiritual, a political head on an ecclesiastical body; which at length by such heterogeneous, such incestuous conjunction, transforms her oftentimes into a beast of many heads and many horns."

Such a beast has the church become by this state commerce, even by the confession of her friends; and that commerce must be annihilated. Justice, impartial justice, to this great and Christian nation demands it; the growth of Christianity demands it; the prosperity of the church itself demands it as well. This is a measure called for on behalf of the nation; and there are numbers who will contend that the church, ceasing to be a state church, should restore its property to the nation whence it was drawn. That, in strict justice, all national property should revert to the nation when the object for which it was bestowed ceases, there can be no question; in strict justice to the other Christian communities of this country, this ought clearly to be the case,—since, admitting the rights of conscience, the nation ought not to enrich one body of Christians at the expense of the rest: and that parliament has a right to recall the loan of church property, is clear as daylight. The present priesthood form a standing proof and precedent of it, since it was taken from the catholics and given to them.

In resuming the national property, respecting at the same time all private endowments made since the Reformation, which ought to be held as sacred as the private endowments of the dissenters, every lover of his country, and its monuments of history and art, would desire to see a sufficient fund appropriated to maintain in repair our noble cathedrals—specimens of the architectural genius of our ancestors; and our parish churches—objects of picturesque beauty. This fund need not be large, since a handsome sum would arise from letting them as places of worship; giving always, as a matter of courtesy, the original preference to their present occupiers; and to pass out of their hands only in case of neglect, desertion, or abuse; the existence of such sufficient causes to be determined in a manner prescribed by parliament. The parsonages and glebes might also be valued at a moderate price; the option of purchase given to the Episcopalians, and the payment to be made by such instalments as would render it as little burdensome as possible; or, let the nation act munificently as becomes a

great nation, and give them freely the parsonages and glebes ; always, and in every case, demanding the surrender of private patronage, and investing the election of the minister in the people. In the disposal of the bulk of the church property, regard, I think, should be had to the original intentions of the donors ; and this intention was, according to the best of their knowledge, and the knowledge and opinions of the age,—the Christian enlightenment and instruction of the people. No appropriation of this wealth appears, therefore, so conducive to this object as that of establishing with it a national system of education. I say a *national*, not a *government* system, that is, a system in which government shall have nothing to do but to see all existing funds impartially distributed amongst all denominations, those denominations holding the whole management of the education of their own youth in their own hands.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH—CONTINUED. PERVERSION OF QUEEN ANN'S BOUNTY. CORRUPTION OF THE UNIVERSITIES. NUISANCE OF SPIRITUAL COURTS AND PRIESTLY FEES.

Oh ! said the hind, how many sons have you
 Who call you mother, whom you never knew ?
 But most of them who that relation plead
 Are such ungracious youths as wish you dead ;
 They gape at rich revenues which you hold,
 And fain would nibble at your grandame gold.
 HIND AND PANTHER.

He is the true atheist, the practical enemy to religion, who can offer to defend the present condition of the church of England.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW. No. xxix.

HAVING in the last chapter touched on the subject of the church revenue, we must not leave it without adverting to one particular. Whenever the excess of clerical income is introduced, we are immediately attempted to be disarmed by a statement, that, were the whole revenue of the church equally divided, it would give but about £112 per annum to each clergyman. The British or Clerical Magazine for March, 1832, admits, from the Parliamentary Returns, that it would be £200 per annum.* Now, did we admit this to be correct, what a shame is it that in a church so economically provided, so many individuals should be allowed to wallow in the wealth and idleness they manage to combine ! Can the church answer it to her conscience, if she have one, that in such a slenderly benefited system, there should be many a parish priest who holds from £1 to £5000 a year ; and that the scale of payment to its dignitaries should stand thus, according to their own showing in the Report of the Church Commission in 1835:—

Archbishop of Canterbury	£19,183	a year.
— York	12,629	—
Bishop of Durham	19,066	—
— London	14,000	—
— Winchester	11,151	—
— Ely	11,105	—
Nine others on an average	5,000	—
The rest on an average	3,000	—

* The present Parliamentary Returns make it about £287.

But if we were now to take as the basis of our calculations, the value of the bishoprics as given in *Liber Regis*, they would appear as below. Those estimates were made when labour was a penny a day; now it is twenty-four pence; so that if we place pounds instead of shillings, that is, an advance of twenty-fold, we shall make a moderate calculation, according to the increase in the value of general property; and if of general property, why not that of the church? I have applied this scale to various parochial livings whose income is well known, and the result was wonderfully accurate. The bishop of London's income will alone form an exception; for, according to the statement of Mr. Baring in parliament, it has increased seventy-fold, and by the falling in of leases, will soon be one hundred-fold.

Archbishop of Canterbury	£56,650 a year.
— York	. . . 32,200 —
Bishop of Durham	. . . 36,420 —
— London	. . . 70,000 —
— Winchester	. . . 57,479 —
— Ely	. . . 42,698 —
— Salisbury	. . . 27,700 —
The rest on an average of	10,000 —

I am afraid we never can prove the church to be poor, or to have been at any time indifferent to the doctrine, that "godliness is great gain." There is nothing in which the spirit of priestcraft has shown itself so grossly in the English clergy, as in their appropriation of what is called Queen Anne's Bounty. The most shameful selfishness and disregard of every thing like common honesty, like feeling for their poorer brethren, or respect for the motives of the deluded queen, mark the whole affair. The *Edinburgh Review*, in an able article in No. LXXV., made a very salutary exposition of this wretched business. Let the reader take this condensed view of it:—

"It is well known that, by the statute of Henry VIII. chap. 3, the first-fruits and tenths of spiritual preferments (which had formerly been paid to the pope, or some other spiritual persons) were given to the king. The first-fruits were the revenues and profits for one year, of every such preferment; and were to be satisfied, or compounded for, on good security, by each incumbent, before any actual or real possession, or meddling with the profits of a benefice. The tenths were a yearly rent of a tenth part of all the revenues and emoluments of all preferments, to be paid by each incumbent at Christmas. These revenues were, as the statute phrases it, united and knit to the imperial crown for ever! By the same statute a provision was made for a commission to be issued by the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, *from time to time*, to search for the *just* and *true* value of the said first-fruits and profits; and similar means were provided for ascertaining the value of

tenths. In consequence of this statute, which was suspended during the papistical reign of Mary, but recovered by the 1st of Elizabeth, a valuation was made, which is supposed to have been at the time an accurate one, of the yearly profits of the ecclesiastical preferments: and, according to this valuation, the first-fruits and tenths were, as the 1st of Elizabeth has it, 'well and justly answered and paid, without grief and contradiction of the prelates and clergy of the realm, to the great aid, relief, and supportation of the inestimable charges of the crown,' which inestimable charges may then possibly have amounted to a two-hundredth part of the present yearly sum.*

"Under this valuation, which in course of time became quite unequal to the real emoluments of the preferments, these charges continued to be paid till the second year of Queen Anne, 1703; when an act was passed reciting the queen's most religious and tender concern for the church of England, stating that a sufficient settled provision for the clergy in many parts of the realm had never yet been made; and giving to a corporation, which was to be erected for the augmentation of small livings, the whole of the first-fruits and tenths. *Her Majesty, however, in her religious and tender concern, was completely overreached by the clergy.* The professed object of the queen was to increase the provision of the poor clergy; the real and only immediate effect of it was to release the rich clergy from a charge to which, by law, they were liable. We have before mentioned, that a provision was made in the statute of Henry VIII., for revising, from time to time, the valuations under which the first-fruits and tenths were paid. It is not improbable that the clergy were apprehensive, as the nation was then engaged in an expensive war, that such a revision might be made; and in persuading the queen to renounce her hereditary revenue for the sake of her poor clergy, they contrived most effectually to secure themselves by an ingenious clause in the statute in question.

"If the real purpose of this act of Anne had been to augment the small livings, nothing could have been more reasonable than to do it by enforcing the legal claims for the first-fruits and tenths on the holders of the larger benefices. The scandalous poverty of some livings—for there were then 1071 which did not exceed £10 a year—would then have speedily disappeared: but as the old and inefficient rate of payment was fixed and made perpetual, the most religious queen went to her grave without seeing any effect from

* The income of the tenths and first-fruits in Queen Anne's time, was about £16,000 a year. But this was but a fraction of their real value, for the bishops were allowed to collect them, and embezzled the greater part, giving annuities out of them to their children and friends. When this money *did* reach the court, it was never paid into the treasury, but was spent in corruption. In Charles II.'s reign it went amongst his ladies; but his bishops, who were always crying sacrilege! never mentioned this worst sacrilege of all. Why?—

her bounty; as, in consequence of the encumbrances on the fund, and the impossibility of increasing its produce, it was not till 1714, that the governors of the Bounty were enabled to make their first grants.

"The cunning of the rich clergy in thus shifting from themselves the burden of contributing to the relief of their poorer brethren, is only to be matched in degree by the folly shown in the application of the diminished revenue which this trick of theirs still left for the improvement of small livings. At the time when Queen Anne's Bounty Fund was established there was, according to the returns, which were not quite accurate, 5597 livings in England and Wales, with incomes not exceeding 50*l*. They were thus classed:—

Not exceeding	£10	. . . . .	1071
—	20	. . . . .	1467
—	30	. . . . .	1126
—	40	. . . . .	1049
—	50	. . . . .	896

"The sum which the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty had to apply to the augmentation of these livings, averaged about £13,000 a year. Any rational being would suppose that, under such circumstances, the governors and the legislature, by whom the disposal of the money was directed and superintended, would have made some inquiry into the circumstances of the different livings. Some of these livings were of very small extent, and scarcely any population, and might therefore have been advantageously united with one another, or with other parishes. The specific evil which was to be remedied was set forth in the preamble to the statute of Anne in these words:—'That divers mean and stipendiary preachers are, in many places, entertained to serve cures, and officiate there; who, depending for their necessary maintenance upon the good-will and liking of their hearers, have been, and are, thereby under temptation of too much complying, and suiting their doctrines and teaching to the humours, rather than to the good of their hearers, which has been a great occasion of faction and schism.' Precious philosophy! At least, therefore, one would have thought that some distinction would have been made between places where there were many hearers, and where there were few or none. Some even might have been so extravagant as to expect, that when a sum was bestowed on any particular living, some security would have been taken for the residence of the incumbent. All these notions were, however, very far from the minds of the persons who had the distribution of Queen Anne's Bounty: The governors of this fund proceeded upon the idea which is commonly entertained in England respecting the church establishment, especially by its own functionaries—that, provided a sufficient sum of money be laid out on the clergy, every other good will follow: that, how absurd soever the distribution may seem, it is not for

human hands to destroy the latent harmony of casual proportions. Above all things did they eschew the idea, which the church abhors, that where the public confers an obligation, it has a right to exact the performance of a duty. Among the livings on which they had to scatter the money, several were large and populous parishes, where the tithes had been impropriated; and these, if the holders of the tithes were not, as is often the case, ecclesiastical sinecurists—or dignitaries, as they are called—whose incomes were at the disposal of parliament, would have been proper objects for augmentation,—always supposing, what is false in point of fact, that an increase in the emoluments of a living has any tendency to secure the performance of clerical duties. Others were rectories, of which some were endowed with the tithe of all the produce of their district, but which were so insignificant as neither to need a separate clergyman, nor to afford a separate maintenance for him. In the case of such livings, instead of attempting to swell the incomes of needless offices, the natural course would have been, to have consolidated their neighbouring benefices; and in no case have made any augmentation, except where the revenue arising from a district of extent and population sufficient to need the cares of a clergyman, should have been found insufficient to maintain him. But this would have violated the fundamental principles of the excellent church; it would have insinuated a connexion between money expended and duty performed; it would have seemed like an adaptation of means to an end; it would have made some inquiry and consideration necessary.

"The governors of the Bounty proceeded bountifully; they distributed a part of their money in sums of £200, on any poor livings to which any private person would give an equal sum. The rest and far greater part of their money, showing them no respecter of persons nor of circumstances, these representatives of the ecclesiastical wisdom of the nation distributed *by lot*, letting each poor living take an equal chance for a prize, without any regard to the degree of urgency of its claim. After this, the story of Bridoye deciding suits at law by dice, after making up a fair pile of papers on each side, seems no longer an extravaganza. Up to January 1, 1815, the governors had made, in this way, 7323 augmentations of £200; but with benefices, as with men, fortune is not proportioned to desert or necessity. Some of the least populous parishes had a wonderful run of luck. We are not sure that, taking a few of those which meet our eye in running over the returns, we have selected the most remarkable. In the diocese of Chichester, the rectory of Hardham, which in 1811 contained eighty-nine persons, has received six augmentations by lot, or £1200. The vicarage of Sollington, with forty-eight people, has had six augmentations, £1200. 'In the diocese of Salisbury, Brewilham drew a prize; it contained fourteen people. Rotwood drew another; it had twelve people. Calloes had £1000, including a benefaction of £200; its population was, in 1811, *nineteen*. In the diocese of Winchester, Saint Swithin, with

twenty-four people, has received £800, including a benefaction of £200; and £200 has been expended on Ewhurst, which has seven people. In the diocese of York, Ruthewick, with sixty-two people, has had five prizes, £1000; while Armby, with 2941 people, and Allendale, with 3884, have gained only one each. In the diocese of Rochester, two livings, with twenty-eight and twenty-nine people, received separate augmentations. In the diocese of Oxford, Elford, or Yelford, with sixteen inhabitants, drew a prize. In Lincoln, Stowe, with the same number, and Haugh, received £800. The number of all its inhabitants is eight. When it is considered too, that Haugh pays vicarial tithes, which amounted in the reign of Henry VIII. to £6 13s. 4d. of yearly value, it must be admitted that this important district has been guarded against the danger of schism, with a liberality worthy of a protestant government. If the rest of the people of England were fortified in sound doctrine at the same rate of expense, the proper establishment of religious teachers in England and Wales would cost about twelve hundred millions sterling, and 1,500,000 parochial clergy, who, as Dr. Cove allows each of them a family of nine, would form a considerable portion of the population. In the diocese of Llandaff we find two places following each other in the returns, which illustrate the equity of *le sort des dez*. Usk, with 1339 people, has had an augmentation, though its value remains low. Wilcock, a rectory with twenty-eight people, has had *three*. In Hereford, Hopton-Cangeford has had £1000 for thirty-five people. Monmouth, £200 for 3503.

"Even in cities, where the scattered condition of the population could afford no pretext against the union of parishes, the same plan of augmentations has been pursued. In Winchester, separate augmentations have been given to seven parishes, the population of all which would, united, have amounted to 2376, and would consequently have formed a very manageable, and rather small town parish. In short, the whole of the returns printed by the House of Commons in 1815, No. 115, teem with instances of the most foolish extravagance,—just such a result as the original conception of this clerical *little-go* would have led any rational being to anticipate. The conviction is irresistibly forced upon us, that nothing could have been further from the minds of those who superintended this plan, than to secure a competent provision for all the members of the church, and to remove the poverty of some of its members,—which is, by a strange manner of reasoning, made a defence for the needless profusion with which the public wealth is lavished upon others. Indeed, we are led to suspect, that 'the church, in her corporate capacity,' looks upon the poverty of some of her members as sturdy beggars look upon their sores; she is not seriously displeased with the naked and excoriated condition of her lower extremities, so long as it excites an ill-judged compassion for the whole body, and secures her impunity in idleness and rapacity.

"We are sometimes told that the poverty of a large body of the parochial clergy is such, that it is out of the power of the higher clergy, even by the surrender of their whole revenues, to remedy it. The statement we have given shows most clearly, that this poverty is to be attributed, in the first place, to the fraudulent subtraction of the higher clergy from the burden of contributing to the relief of their poorer brethren; and, in the second place, to the absurdity of the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom, which, on the slightest effort of the clergy, would have been remedied by the legislature. If the first-fruits and tenths had been paid subsequently to the gift of Anne, according to the rate which the law provided for, and as they had been paid, 'without grief or contradiction,' *i. e.* according to the real value of the benefices, instead of a million and half, at least thirty millions would have been raised from these taxes;—a sum not only quite sufficient to have removed the poverty of all the poor livings in the kingdom, but to have established schools in every parish of England, and to have left a large surplus for other useful purposes.

"In the course of these augmentations no security has been taken against non-residence, or plurality. The governors go on, therefore, increasing the incomes of two small livings, in order to make each of them capable of supporting a resident clergyman; while after, as well as before the augmentation, one incumbent may hold them together—reside on neither—and allow only a small part of the accumulated income to a curate, who performs the duty of both!"

This absurd system, which is at once an insult to the memory of Queen Anne, and to the whole British nation, has been continued to the present moment. By the returns made to the present parliament, the same shameful additions to rich livings, of that which was intended to have gone to poor ones, are made apparent; the same shamelessly miserable payment of the curates, who do the actual work for which the money is received by the selfish and the idle, has been continued. It is not within the compass of this volume to go at great length into these details;—a sample will suffice. These cases were adduced by Lord King in the House of Peers.

"Dean and canon of Windsor, impropiator of the following parishes, received from parliamentary grant and Queen Anne's Bounty:—Plymsted, 1811, £600; 1812, £400; 1815, £300. Plympton, —, £600. St. German's, 1811, £800; 1814, £400. Wembury, 1807, £200; 1816, £1400. Northam, 1764, £200; 1812, £400. South Moulton, 1813, £600.

"Dean and canon of Winchester, impropiators of tithes of two large parishes in Wales:—Holt, 1725, £200; 1733, £200. Iscoyd, 1749, £200; 1757, £200; 1798, £200; 1818, £200.

"Dean of Exeter, impropiator of tithe:—Landkey, 1775, £200; 1810, £200; 1815, £1400. Swimbed, 1750, £200; 1811, £400.

"Dean and chapter of Carlisle, impropiators of valuable tithe:—Hesket, 1813, £600; 1815, £2000 to purchase land; 1816, £300; 1817, £300.

"Dean of Bangor, impropiator of tithe (curate paid £32 4s.):—Gyffin, 1767, £200; 1810, £200; 1816, £1400.

"Bishop of Bangor, impropiator of valuable tithe (curate paid £30 12s.):—Llandegar, 1812, £200; 1815, £1600; —, £300; —, £300.

"Bishop of Lichfield, impropiator of large tithes in Merionethshire (curate paid only £27):—Tallylyr, 1808, £200; 1816, £1400. Penal, 1810, £200."

Thus these returns proved, that for thirteen parishes these Rev. gentlemen had drawn £14,500, which ought to have been paid from their own pockets. Other instances of a like nature will occur as we proceed.

The Edinburgh Review, in the same able article above quoted, says—"Those who complain of the poverty of the clergy, pretend to suppose that no security for residence is necessary; and that, as soon as the small livings are raised high enough, non-residence will disappear as a matter of course. For instance, Dr. Cove says, 'All the church of England's sons are, with few exceptions, ever intent on their appropriate duties; and would be still more diligent were each of them possessed of a *more enlarged and comfortable independence*, and furnished with more suitable abodes.' This, unfortunately for the doctor, is more capable of being brought to the test than the 'unrecorded revelation' to Adam in favour of tithes. We have returns of small livings, and we have returns of non-residence. In the diocese of Rochester there are only six livings under £150 a year, and of those six not one is returned under £110. Of the 107 benefices returned in that diocese, there were, in 1809, but 50 with resident incumbents—less than half the livings. In the diocese of Chester, where the livings under £150 a year are numerous, 377 out of 592 being of that description, a considerably larger proportion of the benefices have residents than in Rochester—there are 327 residents. In other dioceses the number of poor livings bears no regular proportion to the number of non-residents. The fact is, that under the discipline of the church of England, where there are so many grounds of exemption or of licence for non-residence, the only persons who may be expected to reside, are those whose narrow incomes make their residence in their own parsonages a matter of necessity or convenience.

I shall speedily have occasion to show, that in all countries where the incomes of the clergy are moderate, there the clergy themselves are at once the most attentive to their duties, and most respected and beloved by the people. For the present, the following statement from the *Carlisle Journal* will afford a striking confirmation of the justice of these remarks; and so impressive an

example of the shameless pluralities of the higher clergy, and the miserable manner of their paying the poor labouring curates, as may render further selections superfluous.

PLURALITIES, AND CURATES' STIPENDS.

Small as is the see of Carlisle, it affords some admirable specimens of the working of the church system, and of these we will now give a sample. And first, of the pluralists, we have—

Hugh Percy, bishop of Carlisle, a prebend of St. Paul's, and a chancellor of Sarum.

R. Hodgson, dean of Carlisle, vicar of Burgh-on-Sands, rector of St. George's, Hanover Square, and vicar of Hillington.

E. Goodenough, prebend of Carlisle, Westminster, and York; vicar of Wath All Saints on Dearn, chaplain of Adwick, and chaplain of Brampton-Bierlow.

S. J. Goodenough, prebend of Carlisle, rector of Broughton Poges, vicar of Hampton, and deputy lord-lieutenant of Cumberland.

Wm. Goodenough, archdeacon of Carlisle, rector of Marcham-le-Fen, and rector of Great Salkeld.

W. Vansittart, D. D., prebend of Carlisle, master of Wigston's Hospital, Leicester, vicar of Waltham Abbas, and vicar of Shottesbrooke.

W. Fletcher, chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle, prebend of York, vicar of Bromfield, vicar of Dalston, and vicar of Lazenby.

It is not our intention, at present, to inquire into the incomes of these dignitaries; but as they are pretty considerable, it may be worth while just to contrast the salaries they award to those who really work, with the moneys they receive from the livings. The tithes received by the dean and chapter for Hesket, amount to £1000 or £1500 a year; they pay to the curate who does the duty £18 5s. a year!—that is to say, 1s. a day—being after the rate of the bricklayer's labourer's wages! In Wetheral and Warwick, the dean and chapter draw about £1000 a year from tithes, and £1000 a year from the church lands; and they pay the working minister (probably one of the most exemplary and beloved men in England in his station) the sum of £50 a year—the wages of a journeyman cabinet-maker! The tithes of the parishes of St. Cuthbert and St. Mary, amount at the least to £1500 a year. The two curates (who do the duty) receive each the sum of £2 13s. 4d. a year!!! And then, to the minor canons, who do the cathedral duty, (such as it is,) they pay the sum of 6s. 8d. a year each! The dean and chapter hold several other improper rectories, pay the curates a mere nominal sum for performing the duties, and pocket the tithes themselves—for doing nothing!

The Rev. W. Pullen, rector of Little Gidding, Huntingdonshire, asserts in a pamphlet of his, that a late bishop held twelve places

of preferment at the same time, and the greater number parochial benefices!

With such things as these before our eyes,—and which way can we turn and not see them?—who can believe that the British public can much longer suffer the church to remain unregenerated? Look where we will, we behold the most gross instances of simony, pluralities, non-residence, and penurious remuneration of the working clergy. But of these matters in the next chapter:—two other ramifications of the Establishment which require reform—ecclesiastical courts and the universities, I must passingly notice, and then close this.

These two organs and auxiliaries must necessarily come within the sweep of any reform which visits effectually the church;—they are vital parts of that great priestly system which has so long rested in ease and comfort on the shoulders of this much-enduring country. As their reform is a necessary consequence of that of the church, I shall say less of them; but they involve enormities of such a nature, as nothing but the apathy induced by long custom could have brought Englishmen to tolerate.

The universities, founded and endowed by kings and patriotic men, for the general benefit and encouragement of learning in the nation, are monopolized by the priests of the Establishment. All offices in them are in their hands; no layman, much less a dissenter, can hold a post in them. The Thirty-nine Articles are set up like so many Giants Despair, to drive away with their clubs of intolerance all who will not kiss their feet. These chartered priests grasp the emoluments and the immunities of these ancient seats of learning, and triumphantly tell us of the great men which the Establishment has produced. This is a little too much for the patience of any but an Englishman. Had the gates of these great schools been thrown open to the whole nation for whose benefit they were established, and to the popular spirit of improvement which has been busy in the world, they might have told us of thousands more as great, as good, and far wiser, inasmuch as they would have been educated in an atmosphere of a more liberal and genial character. As it is, they have lagged, like the Establishment to which they are linked, behind the spirit of the age, to a degree which has disgusted the most illustrious even of their own sons. It never was my lot to make a practical acquaintance with the advantages or abuses of either of them; but, if the best authorities are to be trusted, the devil never found himself more in his element, since he descended from his position in the tree of knowledge in the garden of Eden, to mount those of Oxford and Cambridge.

There is a party which has given its testimony to the state of the universities as to morals, which has not hitherto been brought forward—my own society; and as it so completely corroborates the general decision on the character of these schools, I shall here

give one passage from Besse's "Sufferings of the People called Quakers," vol. i. p. 565.—"The students at Oxford had a short time before fallen on two women, Friends, who presumed to preach in the town, and to advise there some youngsters to amendment of life; they dragged these females to the pump of St. John's college, pumped on their necks and into their mouths till they were almost dead; after which they tied them arm to arm, and inhumanly dragged them up and down the college, and through a pool of water; and finally flung one of them, Elizabeth Fletcher, a young woman, over a grave-stone into a grave, with such violence that she died in consequence." But now (this was in 1658) these religious students—these embryo prophets of a nation—"came into a meeting there, and drew a Friend out by the hair of the head; the proctor himself pulled John Shackerly by the hair, and out of doors, from Richard Bettins's house, and violently thrust out others. And several times the scholars have thrown stones and dirt at Friends, and broke the door to pieces; and broke the windows several times; and took away the key of the door; and knocked tenterhooks into the key-hole; and pulled up part of the porch. And came into the meeting, and turned up the seats which Friends sat on; and rid upon the backs of men and women like wild horses; and brought gunpowder and squibs, and fired them, and set the room on a smoke, and among people under their clothes, like to set the house on fire, and to undo people; and have shot bullets amongst Friends to knock out their eyes; stamping wildly and unruly, like tavern fellows, crying, *Gire us beer and tobacco!* And the scholars have come into the meetings among the people of God, and called for wenches, or harlots, like fellows that haunt bawdy-houses: and brought strong beer into the meetings, and drank to Friends, and because they have refused to drink, have thrown it on their necks, and clothes, and bands; and have sung bawdy songs, and cursed and swore. And several times came into the meetings blowing and puffing with tobacco-pipes in their mouths, cursing, swearing, and stamping, making the house shake again, and insulted the women too shamefully for description. And the scholars have come into the meeting to act Tobit and his dog; and one of them divided his filthy stuff into uses and points after the manner of the priests; and another raised doctrines of a tinker and a cobbler, and many more wicked actions, by mockings and scoffings and filthy language. And these scholars have been so shameless, that after meeting, they have pressed in by violence, and took meat from off the table; took the bread and the pottage out of the pot; like greedy dogs lapping them up; and stole and carried away the Friends' books. One friend they dragged into *John's* college, threw beer upon him, struck and beat and punched him till he lost his consciousness; and then thrust pins into his flesh, and kept him there scoffing at him, and asking him—*If the Spirit did not move him now?*"

"But I am weary," says Besse, "of transcribing their abominations, and shall cease with this remark, which, however severe, is

just and natural, viz.—*Had those scholars been expressly educated for ministers of the devil, they could not have given more certain proofs of their proficiency.*"

There is so much of the fidelity of nature in this account, strange as it is, that one cannot for a moment doubt it: yet we imagine ourselves got rather amongst the wild *Burschen* of Germany than the youth of England.

To the two great popular journals of Edinburgh and Westminster, the country is indebted for several most able expositions of the abuses of both spiritual courts and universities; and the latter in No. xxix. speaks thus—"The rents and fines arising from broad lands, amongst the most fair and fertile in the realm; from lordly manors and goodly farms; the profits of the advowsons of numerous and valuable benefices; tithes, and tolls, and every advantage that earth can yield; palaces, for such indeed are most of our colleges, for the habitation of the learned; noble churches, halls, libraries, and galleries for their use and delight, with gardens, groves, and pleasure-grounds; plate, and pictures, and marbles; a countless store of hidden books and MSS., as well as a more vulgar wealth accumulated in vast sums of money, yielding interest in the funds, or upon mortgage. How strange would the large opulence appear, were the inventory correctly taken, to the inhabitants of foreign universities, which nevertheless are accounted wealthy; and not less strange to its rightful owners, the people of England, to a brave, generous, and loyal people, who have been ready in all ages to contribute largely from their store to works of learning and piety, but who have been ill-requited by their rulers!

"Astonishing is the wealth of our universities, greatly exceeding the sum of all the possessions of all the other learned bodies in the world; yet, would it be an unfair and injurious statement to affirm, that not a single shilling of their enormous income is truly applied to the purposes for which it was designed? The accusation is still more grave; not only do these corporations neglect to furnish any direct encouragement to the studious, but they offer much positive discouragement. The sedulous youth who entered the walls of his college thirsting for honourable distinction, can best tell how his ardent curiosity was chilled by the oscitancy, the inertness, the narrow illiberality of those to whom he looked for assistance, excitement, and support. The favour that Locke found at Oxford is matter of history. Gibbon has recorded his contemptuous scorn for 'the monks of Magdalene.' It would be easy to name other children of genius, who have proved that the self-styled *alma mater* was a most unjust and cruel step-mother.

"Amongst the evils of ecclesiastical sway, there is a mischief which annuls our universities, and destroys their very existence for every purpose of utility; it arises out of their spiritual constitution, and converts establishments that ought to be schools of learning, into race-courses and amphitheatres, wherein competitors

and gladiators, as worthless as our jockeys, or the Thracians of old, struggle, or collude, to get possession of livings. This is the grand, the sole object of academical existence; the pursuit of learning is the flimsy pretext—the real aim is to obtain preferment in the church. The cause of the evil must be instantly removed; we will speak briefly of its operation. A university ought to be, and at all other places except Oxford and Cambridge really is, *one* establishment, every part co-operating for the augmentation and communication of knowledge. Simony, in its most pernicious form, has destroyed at once the unity and utility of institutions which we would gladly venerate. Ancient schools, designed for the use of the whole body, still exist at Oxford, to attest the degradation of modern times; each of these is inscribed with the title of one of the liberal sciences, or of one of the faculties, but it is never applied to the use for which it was designed. Numerous professors are decorated with honourable titles, and receive salaries for giving various lectures, which are never delivered; or if, as sometimes happens, an obstinate statute, which cannot be neglected or evaded, compels him to discourse in public, the dishonest priest gives what are significantly called ‘wall-lectures,’ since he addresses himself to the walls alone; and it is generally understood that no one ought to stand between them and their teacher. Unless these abuses be speedily remedied, it is manifest that the march of mind, of which some now boast, is a retreat, a shameful flight; and if the schoolmaster be indeed abroad, as some affirm, it is because he is not at home: having robbed his scholars, the scoundrel has absconded.

“The university of Oxford has long ceased to exist, except for the purpose of electioneering: for some time it was doubtful whether it was creditable to represent its M. M. A. A. in parliament; but the dispute has been finally determined, and we may reasonably question, whether an unworthy abuse of almost unbounded patronage be not too high a price to pay for the credit, whatever it be, that arises from sitting for the sister university. Except for the purpose of vain pageants, designed to aucupate benefices, by cajoling the patrons, the university of Oxford has long ceased to exist; for the purposes of learning it has been annihilated, dissolved, and destroyed, by having been divided into many minute, insignificant, and worthless portions. There are about thirty colleges;—the system of education, if it deserve that name, is separate and distinct at each, and miserable in all: the greater part of the funds, and the best apartments of every college, are set apart for a priest who, under the name of master, provost, warden, principal, or the like, enjoys, at the expense of the public, every luxury that the most sensual could desire; yet this person contributes as little to the instruction of the youth of his society, as the chief of the black eunuchs in the Grand Sultan’s seraglio, or the Jew who takes toll at one of the turnpikes near London. A stranger would suppose that, being thus pampered in idleness, and growing fat

upon the appropriation of charitable funds, the reverend sinecurist, through a certain decorous shame, would be at least civil and unpresuming; we appeal to those who are experienced in the department of contumelious insolence, whether it be so.

"The residue of the funds of the college is wasted upon a long list of fellows, the greater part of whom are absentees, and are alike unwilling and incapable of earning their salaries. The lowest and least of these is usually the tutor;—with or without the assistance of a drudge, still more unworthy than himself, this poor hack endeavours, by a few wretched lectures, to conceal the total want of all sound and wholesome instruction, and the monstrous misapplication of the wealth of the nation. He is often a man of low birth, whom laziness or physical infirmity rendered unfit for the flail or the loom; and, having availed himself of some eleemosynary foundation, he has won his way to an office which ought to be accounted honourable, but, by the accumulation of the grossest abuses, has been rendered servile. If the aspiring clown had elevated himself by a generous excellence, by a pre-eminence in liberal learning, his low birth, far from being a stain, would shed a lustre upon his new station; but, under the present unhappy constitution of our universities, these mushrooms are culled for deleterious, not for wholesome properties. If his birth was low, his mind is commonly lower; he is not selected on account of his learning, but of his subserviency. When a teacher of gentle blood is taken, it may happen perchance, that although he was born a freeman, he has the soul of a slave. The fellowships, in like manner, are for the most part conferred upon kinsmen, upon tools, upon all but those who are best entitled to hold them. It may be that, with much pomp and ceremony, and an ostentatious display of the favour shown to letters, some little proficient in the course of elementary instruction, prescribed to keep up the show of attention to education, is now and then put into possession of one of those valuable annuities; but the yawning sluggard, the dull sot, is generally deemed more eligible than the zealous scholar.

"Let us suppose, however, that all fellowships were fairly bestowed upon the young men who were most worthy to hold them, still would our universities fall far short of that utility which we have an unalienable right to insist upon reaping from our public domains. In the case we have supposed, all improvement would cease at the end of the first year of academical residence; after taking the first degree, there would be no motive to advance further on the road to learning. Each college would be, as it now is, a clerical tontine; an abominable institution, alike hostile to learning and subversive of piety. Surely our sagacious, clear-headed fellow countrymen are not aware, that every one of the numerous colleges which they maintain at such an enormous cost, is merely a clerical tontine! The instant a young man is elected a fellow, he has but one object—to outlive his brethren—and thus to receive,

in succession, the valuable benefices attached to his college, which were designed to reward the most learned, but which are blindly and dishonestly handed over to the longest liver."

Now, what is thus written in the present day, is exactly of the same stamp as what was uttered by Gibbon:—"The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were founded in a dark age of false and barbarous science; and they are still tainted with the vices of their origin. Their primitive discipline was adapted to the education of priests and monks; and their government is still in the hands of the clergy—an order of men whose manners are remote from the present world, and whose eyes are dazzled by the light of philosophy." Nay, it is exactly the same as what Milton wrote in his time. We hear those who have studied there, continually declaring that the system of education pursued is infinitely behind that given by dissenters to their ministers, so far as it regards their real preparation for the office of Christian teachers. I have frequently heard young men declare that they had no need to study there. With a certain quantity of mathematics, or of Greek and Latin, they could take a degree, and that was enough. So it must have been in Milton's days. "They pretend that their education, either at school or university, hath been very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repaired in future by a plentiful maintenance; whereas it is well known that the better half of them are oftentimes poor and pitiful boys; that having no merit, or promising hopes, that might entitle them to the public provision, but their poverty, and the unjust favour of friends, have had their breeding both at school and university at the public cost; which might engage them the rather to give freely, as they have freely received.

"Next, it is a fond error, though too much believed among us, to think that the university makes a minister of the gospel. That it may conduce to other arts and sciences, I dispute not now; but that which makes fit a minister, the Scriptures can best tell us to be only from above. *How shall they preach, unless they be sent?* By whom sent? By the university, or the magistrate, or their belly? No, surely; but sent from God only, and that God who is not their belly. And whether he be sent from God, or from Simon Magus, the inward sense of his calling and spiritual ability will sufficiently tell him.

"But yet, they say, it is also requisite he should be trained up in other learning, which can be had no where better than at the universities. I answer, that what learning, either human or divine, can be necessary to a minister, may as easily and less chargeably be had in any private house. How deficient else, and to how little purpose, are all those piles of sermons, notes, and comments on all parts of the Bible,—bodies and marrows of divinity, beside all other sciences in our English tongue; many of the same books which in Latin they read at the university! And the small necessity of going there to learn divinity I prove first from the most part of themselves, who seldom continue there till they have

well got through logic, their first rudiments. And those theological disputations there held by professors and graduates, are such as tend least of all to the edification or capacity of the people, but rather perplex and leaven pure doctrine with scholastical trash, than enable any minister to the better preaching of the gospel." — *Milton on Hirelings*.

When past and present authorities thus agree to describe the great universities of the nation, woe be to that nation if it do not break the slumbers of these clerical drones, throw wide the gates to the influx of real knowledge, and of all those who thirst for knowledge, that we may never more hear of such men as Locke being expelled for their love of freedom, or Wesley for their piety. Recent circumstances have rendered the necessity of university reform more glaringly imperative. The outbreak of popery in Oxford, and the outrageous conduct of the students of Cambridge towards the corn-law lecturers, mark both the doctrines and manners of these places, as the very worst which can prevail in the schools of the nation's priesthood.

Of the continuance of ecclesiastical courts to this enlightened period, what shall we say, — but that Englishmen are a most patient race? A dark and mysterious assemblage, as of bats and owls! A sort of inquisition, shorn of its power by public opinion, and suffered by public opinion to exist. Priests, allowed still to summon men to their hidden tribunals, and impound their persons; permitted still to seize on their wills with rude hands, and rack their purses without mercy! Clerical peers and clerical legislators are anomalous enough; but clerical taxers of orphans, clerical guardians of testamentary documents, and clerical jailers, are still more anomalous. Here is a popish institution existing in a protestant country, which even popish countries have abandoned, and conveyed its functions into the hands of laymen! Our wise Saxon ancestors suffered nothing of this kind amongst them: it is true, they permitted bishops to take their seats in the civil courts to protect their own rights; but it remained for the Norman invader to concede to Rome this dangerous privilege of clerical courts. Time and knowledge have thrown into desuetude most of those powers by which they formerly harassed our forefathers, but John Childs, Williams of Carlow, David Jones, and John Thorogood, can tell you that they still have dungeons for those who refuse tithes, or church rates. They no longer trouble themselves about the reformation of manners, the punishing of heresy; nor do churchwardens care to present scandalous livers to the bishop: but refuse to pay a fee, and they will speedily "curse thee to thy face." They are, in fact, a sort of obscure and dusty incorporations, for collecting and enjoying good revenues, under the names of bishops, surrogates, proctors, registrars, deputy-registrars, and so forth, from fees on wills, consecrations, and various other sources and immunities. For the greediness of these clerical owls in past days, let any one consult Chaucer. The worthy Lyon-

king-at-arms of Scotland, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, also made merry with them at his days:—

Marry, I lent my gossip my mare to fetch home coals,
 And he her drowned in the quarry holes.
 And I ran to the consistorie, for to pleinze,
 And there I fell among a greedy meinze.
 They gave me first a thing they call *citandum* ;
 Within eight days I got but *libellandum* ;
 Within a month I got *ad apponendum* ;
 In half a year I got *inter loquendum* ;
 And then I got—how call ye it?—*ad replicandum* ;
 But I could never a word yet understand 'em.
 And then they made me pull out many placks,
 And made me pay for four and twenty acts ;
 But ere they came half way to *concludendum*,
 The devil a plack was left for to defend him.
 Thus they postponed me two years with their train,
 Then, *hodie ad octo*, bade me come again.
 And then, their rooks, they croaked wondrous fast ;
 For sentence-silver they cried at the last.
 Of *pronunciandum*, they made me wonder fain,
 But I never got my good grey mare again !

This is spoken in the character of a poor man ; another character then adds:—

My Lords, we must reform these consistory laws,
 Whose great defame above the heaven blows.
 I knew a man, in suing for a cow,
 Ere he had done, he spent full half a bow.*
 So that the king's honour we may advance,
 We will conclude as they have done in France ;
 Let spiritual matters pass to spiritualitie,
 And temporal matters unto temporalitie.

SATYRE OF THREE ESTATES.

Whoever would see what troublesome and extortionate nuisances these courts are, has only to consult the voluminous returns made to parliament in 1829 on this subject, if more recent and vengeful incarceration of honest men is not sufficiently satisfying.

Amongst the lesser evils of the system, are the consecration of burial grounds, and what are called surplice fees. Nothing is more illustrative of the spirit of priestcraft, than that the church should have kept up the superstitious belief in the consecration of ground in the minds of the people to the present hour, and that, in spite of education, the poor and the rich should be ridden with the most preposterous notion, that they cannot lie in peace except in ground over which the bishop has said his mummerly, and for which he and his rooks, as Sir David Lindsay calls them, have pocketed the fees, and laughed in their sleeves at the gullible fool-

* Half a fold of cows.

ishness of the people. When will the day come, when the webs of the clerical spider shall be torn, not only from the limbs, but the souls of men? Does the honest Quaker sleep less sound in his grave, over which no prelatical jugglery has been practised, and for which neither prelate nor priest has pocketed a doit? Who has consecrated the sea, into which the British sailor in the cloud of battle-smoke descends, or who goes down, amidst the tears of his comrades, to depths to which no plummet but that of God's omnipresence ever reached? Who has consecrated the battle-field, which opens its pits for its thousands and tens of thousands; or the desert, where the weary traveller lies down to his eternal rest? Who has made holy the sleeping-place of the solitary missionary, and of the settlers in new lands? Who but He whose hand has hallowed earth from end to end, and from surface to centre—for His pure and almighty fingers have moulded it! Who but He whose eye rests on it day and night, watching its myriads of moving children—the oppressors and the oppressed—the deceivers and the deceived—the hypocrites, and the poor, whose souls are darkened with false knowledge, and fettered with the bonds of daring selfishness! and on whatever innocent thing that eye rests, it is hallowed beyond the breath of bishops, and the fees of registrars. Who shall need to look for a consecrated spot of earth to lay his bones in, when the struggles and the sorrows, the prayers and the tears of our fellow men, from age to age, have consecrated every atom of this world's surface to the desire of a repose which no human hands can lead to, no human rites can secure? Who shall seek for a more hallowed bed, than the bosom of that earth into which Christ himself descended, and in which the bodies of thousands of glorious patriarchs, and prophets, and martyrs, who were laid in gardens, and beneath their paternal trees, and of heroes, whose blood and sighs have flowed forth for their fellow men, have been left to peace, and the blessings of grateful generations, with no rites, no sounds but the silent falling of tears, and the aspirations of speechless, but immortal thanks? From side to side, from end to end, the whole world is sanctified by these agencies, beyond the blessings or the curses of priests! God's sunshine flows over it—his providence surrounds it; it is rocked in his arms, like the child of his eternal love; his faithful creatures live, and toil, and pray in it; and, in the name of heaven, who shall make it, or who can need it holier, for his last resting couch! But the greediness of priests persists in cursing the poor with extortionate expenses, and calls them blessings. The poor man, who all his days goes groaning under the load of his ill-paid labours, cannot even escape from them into the grave, except at a dismal charge to his family; his native earth is not allowed to receive him into her bosom, till he has satisfied the priest and his satellites. With the exception of Jews, Quakers, and some few other dissenters, every man is given up in England as a prey, in life and in death, to the parson, and his echo, and his disturber of bones.

The following, from the *Leeds Mercury*, is not quite a fair example of the expense incurred for what is called consecration of the smallest addition to a burial-ground—for in some dioceses the charge is £45, and, it is said, the charge for the consecration of a church has often been from £100 to £300.

To the churchwardens of Tadcaster was sent the following letter:—

(COPY.)

Gentlemen,—I send you enclosed the charges on the consecration of the additional churchyard at Tadcaster.

I am, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
JOSEPH BUCKLE.

York, 26th March, 1829.

Fees on consecration of the additional Burial-ground at Tadcaster.

1828.	£	s.	d.
Drawing and engrossing the petition to the Archbishop to consecrate	1	5	0
Drawing and engrossing the sentence of consecration	2	2	0
Drawing the Act	0	13	6
Registering the above instruments and the deed at length; and parchment	2	2	0
The Chancellor's fee	5	0	0
The principal Registrar's fee	5	0	0
The Secretary's fee	5	0	0
The Deputy Registrar's attendance and expenses	3	15	6
The Apparitor's fee	1	1	0
Fee on obtaining the seal	1	1	0
Carriage	0	5	0
	<u>£27</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>

For burying a poor man, this is the common scale of charge:—

For the burial of even a pauper, 7s. 6d.—for a child six months old, the same—if the child be not baptized, 1s.; for in that state it is, by clerical logic, deemed not a human being, but a thing, until their mummery has ennobled it—a thing beneath God's notice—it is therefore thrust into any hole by the sexton. In the principal churchyard, a man who wishes to choose the place of burial, must pay £10 for the size of a grave; and for opening such a grave, about £2 15s. 6d. For permission to lay down a flat stone, which used to be £1 1s., now £3 3s.! For an upright stone, 10s. 6d. For liberty to clean his father's grave-stone, the vicar of Newark charged a man 2s. 6d. There is nothing connected with the church, but must be paid for. Nor when it is paid for is the payer free from danger of citation. The case of the widow Woolfrey of Carisbrooke in the Isle of Wight is a striking instance. This poor woman was cited into the Arches Court, to answer for the

enormous crime of having placed this inscription on her husband's tombstone :—

“Pray for the soul of Joseph Woolfrey.

It is a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead, 2 Mac. xii.”

Now, though popery, like an old and badly healed sore, was breaking out in the church at Oxford unreprieved by the spiritual courts; though it was shown that the first and second books of Maccabees are ordered by the Thirty-nine Articles to be read by the church; and that inscriptions, invoking prayers for the dead, are still to be seen on the walls of our churches and cathedrals; though it was proved that the very vicar who caused the citation, had given his permission for the inscription, and the bishop had declared that for himself it did not concern him; though the vicar had taken his fee, and what is more strange, though a tombstone with the very same inscription, had been standing near the spot where the widow Woolfrey placed this, *for three and twenty years*, without objection, yet was the poor widow thus harassed, though finally discharged. It appeared afterwards that the real offence was, that Joseph Woolfrey had been a RADICAL! Besides the regular fee, the compliment of a guinea, or more, for a scarf, hatband, and gloves, is not merely expected, but demanded. There are many instances, where clergymen have refused to take a corpse into the church where these were denied. From opulent people, a compliment of five guineas is looked for at marriages; at christenings, a guinea. By this greediness of filthy lucre, our finest ecclesiastical buildings, and professedly the temples of God, are degraded into regular show shops; especially those magnificent piles, St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. These noble buildings, to which are attached immense revenues, are not merely made traps for daily gains from a laudable curiosity, but of enormous sums on public occasions; particularly, the coronations in the latter bring mines of gold to the chapter. Yet it is to the clergy we owe it, that we do not possess in St. Paul's the finest ecclesiastical building in the world. Sir Christopher Wren had resolved that it should be so; and had drawn, with all his skill, plans for the purpose; but the clergy who were on the building committee, after having in vain tried to prevent the old church being removed at all, resisted its removal, indeed, and insisted on its being patched up, though Wren declared it would fall, till it actually tumbled about their ears,—finally, threw aside his most glorious designs, and actually pitched, to his infinite mortification, on one which he had sketched as a mere foil. But I digress.—For opening a vault, even in village churchyards, £5 is commonly demanded; in the church, £10; and what is worst, after all, it has been proved by more than one legal decision, no man's family vault is sacred and inviolable. The church and churchyard are the parson's freehold. In them, during his life, he can work his own

will, but he cannot sell a right of vault beyond his own life. There are numbers of families who flattered themselves that they had a place of family sepulture, into which no stranger could intrude; but let them excite the wrath of some clerical parish tyrant, and he can show them, that not only can he refuse to permit the opening of their vault to receive their dead, till his demands, however exorbitant, are satisfied, but that he can refuse to have it opened at all; and, moreover, can thrust in, at his pleasure, the carcasses of the vilest wretches in the parish. Thus, by dealing with priests, the people are served as they always have been—juggled out of their money for “that which is nought;” and thrown into the absolute power of a most mercenary order of men. They are suffered to buy that which cannot be really sold; and when they look for a freehold, they find only a trap for clerical fees.

Easter dues, which were originally presents made by the people to the minister, or rather offerings in honour of the resurrection of the Saviour, but which were soon converted into a forced payment by priestcraft, have been made a cause of citation and persecution to many poor men. ‘These, though small in amount, are generally rigorously exacted by the clergy, though the various items of the sum are not separately specified, as they used to be formerly, denoting the ground of claim. It may be curious to many to see what these demands were. The following is the EASTER ROLL of Burton-upon-Trent, as it was delivered in at the bishop’s visitation, according to a presentment made by the churchwardens, with the consent and approbation of the minister, and the rest of the parishioners of Burton, the 6th of January, 1699.

THE EASTER ROLL.

For every householder, twopence.

For smoke, one penny.

For garden and orchard, one penny.

For every son and servant man, that is sixteen years of age or above, fourpence.

For every daughter or servant maid of the same age, twopence.

For every stock of bees, one penny.

For every cast of bees, one halfpenny.

For every foal, twopence.

For every milch or barren cow, one penny.

For every calf, one halfpenny.

For every plough land, one penny.

I see by a rule of vestry made in that town so late as 1829, permission to make a vault south of the church is charged as many ten shillings and eightpences as the vault will hold bodies; and *for every foreigner double*. Why *every foreigner double*? Can so barbarous and inhospitable a custom be common in this country, as to charge double for a burial place for a *foreigner*?

The Easter dues are now in many places converted by the grasp-

ing avarice of the clergy into a *title*, and thus into a fixed and perpetual rent-charge under the Tithe Commutation Act.

From root to branch the whole system is rotten;—GIVE! GIVE! GIVE! is written on every wall and gate of the church: and though a man quit it and its communion altogether, he must still pay, in life and in death, to it. Nay, by a recent case in the diocese of Salisbury, it is shown by the bishop, that a man once having taken orders can never lay them down again. A Mr. Tiptaft having resigned his living, from conscientious motives, began to preach as a dissenter; but the bishop attempted to stop his mouth with menacing the thunders of the church; and, on his astonished declaration that he was no longer a son of the church, the prelate let him know that he was, and must be—for clerical orders, like Coleridge's infernal fire, must

Cling to him everlastingly.

To this church, which empties the pockets of the poor, and stops the mouth of the conscientious dissenter, let every Englishman do his duty.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH—CONTINUED. PATRONAGE AND ITS EFFECTS.

The church of England is unpopular. It is connected with the crown and the aristocracy, but it is not regarded with affection by the mass of the people; and this circumstance greatly lessens its utility, and has powerfully contributed to multiply the number of dissenters.

EDINBURGH REVIEW. No. lxxxviii.

We are overdone with standing armies. We have an army of lawyers with tough parchments and interminable words to confound honesty and common sense; an army of paper to fight gold; an army of soldiers to fight the French; an army of doctors to fight death; and an army of parsons to fight the devil—of whom he standeth not in awe!

The late WILLIAM FOX, of Nottingham.

BUT while the nation demands those alterations just enumerated, the internal prosperity, nay, the very existence of the episcopal church, as a vital and fruitful Christian community, demand others. And, first of all, that it should be delivered from the curse of patronage,—the source of a thousand evils,—the cause of lamentable moral lethargy and paralysis. While every Christian society around it enjoys the just privilege of choosing its own ministers, will it be long endured by this church that it should be kept in a condition of everlasting tutelage; that its members, however wise, enlightened, and capable of managing all their affairs for themselves; who would hold it as the highest insult that the state should appoint overseers to choose for their children school-masters, and for themselves stewards, attorneys, or physicians,—will it be endured long that some state favourite, who never saw them, or their place; or some neighbouring fox-hunting squire, whose intellect, if it exhibit itself any where, is in his boot-heels,—that some horse-jockey, or gambler, some fellow whose life is a continual crime, his conversation a continual pestilence; who, if he were a poor man, would have been long since hanged, but being a rich one, he is at once the choicest son and purveyor of Satan, and the hereditary selector of the minister of God,—will it be endured that such a man shall put in over the heads of a respectable, pious, and well-informed community, a spiritual guide and teacher?—put him in, in spite of their abhorrence and remonstrances? and that once in, neither patron nor people shall get him out, though he be dull as the clod of his own glebe, and

vicious as the veriest scum of his parish, who prefers the pot-house to his polluted house of prayer? From this source has flowed the most fatal results to the church; nay, it may be safely asserted, nine-tenths of the evils which afflict it. By this means it has been filled with every species of unworthy character;—men who look upon it as a prey; who come to it with coldness and contempt; who gather its fruits, while other and better men toil for them; and squander them in modes scandalous, not merely to a church, but to human society. By this means it has been made the heritage of the rich man's children, while the poor and unpatronized man of worth and talent has plodded on in its labours, and despaired. By this means so worldly a character has grown upon its ministers, that they have become blind to the vilest enormities of the system, and now look on simony as a matter of course. Whoever doubts this—and yet who does doubt it?—let him look into the *British, or Clerical Magazine*, and he will find the reverend correspondents asking with the utmost simplicity—How can the bishops help men selling advowsons? It never seems once to occur to them, that if there were no clerical buyers there would be no sellers. In the same journal for June, 1832, p. 357, is also the following statement:—"Of the whole number of benefices in England, very nearly 8000 (that is, more than two-thirds of the whole) are in private patronage. Of the clergy, a very considerable number have purchased the livings which they hold; and of the remainder, most have been brought up to the church, and educated with a view to some particular piece of preferment in the gift of their family and relations. Whether this be right or wrong, it is an effect almost necessarily following from so large a portion of the property of the church being private property; a state of things not to be altered, and which they who wish to abolish pluralities do not talk of altering."

Now here, in one sentence, written by a clergyman, and published in a clerical magazine, we have the root and ground of three-fourths of the evils and enormities of the Establishment. We have a statement, that out of 10,000 livings in England, nearly 8,000 are in the hands of private people; that is, in the hands each of a man who, whatever be his life or his qualifications for judging, can and does put in a clergyman over the heads of his neighbours, to serve his own views, which are commonly to establish some rake, or blockhead of a son or nephew, or to make what money he can out of a stranger, if he has no children; that is, not to seek the most pious man, but the highest bidder. And consequently the next assertion is, that a very considerable number have purchased these livings;—thus, not the pious man, but the highest bidder, the boldest dealer in simony, has had the livings. Oh! poor people, who are doomed to sit under such pastors, and vainly hope to grow in heavenly knowledge! The remainder, says this most logical writer, have been brought up with a view to some particular piece of preferment from their friends and relations.

Yes, younger sons—no matter what their heads or their hearts are made of—doomed to deal out God's threats and promises to the people. Desperate handlers of God's sacred things—who rush fearlessly into his temple, not because he has called them, but because their relations have the key of the doors. And all this, this clerical writer puts forth with the most innocent face imaginable. While he enumerates causes enough to have made St. Paul's hair stand on end; when he tells us that simony is common as daylight; that the bulk of the livings in England are not open to the pious and the worthy, but are the heritage of certain men who may be neither—he is so far from seeing any thing amiss, that he goes on to point out the advantage of such a state of things. He declares *it cannot be altered*; and this is one of his reasons why the church should not be reformed. He does not at all perceive, that no church with so scandalous and preposterous a foundation, can possibly stand many years in the midst of a country where the spirit of man is busily at work to pry into the nature of all things, and where any monopoly, but especially of religious patronage, must assuredly arouse an indignation that will overturn it. Miserably dark must be the moral atmosphere of a church where its members come forward with a mental obtuseness like this, to advocate its abominations as if they were virtues, while the very people gape round them with astonishment, and they perceive it not. But there are no labourers in the demolition of a bad institution like its own friends. They are like insects in a rotten tree; roused by external alarm to activity, they bustle about and scatter the trunk, which holds them, into dust. Such men put a patch of new cloth into the old garment of corruption, and the rent is made worse.

To proceed.—By these means the church has been filled with pride and apathy; and it is notorious, that of all Christian ministers, the ministers of the Establishment are the least interested in their flocks,—cultivate and enjoy the least sympathy with them. I accidentally, the other day, took up Sir Arthur Brooke Faulkner's Tour in Germany, and immediately fell on this passage, which coming from a man fresh from the observation of the continental churches, is worthy of attention. "No where else in Europe are clergymen, and no wonder, less respected among the multitude than in the British dominions." He proceeds to account for this, by their apathy, their pluralities, their exorbitant revenues, maintenance by tithes, and acting as legislators. He adds—"If the statement which has already been alluded to may be credited, the clergy of the United Kingdoms are paid more than the clergy of all the rest of Christendom besides by a million sterling and upwards, the full amount of their annual revenue being £8,852,000. In primitive times, and in the different countries at the present time which I have visited, the remuneration of their labour is, as we have seen, in many cases, chiefly voluntary. In these countries it needs no prelacy strutting in lawn sleeves, and 'raising their mitred fronts in courts and parliaments,' to clothe it with respect."

This, in contradiction of the many assertions of the advocates of our English Establishment, who contend that without dignities and large revenues the clergy would sink into contempt, is borne out by the experience of all the world. The dignities and large revenues of the papal church did not embalm its clergy in public estimation; and to whatever country we turn, we find that wherever the clergy are but moderately endowed, there they are diligent, and there they are esteemed. What is the opinion of Milton, of the preferments which have been so much vaunted as stimulants to activity and talent in the church? That they are but "lures or loubells, by which the worldly-minded priest may be tolled, from parish to parish, all the country over." The Scotch clergy are but slenderly incomes, and what is the testimony of their countrymen, the Edinburgh Reviewers, concerning them? "In Scotland there are 950 parish clergymen, whose incomes may average £275 a year each; and the Scottish clergy are not inferior in point of attainments to any in Europe: no complaints have ever been made of the manner in which they perform their duty; but, on the contrary, their exemplary conduct is the theme of well-merited and constant eulogy." Yet, since the first writing of this work, a wonderful dislike to a state religion has shown itself in the country; a decided and most general and energetic aversion to forced payments to its clergy. Even in that moderately endowed church, the evils of the system of political religion have made themselves strongly felt. The growing demand is for the voluntary support of all religious ministers; and with the serious, philosophical, and determined character of the Scotch, this demand will speedily become irresistible.

Let us now turn again to Sir A. B. Faulkner's account of the German clergy.—"The Hessian clergy are exemplary in the discharge of their multifarious duties. A clergyman, no matter what his grade, deems it in no respect derogatory from his dignity to prove his faith by his works. The spiritual and temporal comfort of their flocks, and their nurture in all sound impressions of religion, is their unceasing care; while they hold out, in their own respectable and uncompromising conduct, both in public and private, the fairest patterns to enforce the precepts which they teach. However this may appear to our church-of-Englanders, it is fact. The average of a Hessian clergyman's stipend, is about forty dollars a year—the dollar three shillings sterling—to which there is added a house and garden, or little farm."

"The clergy at Marberg," he says, "are, in the strictest sense, a working clergy. They are perpetually among their flocks, correcting, and training, and guiding; and in such unremitting labours of love, earn a reputation not the less likely to abide by them for being the capital on which they must chiefly rely for most of their comforts and happiness. And it surely is most fitting there should exist this reciprocity of feeling and good offices between the pastor and his flock. The protestant and the catholic are on the best

possible footing with each other; and share equally in the offices of government." Wherever he mentions the clergy, it always is in similar terms. It is only necessary for us always to remember, that this is a clergy very moderately paid, and we then see the exact value of the arguments for high salaries.

Sorry should I be to see our noble ecclesiastical piles deserted and falling to decay, because the national funds were withdrawn; but I should like to see them filled with ministers of zeal, and overflowing congregations. Sorry should I be to see, in my Sunday rambles into the country, the picturesque village church deserted by its accustomed minister, and occupied by some ignorant and clamorous fanatic; but I should rejoice when I entered, to find there, not a mere journeyman hireling, but the worthy pastor,—not a man standing like a statue, and reading in monotonous tones, a discourse cold as his own looks; but one full of overflowing love, and a lively, though rational zeal, that made his hearers warm at once to him, towards each other, and towards God; and when we went forth I should be glad to see, not what I too often see, a stately person who smiles sunnily, shakes hands heartily, talks merrily with the few wealthy of his fold; gives to those of a lower grade a frigid nod of recognition, to the poor a contemptuous forgetfulness of their presence, and stalks away in sullen stateliness to his well-endowed parsonage. Whatever be chargeable on the catholic priests, it cannot be denied that they excite a strong and lasting attachment in their followers. They are more affable, more humble in manner, kind and condolent in spirit, and are found diligently at the bedside of the sick, and at the councils of the poor man beset with difficulties. But he who enters on his living as his birth-right, who looks on himself as a gentleman, and his hearers as clowns, what can arouse his zeal? He who has no fear of censure, or removal, whence spring his circumspection and activity? "My father," said the natural son of a nobleman, "said to me—It is time you should choose a profession. You must not be a tradesman, or you cannot sit at my table; you have not shrewdness enough for a lawyer; you would forget or poison your patients through carelessness were you a physician;—I must make a parson, or some devil of a thing of you:—and he made a parson of me;—and I hate the church and every thing belonging to it!" From such ministers what can be expected? and such ministers are supplied to the church in legions, by this odious system of private patronage. The ambition of maintaining the character of gentlemen has made clergymen cold, unimpassioned, insipid, and useless. It was the same in the latter days of popery. Chaucer sketches us a priest:

That he on horse willith to ride
In glitterande golde of grete arraie,
Painted and portrid all in pride,
No common knight maie go so gaie;

Chaunge of clothing every daie,
 With goldin girdils grete and small,
 As boistrous as is bere at baie,
 All soche falshede mote nedis fall.

Now, we don't want a set of fine gentlemen; we want a race of zealous, well-informed, kind, and diligent parish priests. If we must have gentlemen, let us have them of the school of the carpenter's Son, whom honest Decker, the tragic poet, declares, was

A soft, meek, patient, humble, tranquil spirit;
 The first true gentleman that ever breathed!

After this pattern, we care not how many gentlemen we have in the church;—gentlemen who are not ashamed, like their Master, Christ, to be the friends of the poor. Who desire to live for them; to live among them; to learn their wants, to engage their affections, to be their counsellors and guides. Men who can understand and sympathize with the struggling children of poverty and toil, in villages and solitary places, and are therefore understood by them, and are beloved by them, and will follow them, and make their precepts the rule of their lives and the precious hope of their deaths. Oh! what have not our clergy to answer for to God and to their country, that they are not such men! what blessings may they not become by being such! I know no men whose sphere of influence is more capacious and more enviable. It is the easiest thing in the world to become the very idol of the poor; there needs but to show them that you feel for them, and they are all ardour and attachment. For the man who will condescend to be what Christ was, a lover of the poor, they will fly at a word over land and water in his service. He has but to utter a wish, and, if it be in their power, it is accomplished. In the language of Wordsworth, "it is the gratitude of such men that oftenest leaves us mourning." The parish clergyman has facilities of aiding the poor, that few other men have. At his slightest recommendation, the medical man is ready to afford them his aid; at his suggestion, the larder and the wardrobe of the hall expand with alacrity their doors, and the ladies are ready to fly and become the warmest benefactresses of the afflicted. I am ready to admit that there are many such men already in England; but were it not for the cursed operation of this private patronage, there would be thousands more such. Numbers who now have no hope but of doing the drudgery of a curacy, would then be called by the voice of a free people, to a course of active usefulness. The land would be filled with burning and shining lights, that are now hidden beneath the bushels of stipendiary slavery, and the effect on our labouring population would soon be auspiciously visible.

But what is the actual picture presented to us now under the operation of this detestable system? Look where we will, we behold the most gross instances of simony, pluralities, non-residence,

and penurious remuneration of the working clergy. If every man were to declare his individual experience, such things would make part of his knowledge. In towns, where the clergy are more under the influence of public opinion, we see too many instances of lukewarmness, arrogance, and unfitness. I have seen gamblers, jockeys, and characterless adventurers put into livings by the vilest influence, to the horror and loathing of the helpless congregations—and that in populous cities; but in obscure, rural villages, the fruits of the system are ten-fold more atrociously shameful. There the ignorant, the brutal, the utterly debauched, live without shame, and tyrannize without mercy over the poor, uncultivated flocks, whom they render ten times more stupid and sordid. Within my own knowledge, I can go over almost innumerable parishes, and find matter of astonishment at the endurance of Englishmen. I once was passing along the street of a county town in the evening, and my attention was arrested by the most violent ravings and oaths of a man in a shop. I inquired the occasion. "Oh!" said one of the crowd, who stood seemingly enjoying the spectacle, "Oh! it is only Parson ———; he has got drunk and followed a girl into her father's house, who meeting him at the top of the stairs in pursuit of his affrighted daughter, hurled him to the bottom, and the worthy man of God is now evaporating his wrath in vows of vengeance." From these spectators I found it was one of the commonest sights of the town to see this clergyman thus drunk, and thus employed. But why, said I, do not the parishioners get him dismissed? A smile of astonishment at the simplicity of my query went through the crowd. "Get him dismissed! Who shall get him dismissed? Why, he is the squire's brother; he is, in fact, born to the living. There is not a man in the parish who is not a tenant or dependant in some way on the family; consequently not a man who dare open his mouth." They have him, such as he is, and must make their best of him; and he or his brother will be sure to rear a similar prophet for the next generation.

I entered a village not five miles off. This I found a lovely retired place, with a particularly handsome church, a noble parsonage, a neglected school, and an absent clergyman. The living was £1800 a year—the incumbent a desperate gambler. "Why," again I said, "don't you get this man dismissed?" I saw the same smile arise at my simplicity. "La! sir, why he is his Lordship's cousin!" It was a decisive answer—to the principle of private patronage this village also owed the irremediable curse of a gambling parson.

I went on.—In a few miles I entered a fine open parish, where the church showed afar off over its surrounding level meadows of extreme fertility. Here the living was added to that of the adjoining parish. One man held them. Together they brought £2400 a year. A curate did the duty at two churches and a chapel of ease, formerly for £80 a year—now for £100 a year. The rec-

tor was never seen except when he came and pocketed his £2300 and departed. This man too was hereditary parson.

But in the parish which I know perhaps better than any other, a large and populous parish in Derbyshire, no one could recollect having heard of it possessing a decent clergyman. The last but one was a vulgar and confirmed sot. The last came a respectable youth, well married, but soon fell into dissipated habits, seduced a young woman of fine person and some property, who, in consequence, was abandoned by her connexions, married a low wretch who squandered her money, and finally died of absolute starvation. The clergyman's wife, heretofore a respectable woman, wounded beyond endurance by this circumstance, took to drinking; all domestic harmony was destroyed; the vicar began to drink too. A young family of children grew up amid all these evil and unfortunate influences: the parents finally separated; and as the pastor fell into years, he fell into deeper vice and degradation. I well remember him. I remember seeing him upheld, in a state of utter intoxication, over a grave, by two men, while he vainly strove to repeat the burial service,—saying, “there is one glory of the sun, and another glory of the sun”—till they led him away, and closed the grave. I remember well his small, light person, his thin but ruddy countenance, and his singular appearance, as he used to trot at a quick pace up to the church, or down the village street back again,—for at that time he performed duty at three churches, each of which was three miles distant from the other. On one occasion, in winter, wishing to make great haste, he put on his skates, and took the canal in his way; but it was not well frozen beneath the bridges, and the ice let him in. He hurried home, and changed his clothes, but left his sermon in the wet pocket, and arrived only to dismiss his long expecting congregation. The old man, notwithstanding his vices, had much good-nature and no pride. He accepted every invitation to dinner at the weddings of his humblest parishioners, for his own dinners were, like those of the miser Elwes, generally cold boiled eggs and pancakes, which he carried in his pockets, and ate as he went along. His hearers were many of them colliers; and in their cabins he has sometimes got so drunk that he has fallen asleep, and they have put him to bed, with a slice of bacon in one hand, and one of bread in the other. I remember him meeting a labourer in the fields one Sunday, as he returned from church, and seeing that the man had been nutting instead of to prayer, he said—“Ah, William! you should not go a nutting on a Sunday! Have you got a few for me, William?” When he administered the sacrament to the sick, he advised them not to take much of the wine, lest it should increase their fever; but added, charitably, he would drink it for them, and it would do as well. In short, he was not without redeeming qualities; but he is dead; or rather, was kicked out of the world by a horse, when he was in a state of intoxication. Another came in his stead;

and such another! I see him now in fancy—he is still the incumbent, or encumbrance of the parish, and may be seen by any one who lists—a hard-faced, vulgar-looking fellow, whom, at a glance, you know to have a heart like a pebble, a head full of stupid mischief, and a gripe like iron. I think it was Alderman Waithman who said in parliament, that of all tyrannies, none are so odious as the tyranny of a parish priest. And this fellow is a tyrant in perfection. To the poor he speedily showed himself a fierce and arbitrary dictator; they must abide his pleasure as to the times of marrying, burying, and baptism; and he extorted from them the uttermost farthing. It is a coal district; and the coal had been got in the surrounding country, but had been left under the houses to prevent injury to them. This he claimed and sold. In getting the coal, he threw down a part of several houses, cracked and undermined others, and would probably have thrown down the church, for the workmen were actually beginning to undermine it, when the churchwardens interfered. He bought farms, and borrowed money to pay for them; and, when compelled to pay part of the interest, he persuaded the attorney to give him a memorandum of the receipt without a stamp, and then laid an information against him in the Exchequer. He got a commission to prove wills, and charged the poor ignorant people double, till some one more experienced informed the bishop, and got his occupation taken away. He was to be found at public-houses, and in the lowest company, till the very family who got him the living, absented themselves from the church; yet, with a very common kind of inconsistency, when the people complained, and asked if he could not be removed, this very family declined acting in it, alleging—it would be a great scandal for a clergyman to be dismissed from his living!! At length some unwise guardians, who had lent him the money of their orphan wards on his bare note, and the strength of his clerical character, have put him in prison; and the longer he lies, the greater the blessing to the people. The following is part of the report of the Insolvent Debtors' Court when he applied to be discharged;—"The Rev. gentleman's debts set forth in his schedule amounted to £8945 8s. 9d. It appeared that he had exercised certain lay vocations; speculated somewhat in land; dabbled a little in twist-lace machinery; worked a colliery! and now and then enjoyed a bit of horse-dealing. The insolvent's income was £246 per annum, and his out-goings £500 a year."

Such is the ecclesiastical history of this one parish; such would be that of thousands were they related; and all this is the natural result of the absurd and iniquitous system of state and individual patronage. Till this scandalous mode—this mode so insulting to the people of a nation like this, of appointing parish ministers—be abandoned, vain is every hope of internal strength and life to the church. Let every parish choose its own pastor, and a new course will commence. The worthy and the talented will take

heart,—piety will meet its natural reward, and work its natural works; the sot and the hireling incubus will disappear; the vicar will no more come and pocket his yearly £2000, and leave his curate to do his yearly labour for £100; multitudes of needful reforms will flow into the heart of the church; a religious regimen and new life will animate its constitution.

The canons of the church must be revised; its Articles abolished or reduced to rationality; surplice fees done away with. It is a crying scandal and oppression, that none of the children of Heth are left who will say, "Bury thy dead out of thy sight—what is it between me and thee?—bury thy dead;" but the poor man cannot bury his dead except by feeing the parson to an amount that will cost him days of hard labour and months of privation. "To ask a fee of such," says Milton, "is a piece of paltry craft befitting none but beggarly artists. Burials and marriages are so little a part of the priest's gain, that they who consider well, may find them to be no part of his functions. It is a peculiar simony of our English divines only. Their great champion, Sir Henry Spelman, in a book written to that purpose, shows by many cited canons, and some of times corruptest in the church, that fees extorted or demanded for sacraments, marriages, and especially for burials, are wicked, accursed, simoniacal, and abominable."

But we have only hitherto exhibited an incidental and passing glance at many of these matters; let us, before quitting the subject, take one regular and complete view of the presumption, folly, and injustice of a state religion; at the constitution and present condition of the English Establishment.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ENGLISH CHURCH—CONTINUED. A STATE CHURCH A STANDING
LIBEL ON CHRISTIANITY. CONSTITUTION AND MACHINERY OF
THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical
lies, for advantage. LORD COBHAM, THE MARTYR.

A glorious church is like a magnificent feast: here is all the variety
that may be, but every one chooses out a dish or two that he likes, and
lets the rest alone. How glorious soever the church is, every one
chooses out of it his own religion, by which he governs himself, and lets
the rest alone. SELDEN'S TABLE TALK.

EVERY institution professing itself to be a state establishment of
Christianity, is a gross insult and standing LIBEL upon Christianity;
for it goes upon this presumption, that it is a religion not capable
of its own inherent power to propagate, maintain, and perpetuate
itself. It is founded upon the avowed principle, that the Christian
religion requires the arm of royalty, the protection of legislative
enactments, the stimulus of compulsory provision, to prolong its
existence; that, unless a government ingrafts upon a whole peo-
ple the form of this religion, holds in its pay a host of hireling
ministers, and recommends it by the sanction and force of law,
it has not attractions sufficient of its own to draw to it voluntary
votaries. Never was this glorious religion more scandalously
libelled; never was the understanding of a whole nation more
insulted, than by this invention and doctrine! Yet that such is
the real principle of state religions, their advocates make no secret
of confessing. Every day we are told by reverend and right
reverend polemics and pamphleteers, and by the Tory literary
and newspaper press, that "if we had no *established* religion we
should soon have no religion at all."

What! is this said of that religion for which Christ lived and
died?—that religion, which a prophetic metaphor of most singular
truth and beauty represented as "a stone cut out of the mountains
without hands, which grew and filled the whole earth?" that religion,
of which its Divine founder, so far from commanding or recom-
mending any national establishment, declared that it was a king-
dom not of this world; of which he promised that "where two or
three were met together in his name, there he would be in the
midst of them?" Two or three—not whole nations, whole hier-

archies merely, but two or three,—not of any particular name, description, or peculiarity of doctrine; not merely those sanctioned by kings and priests, by bishops or presbyters; not great and learned only; but two or three, of any class, any name, any nation, so that they were but men, and so that they were met together in his name. Can it be this religion which we are told shall dwindle and expire except it be chartered and riveted on a state by its government? This religion, to whose first ministers Christ said, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses; neither scrip for your journey: neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves:" but added, "Go ye into all nations, and preach the gospel;" assuring them that he would "be with them alway, until the end of the world?" Can it be of this religion that its professed believers, after eighteen centuries of its triumphs, can thus speak? thus fling back in the face of their Redeemer, in contempt and scorn, his own eternal words? thus insult the reason of his whole people, in every church and nation, in defiance of history overflowing with proofs that his gospel is an immortal and invincible principle, asking of human governments none of their purblind enactments, none of their artificial establishments, but only room and freedom to spread and bring every spirit beneath its influence?

What is the testimony of all history? Did this religion require, or did it enjoy in its infancy the protection of power and the smiles of earthly governments? Every body knows that it arose and grew in spite of them. It had to contend singly with the prejudices and old idolatries of the whole world. The Jews slew its founder—their own brother—and scattered with bitter persecutions his followers: the Romans, the universal masters of the known earth, pursued them with desolating fury, and heaped every exterminating terror on them; but in the very teeth of all this hatred, they spread and increased till theirs became the predominant religion, and the Roman emperor received it as his own. This was the infancy of Christianity. Instead of tithes and national favour, the aliment on which it grew was poverty, persecution, and slaughter, the hatred and the envy of the wise and strong. This was its infancy;—but perhaps it will be said, that it was an infancy under the immediate watch and guardianship of its Divine founder; under the first out-pourings of his omnipotent Spirit. What then? Has this religion grown old? Can it become decrepit, wasted, and weary? Has that gushing forth of the Divine Spirit entirely ceased? Has Christ indeed spoken a lie? Has he failed to be with his disciples alway, to the end of the world? Has he failed to be in the midst of the two or three? Let the events of these latter days speak for themselves. For a thousand years this celestial faith suffered eclipse; for a thousand years, clasped in the iron arms of monarchy, overwhelmed with delusive flatteries, bound by law upon law, and tradition upon tradition, it has been "cribbed, cabined, and confined." Lies have been propagated in its name; swarms of vile creatures have made it an inexhaustible prey, and

have heaped upon its head abuses scandalous and loathsome. It has had to contend with the desolations of barbarism, the selfish pretences of kings and priests, and the stupified spirits of a trodden populace; but it has lived through all. It has suffered that which would have been ten-fold death to aught less than divine; and has even given life and beneficent power to institutions in themselves deadly. Like the fabled lamp of the Rosicrucians, its light has lain buried in the ruins of cities and temples, and has flashed through the chinks of tombs; till, in these latter times, it has burst on the startled eyes of the explorers into the waste places of the earth, with a blaze like that of the sun.

Yet this is the religion which Dr. Chalmers and such men went about libelling with the stale and threadbare maxim, that there can be no free trade in religion. That in its case the doctrines of political economy must be reversed. That the supply will not be preceded by a demand. That there will not be a demand for Christianity without a host of preachers prepared and maintained by the state to excite that demand. A more shallow and false dogma never was held up as a grand spiritual discovery to the eyes of gaping ignorance. We tell the doctor and all his disciples, that the promises of Christ, and the history of all ages, cast ridicule on the assertion. Men will, and do seek after a knowledge of Christianity and its saving truths without the intervention of state priests. Preachers have ever arisen, do, and will arise, to offer these truths to their fellow men, not from the fulness of state bread, but raised up and made willing, and capable of divine victories, by the immortal power of Christianity itself.

It was triumphant in its early career; has it been less so in its latest? Let the champions of the Reformation; let America; let our missionary societies; let the dissenters in general, and the Methodists in particular, reply. Nay, let the doctor look back to the Covenanters of his own country, and to the hosts of dissenters of that country now, who compete in numbers with the state church itself, and every day alarm it by fresh increase. Out of that very alarm do not the doctor's own clamours spring? Was it by the aid of states that the doctrines of the reformers spread? Let Huss and Jerome of Prague, let Oldcastle, let Cranmer, Latimer, and a thousand other martyrs speak to this. But what establishment has given Christianity such splendid prevalence in America? Has this been the effect of mitres and lawn sleeves, of wealthy lordships and fat livings presented by government or private patrons in scorn of the popular choice? No! religion has in the United States all that true Christianity asks,—freedom to operate, and human hearts to operate upon. This is a great experiment on the intrinsic and unabated vitality of this blessed faith, which is worth a world of arguments,—which includes all arguments within itself; an experiment which will put to silence every cavilling of the interested,—for it has succeeded even to the amplitude of the apostolic age. Fain would the spiritual despots escape from the inevitable con-

clusions to be drawn from this great example,—but they cannot do it. They tell us that British America is yet in its infancy; and they add, in the bitterness of an unhallowed hope, it may yet stumble in its career. What then? Let America fall from its high estate to-morrow; let it grow drunk with prosperity, and rend itself to pieces in the frenzy of ambitious discord; let Christianity be fettered to the car of state, as in Europe: I say—what then? The great trial is made and decided! Christianity has been cast upon the bosom of a multitudinous people,—a people compounded of many a mingled origin; daily contaminated by swarming arrivals of the most debased outpourings of European population, and, even in such a soil, it has proved that so long as a legislature refrains totally from interference with it, it will flourish with all the energy of its youth. “Look,” says an American writer quoted by Mr. Marshall in his work on Establishments, “at the ten thousand clergymen, the free choice of the people, living in the hearts, and supported by the free-will offerings of their respective flocks, and exerting a moral influence, and imparting a moral benefit, far more extensive and lasting than the English priesthood, with all its secular power, and patronage, and wealth.” But it is not merely to the settled population of the United States, that Christianity thus shows itself in its native strength; it can afford to go forth, by its domestic missions, to every obscure haunt of the backwoodsmen; nay, it can afford, in the power of voluntary contribution, to have its foreign missions. The “Christian Advocate,” for Nov. 1830, published at Philadelphia, says, “There are forty-seven missionary stations under the direction of the Board. One is at Bombay, five in Ceylon, one at Malta, one at Bayroot, six at the Sandwich Islands, and thirty-three among the North American Indians. About 11,000 converted heathens have been received into the mission churches, a large portion of them within the last year, and great numbers are brought under religious restraint, giving more or less an evidence of piety. At least 50,000 learners are enrolled in the mission schools; and about 600 teachers, most of them natives, who have themselves been taught by missionary influence, are employed in them. The missionaries and the Board have made use of the press for the dissemination of knowledge in eleven languages,—namely, Mahratta, Tamul, Armeno-Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Italian, Cherokee, Choctaw, Seneka, Abernakee, and Hawaiian.”

And all this is done by a nation in that stage of its career in which all other people have been cruel barbarians; a nation that takes not a penny from the state to maintain its preachers; a nation that our state-fed priests have dared to brand as irreligious and even atheistical, while they have themselves been rioting in idleness on those prodigious funds sacrificed by England to a state creed. But in this nation the state priests of England see causes of everlasting alarm. They see, and they know that the world observes it—that a free state has shown how religion would modu-

late itself if freed from the fetters and corrupting influences of political alliance. There, state religion was not abolished by the peremptory act of government, but at the request of the people themselves. No one particular church was there established, but in one state episcopacy, in another presbyterianism was the state religion; and these states, once freed from English control, severally and successively petitioned that their establishments might be withdrawn, and it was complied with. *Then*, that episcopacy which, in alliance with the state, pranks itself with archbishops, deans, and a long train of popish dignitaries, divested itself of all but bishops and priests; and oh! horror to the eyes of English orthodoxy! abolished patronage, and admitted the laity not only to unite in choosing their own ministers, but also to govern the church in convocation!

This is a revelation of the tendency of Christianity, when freed from state compulsion, most awful for the lovers of individual patronage, simony, pluralities, the dictation of spiritual pride, and the "grand prizes" of a political church to contemplate. Another fact equally hateful to the state priesthood of England, revealed by the free constitution of America, is, that that episcopacy which they have maintained to be the only orthodox species of Christianity, and to force which on the consciences and shoulders of all Englishmen, they have inflicted such burnings, stripes, imprisonments, waste of wealth and of temper,—there, left to the attraction of its own charms, out of a population of 15,000,000, and 18,000 congregations, musters only 850 congregations, and 600,000 adherents!

Loud, too, as the assertions of Tory travellers, and churchmen at home, have been, that there is no religion in America, and that especially in the new states, where, as population spreads, no provision being made by the government for the religious teaching of the people, they of course declare there is none—nothing, in fact, but ignorance, infidelity, and brutality; yet does the American Almanac of 1839 show, that the ministers of religion in that country, which in 1830 were but about 10,000, are now 16,438, having in ten years increased by more than one half of their then number; that is, 6,438 ministers beyond the old amount have sprung up in ten years to supply the wants of a growing and spreading population. Can any thing like that be shown in any other country of the world? Does any thing like it exist in any country where religion is paid by the state? Look at England, with its swarming and growing population of about 15,000,000, and a state priesthood of about 10,000, having an income of £10,000,000 for their services. And look at Ireland, where the enormously endowed ministers remain stationary at about 889, with 800,000 hearers, and a population of 8,000,000.

But wherever we turn, we find that it is the principle of voluntary contribution that is Christianizing the world. It is by the missionary societies that the Indies, East and West, have received

the gospel; that such wonderful effects have been produced in the South Sea islands; that the frightful wastes of Labrador and Greenland have been visited with its happy sound. What have our establishments to offer in comparison with these facts? Yet their advocates, with a blindness or an audacity equally amazing, persist in declaring that without these engines religion cannot be either maintained at home or propagated abroad; and this, too, while they are absolutely doing nothing, even at their own doors;—while, as is shown by the parliamentary returns of non-residence for 1831, out of 10,560 incumbents, only 4649 are doing duty, and therefore nearly 6000 are living in the mire of utter sloth, with the awful responsibility of millions of souls upon their heads! The Moravian Brethren have done more for the extension of Christianity, small a body and poor a body as they are, than all the establishments that ever existed. Whoever doubts this, let him turn to the history of their wonderful missions in all quarters of the world.

But beyond all this mass of startling facts, on the very domestic soil which our establishments are chartered and fed to cultivate, it is the principle of voluntary Christianity that is doing the work. The clergy are enjoying their livings, for the most part, in careless ease, but their people are daily falling away to the dissenters for spiritual instruction,* and above all is this principle most marvellously demonstrated by the Methodists. These people, whose founders were expelled the state university for their pious zeal, in about ninety-five years have grown to upwards of a million; nay, in the course of a single year, one class of them alone has added ninety thousand to its body,—a number greater, it may be well believed, than the priests of the Establishment have actually proselyted since this church sprung from the great harlot and mother of enchantments.

Thus, whether we look to the past or the present, whether at home or abroad, we behold Christianity vindicated by its own victorious strength, from the base libel of the necessity of state establishments. All history is eloquent in the assertion of its freedom. Beautiful and prosperous wherever it is left to its own energies, and the natural love of men; languishing and disgraced by all monstrous abuses, wherever it is allied to the state; it becomes the sacred duty of each lover of his God and his fellow men, to stand boldly forward, and demand, that in a great and wise nation like this, such violence shall no longer be done to the most

* At the moment I write this, (Dec. 14, 1837,) an example is afforded of the relative proportions of church people and dissenters in this town, in a paper read before the Nottingham Literary Society, by R. Hopper, Esq., founded on careful inquiry:—attenders of chapel, 12,000; of church, 5800. In many manufacturing districts, the balance in favour of dissent would be far greater. In the Staffordshire Potteries and the populous Lancashire towns, as eight to one.

precious of God's gifts—the everlasting gospel. If we needed any demonstration of the anti-christianity of an establishment, beyond the evils and scandals it has generated, we need only bear in mind Christ's command to his ministers—"Freely ye have received, freely give;" but the command of an establishment is—"By force ye have received, and by force ye shall give." The essence of Christianity is freedom—that of an establishment is compulsion; the distinction is eternal and convincing.

But in order to judge more correctly of the real nature and condition of the English church, let us take a cursory view of its constitution and present state, as represented by its friends, preceded by an outline of what it was in our fathers' days. In a rare tract, entitled "*Omnia Comesta a Bello*," printed in 1667, is given the following sketch.

"THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

"First. THE REVENUE, POMP, AND STATE OF THE PRELATES.

"There are two provincial archbishops, Canterbury and York, with their princely retinue, domestic chaplains, officers for temporalities, their spiritual officers, vicar-general, guardian of the Spiritualities, dean of the Arches, with all their under officers and attendants.

"Secondly. THEIR COURTS.

Court of Faculties.

Prerogative Court.

Court of Audience.

Delegates.

"There are four-and-twenty bishops diocesan, with their trains, domestic chaplains, officers, and courts. To these belong—

26 Chancellors, and their attendants.

24 Registrars, with their clerks.

24 Gentlemen apparitors.

120 Inferior apparitors.

48 Proctors.

"There are, under these bishops—

"60 Archdeacons; and these have 60 courts, to which belong—

Commissaries.

60 Registrars.

Officials.

120 Proctors.

Surrogates.

200 Apparitors.

"So that the number belonging to archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and their trade, are judged to be no less than *ten thousand persons*; which will require for their maintenance, *two hundred thousand pounds per annum*, reckoning them at *twenty pounds* a man; whereas some of them have *one hundred pounds*, some *four hundred pounds*, squeezed out of the poor people. As for their standing rents, they are well known. Their lordly palaces, sumptuous houses, ecclesiastical dignities, etc., *viz. s. et modis*, such is their income, that it amounts, at least, to *four hundred and fifty thousand pounds* a year.

"THEY HAVE MANY OTHER WAYS TO ENRICH THEMSELVES, AND IMPOVERISH THE NATION: AS,

"First; By ordaining deacons and ministers four times a year for money; by which they put up yearly, hundreds of pounds.

"Secondly; By instituting and inducting parsons and vicars to benefices when they fall. For every such induction, they have three pounds at the least. And in England there are 9235 parishes; so that, at the rate of one in a parish, it amounts to *twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty-five pounds*.

"Thirdly; By making rural deans yearly; and for the oath-taking they pay *eight shillings and sixpence*.

"Fourthly; By granting licences to beneficed ministers to preach in their own cures. Though they be ordained before, and strictly commanded to preach, yet they must not do it without a licence; and this licence costs them *ten shillings*; so that in 9235 parishes, this comes to *four thousand six hundred and fifty-two pounds, ten shillings*.

"Fifthly; By granting—

1. Licences to curates to preach.
2. — for schoolmasters to teach school.
3. — for parish clerks.
4. — to midwives, to do their office.
5. — to marry—which thing of itself arises to a vast

sum.

6. For absolving excommunicated persons.

7. For putting men to clear themselves by oath with their compurgators.

8. For commutation of penance; for so the rich come off with a round sum of money, but the poor, doing their penance in kind, must stand excommunicated till they have paid their fees.

"Sixthly; By probates of wills, and granting letters of administration; *which brings in constantly great sums of money*.

"Seventhly; By framing new articles, and forcing churchwardens to present upon oath, whereby many innocent persons are brought into their courts, and squeezed, both in conscience and purse (the penalty for non-attendance of church being twenty pounds a month); and the churchwarden is squeezed also, if he do not take the oath prepared for him.

"BY THEIR VISITATIONS FOR MONEY.

"First; Churchwardens of every parish in England, and chapel, are called; who receive a Book of Articles to present by; and if any are wanting, they are warned to appear at their courts, with costs. These churchwardens pay for their Book of Articles every year (though the very same); as also for writing their presentments by a clerk, (which they themselves could do, but are not permitted,) *two shillings and four pence*; which in 9235 parishes, cometh to *one thousand and fifty-eight pounds, odd money, yearly*.

"Secondly; Ministers that are licensed, pay *one shilling and eight pence*, or thereabouts, for showing their licence to preach, to the registrar, at every bishop's visitation, though seen and allowed before: after that, *four shillings* for procuration to the bishop;

and to the gentleman apparitor, *eight pence*; most pay *twelve pence*.

"I shall omit the poor curates' suit and service at this court; only let you know, that when an archbishop comes newly to York, all the parsons and vicars in his jurisdiction, though never so poor, and their charge never so great, give him a tenth of their livings for a Benevolence, to help the poor bishop to settle himself in *five or six thousands a year*; and if any, yea, the meanest vicar, whose poor children want bread, do, through poverty, omit the payment, this reverend father doth pitifully whip him to the very bones in his merciless spiritual court.

"BY ARCHDEACONS' VISITATIONS.

"These are twice a year. At Easter visitation they pay their Paschal rents, or synodals, which it seems are not alike to all; some pay 56, some less. At Michaelmas they pay procurations; some *seven shillings*, some *ten shillings*, some less; but it is judged that ministers pay yearly at visitations *five thousand pounds* and upwards.

"BY THE VAST CHARGES IN COLLEGIATE CHURCHES.

"There are twenty-six great deans with their attendants and servants.

"544 Canons, residents, and prebendaries, with a numerous train of—

Vicars,
Peti-canons,
Singing men and boys, choristers,
Organists,
Gospellers,
Epistelers,
Vergers.

"Now this jovial crew have belonging to them about *four hundred thousand pounds yearly* in lands, rents, leases, and other revenues and profits thereunto belonging."

This is a curious picture enough of a REFORMED CHURCH in 1667; but seven years after the restoration of Charles II., by which it regained its power. Wise and good men would have been taught by the adversities and humiliations of the commonwealth, temperance and forbearance; but the dignitaries of the church rushed again to the seats from which they had been driven by the people, like so many hungry wolves rendered mad by their temporary abstinence, and ready to prey on all that came into their power, even upon their own order, "whipping the poorest vicars to the very bones if they failed of their payments." The whole of the cathedral property had been sold by the state during the commonwealth to private individuals; all this was reclaimed in the most summary manner, and not a penny of compensation paid. "And what," this writer goes on to ask, "did the nation get by the restoration of this hierarchy? In all other trades men have

something for their money. The farmer hath good lands from the gentleman for his money; the clothier hath good wool from the farmer for his money; the merchant hath good cloth from the clothier for his money; and thus it goes round to every one's benefit. But, pray, what have we got from the bishops for our money?

"We have all our able, godly, orthodox ministers ruined and beggared, and no manner of supply provided for the maintenance of them and their families; and in their rooms, in many places, a company of debauched, illiterate, superstitious, profane priests, which, blind guides, must needs lead them that follow them to hell.

"We have gotten most of our churchwardens perjured, that do swear to present according to their Visitation Articles, and most of them undone that do not swear; although the imposing of such an oath is a breach of the fundamental law of the land. If a minister, never so godly, preach in a cloak, and not in a garment canonical, he is bound to present him. If any person go to hear a sermon from his own parish church, though there be no preaching there, and though he is bound by his baptismal vow to hear preaching, this man is to be presented. If a poor man hath not bread for his family, but what he earneth by his daily labour, and he work on a holiday, appointed by Romish institution, he is to be presented. If any person coming to church, do not stand up at the creed, do not bow at the name of Jesus, do not keep his hat off all the while, he must be presented. Now there are in all, *three-score and fourteen thousand churchwardens and sides-men* in England every year; and what a dreadful thing is it, to have all these yearly, either *perjured persecutors, or persecuted!*

"We have gotten most of the sober, trading part of the nation discouraged by citations, excommunications, writs to take them excommunicated, imprisonments upon ecclesiastical accounts. By this means, thousands of families are already ruined, and many hundreds are ready to leave the land, and seek some other country where they may have liberty of conscience, and freedom from these devouring harpies.

"We have got, instead of the gospel in the power and purity of it, a service collected out of the Romish books, the Mass, Breviary, etc.: which service of ours King James called *an ill-sung mass*. We have got surplices, copes, tippets, cringings, etc., out of the Romish rituals, so that the papists themselves call it *an apish imitation of the mass*. We have gotten a swarm of ecclesiastical officers which the Scriptures never knew, nor reformed churches never owned. We have got a sort of proud prelates, of mean extract, not of the highest rank for godliness, learning, and labour in the world, nor the greatest champions for the reformed religion: yet very elate they are, affronting our nobility, trampling upon our gentry, grinding to powder all that put not into their mouths, or offer not at their shrine; insomuch that a gentleman of quality, of £3000 per annum, speaking to one of the said prelates boldly, but with due respect, the prelate, in a fume, answered—'What, sir, do

you think that it is fit for every Jack gentleman to speak thus to a bishop ?—deriding the gentry of our land as not worthy to speak to a peevish prelate. Surely a gentleman of £500 per annum would not be allowed to speak to his postilion !

“We have gotten all manner of misery to soul and body,—plague, fire, sword, universal beggary, and, without seasonable mercy, the total ruin of the whole kingdom.”

Such is the lamentable testimony of one of that time to the fruits of restoring, in the rear of monarchy, that evil spirit—the Legion of Prelacy, which had been so well cast out. Let the reader bear in mind, that the sums of money here mentioned are but about the fourth part of what the same property would now produce, and it will give some curious results. In particular, the dean and chapter property still continues to be valued by the clergy at about £290,000 per annum ; whereas at that time it was estimated at £400,000 a year.

Another curious fact presented is, that many of the assumed prerogatives of the church, the growing information of the people has wrested from it. Physicians, schoolmasters, and midwives, have rescued themselves from the talons of the ecclesiastical harpies, and set a good example to the country at large ; and shall not the now mighty body of dissenters be able to do for themselves what the schoolmasters and midwives have done ?

We will now take a survey of the church as it appears at present ; by which we shall, I trust, arrive at some useful ideas.

CHAPTER XXIV.

ENGLISH CHURCH—CONTINUED. THE CHURCH, AS AT PRESENT EXISTING.

Why do the apostolical writings say—"honour the king, and be subject to principalities," so often, but *honour the spiritual prince, or senate*, doth never occur? . . . Of these things in the apostolical writings, or in any near those times, there doth not appear any footstep or pregnant intimation. But supposing the church was designed to be one in this manner of political regiment, it must be quite another thing, nearly resembling a worldly state, yea, in effect, soon resolving itself into one; supposing, as is now pretended, that its management is now committed to an ecclesiastical monarch, it must soon become a worldly kingdom; for such a polity could not be upheld without applying the same means and engines, without practising the same methods and arts, whereby secular governments are maintained. Its majesty must be maintained by conspicuous pomp and phantasy; its dignity and power must be supported by wealth which it must corrade and accumulate by large incomes, by exaction of tributes and taxes. It must exert authority in enacting laws for keeping its state in order and securing its interests, backed with rewards and pains; especially as, considering its title being so dark, and grounded on no clear warrant, many always will contest it. It must apply constraint and force for procuring obedience, and correcting transgressions. It must have guards to preserve its safety and authority. It must be engaged in wars to defend itself, and make good its interests. It must use subtlety and artifice for promoting its interests, and countermining the policy of its adversaries. It must erect judicatories, and decide causes with the formality of legal process; whence tedious suits, crafty pleadings, quirks of law and pettifoggeries, fees and charges, extortion and barratry, etc., will necessarily creep in. All which things do much disagree from the original constitution and designs of the Christian church, which is averse from pomp, doth reject domination, doth not require craft, wealth, or force to maintain it; but did at first, and may subsist without any such means.—DR. BARROW, *Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge in Charles II.'s reign, and one of the brightest ornaments of the church of England.*

The national church groans and bleeds, "from the crown of the head to the sole of its feet," through the daily intrusion of unworthy men into its ministry. Patrons, parents, tutors, colleges, are annually pouring a torrent of incompetent youth into the church, and loading the nation with spiritual guilt. Hence souls are neglected and ruined,—bigotry and ignorance prevail,—church pride triumphs over church godliness,—and the Establishment is despised, deserted, and wounded.

THE REV. LEON RICHMOND.

ON the first glance of the outline of the church given in the last chapter, one would be ready to exclaim, here is a constitution carefully marked out, and filled up with abundant officers; but when we come to examine it, we find it a constitution merely for collecting money, and not at all for moral discipline, as I shall presently show it continues to this day. We will, therefore, forthwith contemplate it as it now exists, and shall, I doubt not, arrive at some useful notions.

FIRST AND FOREMOST WE HAVE THE KING, HEAD OF THE CHURCH, AND DEFENDER OF THE FAITH.

Of what use it is that the king should occupy this singular station it is difficult to see, except that it enables him to appoint all bishops, and keep them subservient to his secular power.

This was the object of Henry VIII., of Elizabeth, and the Stuarts, and this influence has been exercised with the most fatal results to the character of the hierarchy and to religion; but as to any active exertion of it for the good of the church, we may look for it in vain. No reform can take place in the doctrines of the church except at a convocation, and this cannot be summoned except by the king, in conjunction with the archbishops. Thus, notwithstanding the desires of a few good men, occasionally appearing amongst the prelates or general clergy, the church has stood an object of wonder for its strange doctrines and want of moral discipline, amid the growth of the public mind, while the scandalous lives of many of the kings, its legal heads, have heaped upon it unavoidable disgrace. One thing, however, has been made apparent by the close alliance of king and church in this nation—the monarchs have always looked upon the church as a public sponge, through which they could suck up, and squeeze out again at their pleasure, the wealth of the people. The clergy have gathered up the fees, and tithes, and donations given under many a pious delusion, and the kings have put their hands into the church-box and helped themselves with great delight. William the Conqueror, says Matthew of Paris, and other chroniclers of those times, to furnish his wars in the fourth year of his reign, took all the money, jewels, and plate out of the religious houses, making a rigorous search, and sparing not even the chalices and shrines. He reduced the lands of the church into knights' fees, making the bishops do military service for their baronies, and expelled such as opposed the measure. His son Rufus trod diligently in his steps. Leland, Matthew of Westminster, and Matthew of Paris, all declare that he spared no manner of rapine or simony. As soon as bishoprics and abbeys became vacant, he seized upon all their temporalities, farmed them out to his favourites, or to such as, giving most for them, did not spare to rack the tenants to the utmost; the offices themselves he conferred, not on persons of merit, but sold them to the highest bidder, and thus raised great sums out of the church. At the time of his death he held in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bi-

shoprics of Winchester and Salisbury, and twelve abbeys. Henry I. continued the same custom, holding the primacy in his hands five years, and regularly selling bishoprics, particularly that of Durham, for £1000, an enormous sum in that day. Stephen, through his troublesome reign, during which the whole country was pillaged by armies, and reduced to famine, kept church lands, and seized on church money wherever he could find it. Florence of Worcester says, that the bishop of Salisbury, dying, it is supposed, with not less than forty thousand marks in silver, besides gold, and a variety of rich ornaments in his castles, Stephen helped himself to it all. Henry II. reacted the same thing on the death of the archbishop of York in his reign; and in 1173, say Ralph Cogshall and Walter of Gisborn, there were no less than seven bishoprics vacant, being held in his own hands—namely, Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Bath, Hereford, and Chichester; and, in 1175, twelve abbeys were vacant from the same cause. Richard I., to enable him to go to the crusades, exacted immense sums of money from both laity and clergy; and likewise, on his return, to pay the ransom of his captivity in Germany, even seizing all the wool of the Cistercian monks, who had never before paid any thing, and compelling them to redeem it. He found, also, in Hugh Pudsey, bishop of Durham, a very gainful subject. This man, a true churchman, being wealthy, and seeing the king's necessities, bought of him the whole county of Durham for an immense sum, being made earl as well as bishop of Durham. We find the same man still holding on his way to rank and power by his money. He purchased the lord chief justiceship of the king, not content with being both earl and bishop; and afterwards the primacy. At length, glutted with spoil and honour, he prayed to be allowed to retire from the government of the kingdom; and the king, inspecting the records, found that this good and faithful servant had exacted for him, within the two last years, from the people 1,100,000 marks. It was this miscreant that enabled John to seize upon the throne and destroy his nephew Arthur; and John repeated all the exactions and simony on the church practised by his ancestors. To give the history of the free-handed plunder of the church by king after king, would be to write a volume; it is enough to say, that it was continued through every reign. The Henries and the Edwards, in their continual wars, had great occasion for money, and they did not fail to levy freely on the clergy, to the amount frequently of fifty or one hundred thousand pounds at a time,—monstrous sums for those days, but indicating that the church was a mine of wealth. At length Henry VIII. laid his bold hand on the whole booty, and swept it all into his capacious crypt, to the amount of £30,503,400; the gold and jewellery he estimated at one million alone; giving back just what he pleased, and making even that still subject to the payment of his first-fruits and tenths. All which may be seen at large in the Cotton MSS.; Strype's Ecclesiastical Memorials;

Spelman's History of Sacrilege; Speed, Stowe, and Camden. Queen Anne finally took compassion on the *poor clergy*, and was, as already shown, cheated by the rich out of these first-fruits and tenths. All this loving intercourse of king and church, in every period of our history, demonstrates that church property has always been deemed state property. The king, being head of the church, did what he thought proper with the cash he found in the pockets of his lower members: a fact which the clergy are now anxious to get rid of, raising the outcry of *vested rights*, that cant-word of all corruptionists when government would recall what it once lent for political purposes.

NEXT WE HAVE TWO ARCHBISHOPS.

For the existence of these men in a reformed church, the advocates of the system have been sorely puzzled for a plea. For the bishops, they could find a name in the New Testament, the book by which all churches should be fashioned, although the name agrees but little with the present office; but for these men there does not exist in the Scriptures *even a name*. They are notoriously and integrally popish. They are standing monuments of the wretched patchwork which was made by our kings, and called a reformation. They have no duties distinct from the bishops, nor does it appear that they have any jurisdiction over them. They do not appoint them—the king does, and they cannot remove them; they cannot, without the king's concurrence, call them together in convocation. Their sole use, therefore, seems to be “to rear their mitred fronts in courts and parliaments;” to vote in the train of ministers; to rule their wide and opulent domains; count their enormous revenues, and dispose of good livings to sons, brothers, nephews, cousins, and relations and dependants without end, as their own interest, or the interest of ministers, reserved by special agreement, may dictate. The system of nepotism was never carried to a more scandalous extent in the court of Rome.

Two reasons, indeed, and two only, have been advanced for these offices in a protestant church,—to *add splendour* to it, and to *form grand prizes*, by which learning and talent may be stimulated to exert themselves in the church. Most marvellous reasons they are! What is the splendour which should adorn the church of Christ? The splendour of princely revenues?—of secular pomp and power? Why, then, did not Christ give such to his apostles? Why not invest his infant church with this splendour, which might have charmed monarchs, attracted the nobles, and dazzled the common people? Why sent he them out to toil and poverty with empty purses; without a scrip, or a change of raiment? Again, I say, this is a most gross libel on Christ and his ordinances.

But this reformed church would have prizes held out to learning and talent. Then let it give them to secular objects. Let learning and talent be rewarded as they ought,—roads enow are open to them. The army and navy may furnish grand prizes to talent;

—law is a famous path for talent and learning, to wealth and title, as every day shows; but if you will offer prizes in a Christian church, in the name of God, let them be such as become it. You will not have us to believe that talent and learning are always to be found distinct from piety,—that piety cannot necessarily exist in the same breast with them? If so, let us have piety alone, for so Christ and his church would demand. But if it be not so, let your offers be such as *piety* will seek, and talent and learning will come along with it. The demand in this case, as in all others, will insure a supply. In all great emergencies, men of the necessary character spring from obscurity as by miracle. The immense mass of talent, energy, learning, wit, genius, which slumbers in the great chaos of human society, quickened by the breath of high occasion, starts up, and is ready to carry to its accomplishment every mortal enterprise. This has been found marvellously the case in all revolutions of state, of mind, or morals. The French revolution is an instance at hand, and familiar to every one. What wit, what genius, what statesmen and senators, what mighty generals, what an awful conqueror, sprung from the body of the people to the amazement of the world, who would otherwise have gone forward on “the noiseless tenor of their way” unheard of. But the momentous crisis called them into activity; and had that crisis been of an aspect as religious and beneficent as it was otherwise, actors as religious and beneficent in theirs would have come forth as abundantly. Let, then, your prizes be adapted to the object you desire. You will not be more foolish than the angler or the fowler? They offer baits suited to the prey they would take. They do not offer grain to eagles, and live lambs to doves or fishes. You want *active piety*, and you offer temptations to worldly-mindedness, to unprincipled ambition, to the base, the time-serving, and the rapacious! At the sight of your prizes of enormous wealth and political distinction, so absurdly held aloft,—“the very prizes,” says a noble old writer, “which the devil offered to our Saviour,”—the worst of our species,—the greedy of gold; the panters after pleasure and dissipation; the hard, the grasping, the shameless, rush in crowds to the temple doors, and shoulder away those who fain would enter and do the work of Christ for the world’s sake. But where are your prizes for *piety*?—ay, where are they? These are what are wanted in a Christian church; and these are not palaces and parks, wide lands, a hundred thousand a year, or access to the circles of fashion and heartless splendour—they are a fair field for the exercise of a Christian pastor’s love and zeal, a dwelling amongst men with whom they can sympathize, and to whom they can communicate that spirit of life which animates them,—their knowledge, and their refined affections. To possess these men, the church must offer what their nature seeks, and which will preserve them pure; but I must presently show, that not only is nothing of this kind offered, but that the door is carefully closed against men of this class by the deadly system of patronage.

WE HAVE THEN TWENTY-FOUR BISHOPS.

Here we have the appearance of coming upon scriptural ground; but when we examine into facts, we find we are as far off as ever. This reformed church would have us to believe that it is founded on the rock of ages, and organized in the strict principles of the New Testament; yet in almost the only instance in which it has retained the scriptural name, it has taken care to separate it from the scriptural office. So far from having any connexion, even nominally, with the gospel, in its archbishops, archdeacons, deans, chapters, and long train of officers of its spiritual courts, chancellors, commissaries, surrogates, registrars, etc., etc.; it has not even permitted its bishops to be the bishops of the Christian church in its original purity. What sort of a reformation must that have been, which went not to the original model, but to that sink of all corruptions from which it professed to free and purify Christianity? St. Paul tells us that a bishop "must not be given to filthy lucre; but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate." But the bishop of the apostolic churches was synonymous with the elder and presbyter—was, in fact, the pastor of a flock. This is admitted by all the most celebrated commentators—and Mr. Scott, the esteemed commentator of the English church, among them. On chap. xx. of Acts, he says, that "the same persons are in this chapter called elders or presbyters, and overseers or bishops; it must, therefore, be allowed, that these were not distinct orders of ministers at that time." St. Jerome, in the fourth century, expressly states how this original order of things was changed. "By the ordinances of Christ, priests and bishops were all one; but afterwards the emperor divided them, and made bishops lords, and priests servants; and this was the cause of envy, and quenched much charity; for the ordinances of Christ are framed in meekness, in unity, and charity, and in contempt of riches and high estate." *Johannes Parisiensis* says, that when Constantine gave temporalities to the bishops, a voice was heard from heaven, crying, "This day is poison poured into the church!" Yet the English church, which affects to be so truly apostolical, has abandoned the scriptural bishops, and taken those which popery borrowed of Constantine. The English bishop has not an attribute in common with the apostolical. He is not the pastor of one flock, diligent in preaching, and caring for the comfort and salvation of his charge; all this is devolved on the common clergy—and well would it be, if even they fulfilled it: but for the bishop, he has no flock at all; preaching does not make part of his vocation; he does not even come in contact with the clergy over whom he is nominally set, except once in three years, when he makes his hurried visitation to one or two of the chief towns of his diocese. When he does come in contact with his clergy, if we are to believe the Rev. Sidney Smith, than whom no man is better acquainted with bishops, it is too often as an inquisitor and tyrant.

"There is a practice among some bishops, which cannot be too severely reprobated. They send for a clergyman, and insist upon his giving evidence respecting the character and conduct of his neighbour;—'Does he hunt? Does he shoot? Is he in debt? Is he temperate? Does he attend to his parish?' etc. etc. Now, what is this but to destroy for all clergymen the very elements of social life,—to put an end to all confidence between man and man,—and to disseminate among gentlemen who are bound to live in concord, every feeling of resentment, hatred, and suspicion? But the very essence of tyranny is to act as if the finer feelings, like the finer dishes, were delicacies only for the rich and great, and that little people have no taste for them, and no right to them."*

In the exercise of prelatial tyranny over clergymen, Philpotts of Exeter has been the most undisguised. The successive cases of treatment of the Rev. Messrs. Head and Malkin, have established the lordly prelate's character for as much overbearing insolence to his clergy, as his haughty temper on all other occasions has given him a much greater resemblance to Thomas à Becket than to Moses.

Philpotts, on his visitation circuit in Cornwall, publicly, in his charge, invited the Methodists to commune with the church, to unite their flocks, and become part and parcel of one religious body. On his very next visit, in 1836, he showed how very sincere he was in this affectionate invitation, by suddenly falling on the Rev. J. Malkin, the curate of St. Ives, a man generally beloved by the people, with the heinous charge of "attending a conventicle." Mr. Malkin proved that he had not entered a Methodist meeting, for that was the conventicle meant, for two years. But he did not pretend to deny that his wife and children did occasionally, nor could he undertake to dictate to his wife's conscience. "If you cannot command your wife and family, sir," replied the haughty bishop, "you are not fit to be a minister of the Establishment." "My Lord," rejoined the honest curate, "I received this gown from your Lordship's hands, and I now return it to you without a blemish;"—taking it off, and laying it down. The inhabitants of St. Ives, reluctant to lose the services of their esteemed minister, sent a deputation to Philpotts with an address signed by several hundred persons, praying him to restore Mr. Malkin to their church, but in vain.

In 1838, the bishop having ordered the clergy to read a certain formula at least four Sundays before a confirmation, Mr. Head, a clergyman of Feniton in Devonshire, wrote to assure him that he could not comply with his order, the form being contrary to certain of the Thirty-nine Articles. To punish so daring a piece of presumption against the infallible fiat of a bishop, Philpotts adopted this mode of inflicting effective chastisement. Inviting

* Letter to Archdeacon Singleton, on the Ecclesiastical Commission, 1837.

Mr. Head to attend a confirmation at Honiton, he then and there, in presence of the assembled clergy, burst forth upon him, charging him with being forsworn, a slanderer, with having insulted God when he insulted Dr. Philpotts, and with having done more than any man living to bring the holy rite of confirmation into contempt.

Still more cowardly and atrocious than even this conduct of the notorious Philpotts, was that of Bloomfield, bishop of London, to Mr. Gompertz. Mr. Gompertz, a curate, for some time officiated in the village of Harlington, in Middlesex. He left Harlington for Little Bromley, but soon afterwards wished to return to Harlington. For this purpose it was necessary to have a licence, and this licence the bishop refused on the ground of complaints against Mr. Gompertz's character. He had, in fact, been calumniated by a secret accuser, on the system exposed by the Rev. Sidney Smith. The bishop refused to give up the name of the accuser on the very plea, that without such secret communications it would be impossible to know what the conduct of clergymen was in many cases. The poor curate, thus cut off from all prospect in the church, and denied the knowledge of his accuser, brought his action in the court of Common Pleas, 1837, where the whole was proved to be a most groundless slander. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd admitted for the defendant, that he could not substantiate the libellous allegations; that his client had acted on a misconception. The jury gave Mr. Gompertz £200 damages.

Now, how did this pious bishop act when he found that he had thus been persecuting an innocent man on a false charge? Was he not overwhelmed with shame and remorse? Did he not drag the slanderer to the light, and hasten to make reparation to his victim? Nothing of the sort. He still declared his intention to refuse Mr. Gompertz a licence, and confessed, though reluctantly, that without such licence, or testimonial, from him, *no other bishop would license him for any other parish!*

Well may it be said by the *Spectator*, that, next to a chimney sweeper apprenticed to a ruffian by his parish, a curate without patrons is the most helpless of human beings. He crouches like a guilty creature before his diocesan, whose bureau may be the repository of some secret slander; submission, fawning, and flattery may all be tried in vain; his stern and prejudiced censor may wither him with a frown or a sneer. Never did Tom Hood shine so in a pun as in his definition of a curate—

The man who lives *hard* by the church.

Such are a bishop's acts, his duties are not of the most celestial nature. To sit as a judge and law-maker in parliament; to superintend his great estates, and revenues of £70,000 a year, as in London, or £30,000, as Durham; to preside in his court over a variety of secular matters. Yet would the members of the Establishment persuade us that these men are the legitimate successors and re-

presentatives of the martyrs and first reformers of the Anglican church. They are not members even of the same church. The present church is the church of Elizabeth—who, I have already shown, was in heart a papist; and in spite of her best-informed and best-intentioned clergy, left as little difference between it and popery as possible; and would, with her good will, have left none. Wycliffe, Tyndale, Lambert, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, etc., held, as may be seen in their writings, or their oral testimonies on their trials, widely different doctrines; and in particular this, that the bishop and priest are scripturally one. Henry VIII. issued, in 1537, a Declaration, signed by Cromwell, his secretary, by the two archbishops, eleven bishops, and various other learned persons, “that the New Testament sanctions no degrees or distinctions in religious orders, but those of deacons or ministers, priests or bishops.” Nor is this all. Mr. Conder, in his able work on Nonconformity, has shown that the very same opinions have been avowed by many of the dignitaries and learned members of the present Establishment—Bishops Alley, Pilkington, Jewel, and Morton; and by Doctors Willet, Whitaker, Humphrey, and Holland. The sentiments of good old Hugh Latimer have often been quoted, respecting lord bishops:—“This much I dare say, that since lording and loitering hath come up, preaching hath come down, contrary to the apostles’ times; for they preached, and lorded not—and now they lord, and preach not. For they that be lords will ill go to the plough; it is no meet office for them; it is not seeming for their estate. Thus came up lording loiterers; thus crept in unpreaching prelates; and so they have long continued. For how many unlearned prelates have we at this day: and no marvel; for if the ploughmen that now be were made lords, they would clean give over ploughing; they would leave off their labour, and fall to lording outright, and let the plough stand: and then both ploughs not walking, nothing could be in the commonwealth but hunger. For ever since the prelates were made lords and nobles, the plough standeth; there is no work; the people starve. They hawk, they hunt, they card, they dice, they pastime in their prelacies with gallant gentlemen, with their dancing minions, and with their fresh companions; so that ploughing is set aside, and by the lording and loitering, preaching and ploughing is clean gone.

“But now, for the fault of unpreaching prelates, methinks I could guess what might be said for excusing of them. They are so troubled with lordly living; they be so placed in palaces; couched in courts; ruffling in their rents; dancing in their dominions; burdened with embassages; pampering of their paunches, like a monk that maketh his jubilee; munching in their mangers, and moiling in their gay manours and mansions, and so troubled with lording in their lordships, that they cannot attend it.”—*Sermon on the Plough.*

The words of the venerable martyr, Tyndale, are not less striking:—“Woe to the realm where prelates are of the council! As

profitable are the prelacy to the realm with their counsel, as wolves to the sheep, as foxes to the geese;* for there is no mischief, or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment or the spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very foundation and spring; so that it is impossible to preach against any mischief, unless thou begin at them; or set up any reformation in the world, except they are first reformed. They are as indurat as Pharaoh, and therefore persecute God's word, and the preachers thereof. They stir up mischief in the world, setting princes to war; they get into the consciences of kings, and persuade them what they list—neither can any king have rest for them. They pretend they are for God and the church, but their secret intent is to bring all under their power; and when they are once set up on high, then are they tyrants above all tyrants. . . . Bishops that preach not, or that preach aught save God's word, are none of Christ's, nor of his anointing, but servants of the beast, whose mark they bear, whose word they preach, whose law they maintain clean against God's law."

Such are the sentiments of these great lights of the English Reformation, to whom our clergy now affect to look up to as the founders of their church: and what are the sentiments of the friends of the Establishment in more modern times? Dr. King, Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and author of "Political and Literary Anecdotes of his own Times," who died in 1763, says,—*"To speak freely, I know nothing that has brought so great a reproach on the church of England as the avarice and ambition of our bishops. Chandler, bishop of Durham, Willis, bishop of Winchester, Potter, archbishop of Canterbury, Gibson and Sherlock, bishops of London, all died shamefully rich;† some of them worth more than £100,000. I must add to these, my old antagonist, Gilbert, predecessor to Drummond, the present archbishop of York. Some of these prelates were esteemed great divines, and I know they were learned men,—but they could not be called good Christians. The great wealth they heaped up, the fruits of their bishoprics, and which they left to enrich their families, was not their own; it was due to God, to the church, and their poor brethren."*

Blackwood's Magazine, the great champion of Toryism and the church, in a fearful article in Nov. 1830, on the present state of the Establishment, than which nothing more startling and severe ever was written by its worst enemies, asks,—*"Why is this man made a bishop? He has been tutor in one family, or he is connected in blood with another, or he enjoys the patronage of some polluted female favourite of royalty, or he is the near relative of*

* At Blackburn, when making some alterations in the church, a piece of carved work was lately discovered, in which some wag of a workman had actually delineated this scene—the fox preaching to the geese.

† These are said to have been Chandler's own words, on his death-bed,—*"I die shamefully rich."*

the minister; or at the nod of the premier he has been a traitor to the church in a matter affecting her existence."

Mr. Beverly gives the following list of bishops as they were at the date of the publication of his *Horrida Hystrix*, in 1826:—

Tomline,	Bishop of Winchester,	tutor to Pitt.
Haye,	—	Bristol, married a Mortlock, whose family govern the borough of Cambridge for the Rutland interest.
Bethel,	—	Gloucester, tutor to the duke of Northumberland.
Bloomfield,	—	Chester, married into the Harvey family.
Sharpe,	—	Ely, tutor to the duke of Rutland.
Pelham,	—	Lincoln, brother to the earl of Chichester.
Huntingdon,	—	Hereford, tutor to Lord Sidmouth.
Howley,	—	London, tutor to Prince of Orange.
Law,	—	Bath and Wells, brother to Lord Ellenborough.

To these we may now add:—

Grey,	Bishop of Hereford,	brother of Lord Grey.
Ponsonby,	—	Derry, brother-in-law of Lord Grey.
Ryder,	—	Lichfield, brother of Lord Harrowby.
Bagot,	—	Oxford, brother of Lord Bagot.
Vernon,	archbishop of York, brother of the late Lord Vernon.	

If such be the nature of English episcopacy, as delineated by its founders and friends; if it exists only for purposes of state, or the aggrandizement of political tools and family flatterers, to what part of the system must we look for that moral discipline which a Christian church requires? Is it to the archdeacons and their deputies? They are busied in the bishop's courts, collecting his revenues, or transacting his secular matters of wills and licences; and as to those archidiaconal functions which have reference to the moral conduct and personal duties of the parochial clergy, the Rev. Dr. Nihill, one of their own body, declares that "any archdeacon who should attempt to revive the full powers with which he is theoretically armed, would only expose himself and the church to derision."

Is it then to the deans and chapters we must turn? Why, these are mere excrescences in this diseased and disjointed system. They have no vital connexion with any part of it. They exist only for themselves; and have been happily termed the rotten boroughs of the church. The deans and chapters nominally elect the bishops; but this is mere farce—the ministers of the crown do it virtually. The only real functions of the chapters are to perform service in the cathedrals, and to keep them in order. For this they possess about half a million of yearly income. Their only object is to draw clergymen from their own proper livings, to cluster in idleness round these great buildings, thus aggravating

the already crying sin of pluralities,—which pluralities the canons of the church declare to be “execrable before God.”*

In thus going through this great and imposing pageant of our national Establishment, endowed with its ten millions a year, and crowded with its archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, vicars-general, chancellors, commissaries, surrogates, registrars, proctors, apparitors, etc. etc., we can discover no real system of moral discipline; no effective connexion between these officers and the parish clergy. These live as the ancient Danites did, “every man doeth what seemeth good in his own eyes;” and who shall hinder him? The archdeacon may, if his own hands are clean—which they seldom are, being generally one of those “execrable before God,”—a pluralist, a sinecurist, a non-resident, most probably one of the “sect of prebendaries,” as Cranmer calls them, “good vianders, too much given to belly cheer;” he may cause the churchwardens to present such delinquents in the bishop’s court; and the bishop may reprimand or menace; and what will they heed? Nothing! They know that neither archdeacon nor bishop has power to eject them from their livings. They boast of their *independence* of the people, as one of the chief beauties of their system; and they may boast of their independence of the bishop, for it is equally positive. Let the bishop bring a guilty clergyman before his tribunal; convict and sentence him to deprivation; he turns upon his diocesan with the stubborn truth, that his living is his freehold, in many cases a purchased freehold, and who shall deprive him of it? Let attempt be made to carry the sentence into effect, the delinquent will appeal from court to court till the costs amount to from four to seven thousand pounds, and which he knows how to cast entirely on the bishop. Such a power of expulsion is, in fact, no power at all. Bishop Porteus tried it, and it has been tried in a few instances since, but prelates in general know better how to spend their revenues, and so all control of the clergy becomes a dead letter.

* The collegiate church of Southwell, a village of Nottinghamshire, has sixteen of these “good vianders” belonging to it, with incomes of from £300 to £600 each; and these prebendaries, with the vicars-choral, share amongst them twenty-three livings, most of which they supply with curates, seldom or ever see the places themselves; and besides this, are compelled by tenure of the prebend to desert their own proper livings for three months every fourth year to officiate in this church. The consequence is, that effective duty is done no where. The vicar of St. Mary’s, of this town, a parish of 30,000 inhabitants, has been recently performing his prebendal duties at this village, while his own large parish has been committed to curates; and, as often happens where a man has too many irons in the fire, one of these deputies got drunk, staggered up on the Sunday morning into the pulpit, gave out the afternoon prayers, committed other similar eccentricities, to the amazement of the people, and finished, on discovering his blunder, by bursting into a great horse-laugh. Of course the man was removed, but not the scandal.
—1st Edition.

Thus, having shown that the whole English hierarchy, with its courts and officers, exists merely for splendour, for political and personal objects, we must now contemplate the parish clergy as an *independent body*, and the *only body* actually employed for purposes of religious instruction. To do this properly, we will inquire how these ministers enter the church, what kind of men does enter, and what kind is kept out.

A foreigner, well acquainted with the general character of Englishmen; who had learnt our spirited love of freedom; who knew the licence of remark assumed by our newspapers; our feverish anxiety for the purity of parliamentary elections; the ferment they invariably throw the whole nation into; who had observed how the same spirit was carried down to the most trivial offices of municipal corporations; nay, into the choice of a sexton, or a watchman;—would stand in astonishment when he came to inquire into the mode of appointing our national teachers of religion. When he saw the jealous care with which we cling to every imagined right; that to assume an air of dictation in the smallest of our affairs,—to say to a gentleman,—“Take this man for your groom, or your gamekeeper;” nay, to the poorest pauper who receives his weekly dole at the workhouse,—“Lay out your money in this or that manner—with this or that person;” to tell the very scavenger in the street to hold his broom in a manner different to that dictated by his own well-satisfied mind,—I say, when he saw the wrath and indignation with which such interference would be received; what must be his amaze to find that this great, this wise, this liberty-loving, this tremblingly sensitive people, most readily abandoned all right of private judgment in the choice of its most important functionaries—the teachers of religion, and that to the most stupid, most wicked, and venal of the community? The immediate conclusion at which he would arrive must be, that, as a nation, we were totally devoid of a religious feeling. He never, otherwise, could comprehend how we can thus lay down our beloved free-will on the most sacred of occasions, an occasion vitally affecting the eternal well-being of ourselves and children; to say nothing of the shame of being duped and preyed on in the most open manner, by the greedy and the ignorant. How we can take fire at a single phrase in a discussion over our wine, and run out and shoot at one another; how we can enter into the most bitter, endless, and ruinous contentions about the direction of a hedge or a ditch,—and yet can suffer ourselves to put our consciences into the keeping of mercenary statesmen, pampered prelates, and heavy-headed country squires, to be treated as a nation of children or idiots!

This amazing spectacle is produced by one of those anomalies of the English mind that fill the world with wonder. We are burningly alive to our rights when we once comprehend them; but the miracle of the thing is, that custom has such a power of blinding us, that in many cases, where other people would see

through the subject matter in a moment, we stand with our eyes open, but perceive nothing; our senses are bound up as by witchcraft; we go about in a sort of noon-day somnambulism, and our neighbours laugh in our faces, and pick our pockets at pleasure. When we wake, however, it is with a sudden start, and with a terrible spirit of retribution upon us. Let us see if we cannot burst from our trance.

The present situation of the English church is this.—Here is a glorious nation, the most powerful and refined, and, with the exception of America, the most free in the world; a nation impatient of despotism, and intolerant of monopoly; which has spent millions of money, and thousands of lives, to break the tyranny of Buonaparte; which has cast down the monopoly of parliamentary representation; the monopoly of trade to the East; and yet sits quietly under the most foolish, fatal, and insulting monopoly imaginable. The privilege of choosing its own ministers of religion is snatched from it; yet it bears it: it sees this privilege usurped by the sordid, the ignorant, the worldly-minded; by the distant, the unknown, by anybody but itself, and yet it feels no resentment. It sees the dissenters exercising this right, and flourishing under it, yet it feels no shame; it beholds their ministers orderly and zealous,—its own, scandalous and apathetic, yet it is not roused to self-vindication. This is a spectacle sufficiently degrading, but it is a part only of the marvel. It sees its church livings openly sold to the highest bidder, however unqualified or profligate, and the whole land polluted with *simony* from one end to the other.

A calculation founded on the population returns of 1821, makes the following the state of church patronage :—

Livings in the gift of the crown	1,048
— — — — — bishops	1,301
— — — — — deans and chapters	982
— — — — — universities	743
— — — — — private people	6,619
	<hr/>
	10,693

The first are notoriously made use of by ministers to purchase adherents. By means of these, parliamentary votes are bought, and popular liberty sold. By means of these, corrupt legislators and corrupt subservient parsons are dispersed through the country to aid the views of government. During the long reign of the Tories, which has heaped such debt and difficulties on our heads, these state-beneficed parsons were loud in the pulpits, busy at public meetings and public dinners, busy in all houses where they had access, especially those of the squirearchy, disseminating those doctrines which have brought us to the brink of ruin.

The livings in the gift of the bishops go, of course, amongst their sons and relatives, or to the slaves of government, for whom they were expressly reserved as the price of the bishop's own

preferment. "There is, too, a species of simony," says the author of Ecclesiastical Reform, a beneficed clergyman, in 1792, "which prevails in our church, styled PETTICOAT SIMONY; where a clergyman, by marrying the niece or daughter of a bishop, becomes a pluralist of large income, his lady being portioned out of the church. I could point out several persons now living; but it might seem invidious, and shall therefore only instance a notorious one. The dean of Canterbury married a daughter of Archbishop Potter's, and became possessed of six or seven pieces of preferment, to the amount of above £4000 a year of the church revenue, by way of marriage portion."

This was the man satirized by Hogarth, in the print of the "Ass laden with Preferment;" but, so far from being abashed by the sarcasm, he publicly declared that Mr. Hogarth was mistaken in making his back *bend* under the load, for he could bear a great deal more.

The livings in the hands of deans, and chapters, and universities, every one knows, are snugly divided amongst their own members; those of private people, of course, go amongst the sons and relations of the patrons, but if these are wanting, they are publicly sold to the highest bidder. The traffic in church livings is one of the most notorious things in England. The oath on the institution to a living is studiously framed in the most solemn and particular manner to prevent this sin of simony; but it matters not,—he who does not boggle at simony, will not boggle at an oath. Public offices are opened in London for the sale and purchase of livings; and I have in my possession a printed circular letter of one of the holy agents—a letter industriously introduced amongst the clergy, patrons, and those concerned in such affairs. In this "he submits to the clergy,"—these are his own words,—“a scale of charges for business intrusted to his care; he also takes this opportunity to express his acknowledgments for the extensive patronage he has had during the last ten years, and to assure the clergy, that every commission confided to his care will continue to be executed with fidelity and promptitude.

"TERMS:

"INTRODUCTORY FEE, ONE GUINEA.

To be considered as part payment of the first commission exceeding that amount.

"For the sale of an advowson	}	if the purchase-money does not exceed £4000, 2½ per cent.
"For the purchase of an advowson		if the purchase-money is above £4000 and under £7000, 2½ per cent.
"For the sale of a next presentation to a living	}	if the purchase-money is above £7000 and under £10,000, 2 per cent.

"For the purchase of a next presentation to a living	} if the purchase-money is above £10,000, 1½ per cent.
"For the sale of a chapel	
"For the purchase of a chapel	} 5 per cent, on the amount of one year's emolument.
"For procuring a foreign chaplaincy	
"For procuring lectureship	
"For procuring a curacy for a client in orders	
"For procuring an exchange of a living or a curacy	
<i>"Every description of clerical business transacted; livings valued, etc. etc.</i>	

"FOR EVERY LETTER WRITTEN, 3s. 6d."

He then proceeds to inform the clergy, that he has always the names of several *highly respectable* clergymen on his books, and can supply at a day or two's notice deputies to those who incline to be absent: that he has always an extensive list of livings for sale, curacies vacant; livings, chaplaincies, and curacies for exchange. Begs them to remark, that all communications to and from him are *strictly confidential*, offers his services to spare them all publicity in advertising, etc., and then boasts that he has been already employed by upwards of 5000 clergymen!!!

Accordingly advertisements appear every day in the public papers, offering advowsons and next presentations for sale, or seeking to purchase such; and even the evangelical clergy are not too evangelical to enter the sheepfold of Christ by this simoniacal golden ladder; and thus, in the express terms of Christ himself, brand themselves as "thieves and robbers." The law allows the sale of advowsons; and to purchase an advowson, a clergyman therefore thinks no simony. It is the law, he says, and therefore not wrong. No! not wrong, when your canons declare it simony? when you swear a solemn oath that you have obtained the living neither by money nor favour? What the law contemplates is, the sale of advowsons from one layman to another: but it is the *clergyman* who volunteers himself as a purchaser, and does purchase with a clear knowledge that he outrages the spirit of the law, though he evades the letter; that he actually commits moral simony, and perjures himself by taking the most solemn oath on the English Statute-Book. But law or not law, advowsons which the law permits, but the canon forbids, or next presentations which both forbid, it seems all one to the clergy,—there are plenty of purchasers; and their agent boasts of having had his 5000 customers for his simoniacal wares.

In 1824, Mr. Robins sold in Regent Street, the next presentations of seven livings, Wanstead and others, in Essex, contingent on

the lives of Mr. and Mrs. W. T. P. L. Wellesley, aged thirty-six and twenty-five years respectively, the ages of the incumbents ranging from forty-six to sixty-two. These were eagerly purchased by clergymen, and brought a sum total of £13,200.

In the summer of 1844, going one day into the Auction Mart, Bartholomew Lane, I found George Robins in the act of commencing the sale of several church livings. Mounted at his elevated desk with hammer in hand, he was addressing a crowd of clergymen, and others, many of them regular speculators in church livings, in this style:—"Now, gentlemen, I have some prime things for you to-day. The church, let me remind you, gentlemen, is now become the *only good speculation*. It is the *only* line in which you can establish yourselves, or your sons, like gentlemen, and with a chance of success. The army and navy *used* to be good things, but I need not tell *you*, who are a devilish deal cleverer than myself, that it's *no go* there now. War, gentlemen, is a bad spec.—it's over, I can tell you, to the end of the world. You may get a commission, and then go and broil in Bengal, get the yellow fever in Jamaica, imprison yourself on the rock of Gibraltar, or doze away your life in a country barrack; but as for promotion—don't you wish you may get it! Law *used* to be good, but it is *overdone* now by a pretty heap. There are good things still to be got in the law, but then there are a deuced multitude after them, and let me remind ye of one thing—you cannot *buy* 'em! The church, my friends, that's the profession, that's the only genteel, gentlemanly, and *certain* profession. And why *certain*? Because, you can certainly *buy* the best of livings, you that have the money; and here's, in the first place, a good specimen of what's to be had. Let me see—the income of this living is altogether £2000 now the tithes are commuted, which are themselves £1000, and no bother now about collecting. It's a rent, now, gentlemen; it's a rent, and comes in cheerfully, easily, *graciously*—almost of itself. It's within thirty miles of London, in a fine sporting neighbourhood, and"—

"How old's the incumbent?" shouts a short, round, thick man in rusty black, with a great bundle of papers in his hand.

"Old?—why, my friend, you could not well wish him older, he's turned eighty."

"And means to live to a hundred!" cried another voice.

"Is he ill?" bawls another.

"Is he ill?" says George Robins. "That's a delicate point, gentlemen; I do not like to enter into delicate matters, but my learned friend here," turning to a pale young man sitting close under the desk, the legal broker of church livings—"my learned friend has seen him lately, and I dare say can tell you."—"Is he ill, old —?"

"Why no, not *ill* exactly. I should not say *ill*, but he's not strong."

"My friend is cautious, gentlemen. The worthy old man, he

says, is not *ill*, but he's not *strong*, and when a man is turned *eighty*, and is not *strong*, why, I leave you to judge for yourselves. Depend upon it, he's soon for *kingdom come*."

The next presentation was knocked down for £10,000.

Mr. Robins seeing a youth with me, now fixed his attention on me.

"Now, sir, I have just the thing for you. That young gentleman won't want a living for these ten years. Ay, I'm a judge in age—he's about fifteen—in ten years, he's taken orders, seen a little of the world, tried his hand as a curate here and there, got the heart of some rich old bishop's handsome daughter, and at twenty-five, a good age, a very nice age, wishes to settle down in his parsonage. As he's well off himself, and's got a warm wife, he does not want anything extravagant—rather, a pleasant neighbourhood, and easy duty—and here it is. Population of the whole parish only 347; excellent shooting; income, £600 a year. The incumbent is fifty, but, as my learned friend said of the last worthy old gentleman, is *not strong*. I give him at the farthest ten years—and there you are!" Of course, as I did not want this good thing, and plenty of others did, it was quickly knocked off to a rod of the little thick man in rusty black; and I retired, wondering what could be said in defence of a church where such shameless and irreverent, heartless traffic as this was daily going on in the face of all London, except what George Robins himself said for it, "that it is a *certain* speculation for those who *have money*."

"The commerce in the souls of men," says their own Mr. Scott, in his Commentary on the Revelation, "is the most infamous of all traffics that the demon of avarice ever devised, *but by no means uncommon*. . . . The slave trade, cruel, unrighteous, and hateful as it is, is not the worst traffic of our land—for the souls of men are traded for by those who take the care of them, for the sake of the emoluments, and the abundance of the delicacies obtained by it; and then, either leave them to perish in ignorance, or poison them by heresy, or lead them on the road to hell by a profligate example." "A clergyman," says the author of Ecclesiastical Reform, "upon his institution, swears that *he gave not the least consideration whatever, either himself directly or indirectly, nor any person for him, with his privity, knowledge, or consent*, when perhaps he had been personally treating with the patron for the purchase, and even *present* at the payment of the money. I was witness to a notorious instance, in the diocese of Lincoln, where both patron and incumbent were present at the payment; yet the latter, a few days after, took the simoniacal oath, without a scruple, and now resides upon that benefice, near Atherston, in Warwickshire."

But volumes might be advanced on this subject. It is a thing so notorious, that I shall here stop, only adding, that in general no decency or precaution is taken in these bargains: when there is any sense of shame, or tenderness of conscience left, a man's friend

or lawyer buys the living, and presents him to it: *he has ONLY to pay the money, and swear that he has not paid it.*

The consequence of this base venality, of this hardened, shameless traffic in souls, is, that almost all good men are thrust out of the church, by their conscientious scruples against the oaths and subscription to the Articles, as Milton tells us he was, or by the mere weight of money; and it is inundated with those who have no conscience, no scruples, and who have consequently covered it with disgrace—with fine gentlemen, fox-hunters, hunters of levees, drawing-rooms, theatres, operas, clubs, taverns, races, hells, and places of worse name; flatterers of the great; flutterers in assemblies and saloons; card-players, dicers, cock-fighters, boxers; men who are to be found all over the continent, and indeed the world—*except at home*; men who draw their annual thousands from their parish livings, but spend them in Italy, France, Germany, or perhaps so near home as in London! where they are on tiptoe after promotion, in that church in which they already disdain to work. An eminent author, who has had occasion to mix much amongst this class of men for these forty years, observed to me, that he could say but little good of them:—"They are," said he, "such an unsettled generation; they cannot rest, they cannot stay at home, being always agape after some fresh preferment." "There has been," says the Rev. J. Acaster, in his "Church in Danger from Itself," "always a great and fearful laxity in this respect. Had not this been the case, the church would never have groaned under such a swarm of insufficient and worthless creatures, as Hooker quaintly observes,—and who, besides endangering the souls of millions, have brought the priestly office into much contempt, and alienated the minds of men from the Establishment of the land." He adds, "Nearly four-fifths of the parishes throughout the whole kingdom have no resident incumbent. They have none to watch over them, to feed them, to care for their best and highest interest; none to whom they resort for advice, counsel, or succour, in all the trials, sorrows, temptations, and difficulties; none to soothe and comfort them on the bed of affliction and death. Their *legal, paid, rightful*, and most solemnly avowed instructors, are fled. Some, they never see or hear for *five, ten, fifteen, twenty, and even thirty years together*. Some, again, *are born, brought up, marry, have families, live, and die, and enter into eternity, without ever once seeing or hearing their legal teacher*. I speak of numerous facts in all the above instances *within my own knowledge*, and of several incumbents, whose churches and parishes I can see from the place in which I sit and write; so that in regard to the incumbents, *there are millions through the land who have, literally, no man that careth for their souls*. What a consideration! What a fearful consideration!

"And all this is known, and yet tolerated! Yes, it is known, it is tolerated; it is often facilitated by those whose duty it is to stand in the gap; and what is still more fearful and alarming, it

is barred from remedy by the dispensations and liceness of our spiritual rulers."

"Why," asks Blackwood's Magazine, after a similar question respecting the bishops, "is this stripling invested with an important dignity in the church? He is the illegitimate son of a member of the royal family; or he is the same of some nobleman; or he belongs to a family which, in consideration of it, will give the ministry a certain number of votes in parliament. And why is this man endowed with a valuable benefice? He has potent interest; or it will prevent him giving further opposition to measures for injuring the church; or he has voted at an election for a ministerial candidate; or his connexions have much election influence; or he is a political tool of the ministry. . . . *The disposal of church patronage in this manner is not the exception, but the rule*; it is not a matter of secrecy, or one which escapes observation; it is looked upon as a thing of course; and so far has the monstrous abuse been sanctioned by custom, that, while no one expects to see a vacancy in the church filled according to merit, the filling of it in the most profligate way scarcely provokes reprobation.

"A great number of livings are private property. On what principle are they disposed of? The owners fill them without the least regard for qualification; they practically give them to their relatives while yet in the womb or in the cradle; and these relatives enter into orders for no other reason than to enjoy them as private fortunes: or, *clergymen and others buy such livings solely for private benefit*. In the appointment of curates, those are chosen who are the cheapest, the least formidable as rivals, and in consequence, the most disqualified: care for the interests of the church is out of the question.

"These are some of the inevitable consequences. In the first place, the office of clergyman is sought by the very last people who ought to receive it. Before it is decided that a youth shall be a barrister, a physician, an officer in the army, or even a member of a mechanical trade, it is ascertained that he possesses the requisite ability and turn of mind; but his lack of these is too often the reason on which it is decided that he shall be a clergyman. However brainless or profligate he may be, he must still enter into holy orders, because his friends have property or interest in the church. Perhaps they select him for it in preference to his brothers, because he happens to be the dunce of the family. While the most improper men are thus impelled to enter into holy orders, the most fitting men are restricted from it. What can the man of talent and piety hope for as a clergyman, if he be destitute of fortune and friends? Preferment is to him impossible; his merit alone is a positive bar to it. He can scarcely regard a curacy as an attainable matter,—for his ability might make him too popular; his integrity might incapacitate him for joining in an illegal bargain; and his piety might bring on him the imputation of evangelism. To

give all this the most comprehensive powers of mischief, almost any man may, so far as concerns ability and character, gain admission to holy orders. A clergyman may be destitute of religious feeling; he may be grossly immoral; he may discharge his duties in the most incompetent manner, and lose his flock; he may almost do any thing short of legal crime, and still he will neither forfeit his living, nor draw upon himself any punishment. . . . *Can a single reason be urged, why this monstrous state of things should be continued?*"

This, surely, will be enough for any man of reason or feeling: a description of the church, made by its own friends, representing it more pernicious, profligate, and nationally disgraceful than any church which ever existed, scarcely excepting the papal in its worst days. Mr. Acaster does not hesitate to declare that, unless unhopèd-for reformation comes, it must speedily fall. Not a syllable more is necessary; yet, before taking leave of it, let us see in what light it is held by intelligent foreigners; for they can have no interest to contend with, no partiality or prejudice to blind their judgment. The German prince Pückler Muscau, who a few years ago visited England, describes the strange sensation it produced in him to see clergymen flying over hedge and ditch after the hounds, or betting on the race ground; to find prelates with their £50,000 a year who never preached, pastors who never saw their flocks, and in Ireland often with several thousands a year, and no flock at all. He came to one place in which the protestant clergyman, compelled to preach once a year in his parochial church by the terms of his induction to the office, was obliged to get a catholic to act as clerk for him, there being no single protestant in that or the adjoining parishes. Another foreign nobleman also gives this

CHARACTER OF A DIGNIFIED ENGLISH CLERGYMAN.

"An English clergyman is a man of distinguished birth, surrounded by a numerous family, provided with a rich benefice, living in luxury, participating in every pleasure, in all the enjoyments of the world, playing, hunting, dancing, attending the theatres, neither grave nor serious, unless nature has made him so: he is one who hoards his emoluments in order to settle his children; who spends his fortune in wagering, in horses, in dogs, sometimes (when he is thoughtless and devoid of foresight) with a mistress; in any event, giving little to the poor, and leaving their care, and the fulfilment of duties which he disdains, to some unfortunate curate, who for a miserable stipend is obliged to exhibit the virtues which the incumbent despises and neglects.

"A black dress, but not distinguished in its cut from that of the rest of society, is worn by clergymen of *bon ton*, by those younger sons of noble families, who only belong to the church in consequence of the fortune it provides for them. These are the priests who are oftener seen at Epsom, Doncaster, and Newmarket, at

the sporting parties of Norfolk and Yorkshire, than in the pulpit. The clerical costume interferes in England with none of the enjoyments of the world; those who wear it do not hesitate to appear at balls and routs, or in opera stalls, and they have no scruples at being seen in a box at the Adelphi or the Olympic.

"There are very few clergymen who know the number, or the names, or the wants of the poor of their parish; these matters they consider as being out of the pale of their obligations. They are not seen leaving their commodious dwellings to sit by the bed of the sick, or to carry to the chamber of death the consolations of religion."—(*Great Britain in 1833, by Baron d'Haussez.*)

Here, then, let us pause, with this concluding observation. There are fond friends of the church who will say all its ministers are not such. They are not. We will hope and believe that there are not wanting really good men amongst them; but how few ~~must~~ they be under such a system! There is one class, indeed, which does not rank amongst the profligate; a class which goes under the name of "good sort of men." And what are these good sort of men? Why, they are men who regularly read their Sunday sermon, and are sober and quiet when they are seen. They are men that one should not blame if they were merely laymen; and should not blame now, *except* that they do nothing *but* read their sermon; that on week days they are scarcely to be found in their parish three hours; or if they be, it is either farming or dining with the squire. As to visiting the poor, enlightening their ignorance, comforting their harassed minds, sitting by the sick bed and cheering the sinking soul with views of a better world, promoting schools for the children, contributing to the wants of their humble parishioners, or, in short, exercising one of the many important functions implied by the very name of a village pastor, these good sort of men are utterly strangers to the whole business, and often totally unfit for it, were they disposed to attempt it. I knew the rector of a large country parish, with at least 500 inhabitants, who the year round, excepting during the shooting season, when seen at all, was only seen to mount his gig immediately after breakfast, and drive away;—where he went, nobody seemed to know or inquire; all that was known of him was, that

Much to himself he thought and little spoke,
And, undeprived, his benefice forsook.

The poor people, when in need of sympathy and solace under the loss of their dearest relatives, or whenever the cheering voice of true religion is most precious, would as soon have thought of seeking it from the village butcher, as from him; when on their deathbeds, they would as naturally have looked for the prayers of the village pinder. They might venture to open their hearts to the squire in some of their little troubles, and ask him to see that there was a school for their children, but to have told them that they

should go to the rector on these occasions, as their appointed adviser and best friend—they would have been stricken into a strange silence; and if you asked the cause of it,—“Oh! the rector was such a gentleman, and so close, and they really did not know much of him;” (after ten years’ possession of the living;—) and yet they would add in their ignorant simplicity, “but he is a good sort of man; he regularly does service once a week, and marries and buries all himself!” What would Bernard Gilpin or George Herbert have said to this “good sort of man?” Nay, what would Fenelon, and many a good catholic have said?—much more the host of missionaries of all creeds, who have put their lives in their hands, and gone out to encounter and dwell amongst the savages of every savage region of the world. Eliot, Zeisberger, Brainerd, Swartz, Hans Egede, Jens Haven, or the pious and unwearied Herrnhuters? These good men, be they of what church they will, are the salt of the earth; and be they bound up with whatever system they may, we acknowledge them the beneficent children of that beneficent Christ, who suffered all evil and wrought all good.

CHAPTER XXV.

PRIESTCRAFT IN IRELAND.

But to go a little deeper into this matter of *legal establishments*. Does Mr. Conon, or you, think, *that the king and parliament have a right to prescribe to me what pastor I shall use?* If they prescribe one which I know God never sent, am I obliged to receive him with a clear conscience till I know he is? And even when I do know, if I believe my former pastor is more profitable to my soul, can I leave him without sin? Or, **HAS ANY MAN LIVING A RIGHT TO REQUIRE THIS OF ME?**

JOHN WESLEY.—*LIFE OF WESLEY*, p. 313.

THE Irish and Scotch churches have been incidentally introduced into the preceding chapters on the English church, and some of the existing enormities of ecclesiastical injustice in Ireland pointed out; but the destructive and disgraceful nature of a state religion would be very imperfectly perceived, did we omit to make a more distinct statement of its effects in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. Those effects have been uniformly the moral, intellectual, and physical oppression of the people.

Ireland has always been treated as a conquered country. Though it had been annexed to the English crown by the gift of Pope Adrian III., who, as the vicegerent and representative of Christ on earth, claimed to do what he willed in the kingdoms of men, and by the arms of Henry II., in the middle of the twelfth century, yet so little was the attention paid to it, that it is scarcely heard of in English history till the reign of Queen Elizabeth, four hundred years after. All this time it had remained in a semi-barbarous state, and, in a great measure, in the hands of its native chiefs. The church of Rome, however, having got footing in it under Henry II., had more diligently cultivated its power in it, and had converted it wholly to its faith. Elizabeth, resolving to subdue it at once to her civil and ecclesiastical power, sent over the largest army she ever raised, first under the command of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, and afterwards of Lord Mountjoy and Lord Carew. By her arms she succeeded in reducing the rebel chiefs to obedience, but she did little or nothing to consolidate the civil government of the island with the rest of the empire, treating it entirely as a conquest, parcelling out the land amongst her officers and nobles, and refusing the natives the benefit of English laws, though earnestly petitioned for by them. James I. gave them such laws, and treated them in some degree better; but from that day to our own times, the

treatment of Ireland by the British government has been one tissue of the most gross injustice and impolitic oppression. It appears, from the historians of the age, that the revenue of Ireland in Elizabeth's time amounted to but about six thousand a year, and that it cost her twenty thousand a year more to maintain sufficient soldiers there to keep down the people. In every age of our possession of it, it has been a loss to the government, and a gain only to those English soldiers and adventurers who sought it as a prey. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to trace the career of our crimes in Ireland, through the massacres and slaughters of the different periods, especially of Charles I., of Cromwell, Charles II., and William III. Suffice it to say, that its sturdy chiefs were subdued, and their lands divided amongst English and Scotch adventurers; the natives of the whole province of Ulster being dispossessed, and their place usurped by the conquerors. The natives saw their kings and chiefs successively overthrown and destroyed; their ancient families, whom they held in high veneration, reduced to beggary and exile; haughty strangers lording it over their heritages; nay, their very religion was not left sacred. It was denounced as a bloody and detestable superstition; all those wealthy lands, tithes, churches, and monasteries, which the piety of their fathers had conferred on this church, were rudely rent out of their hands, and given over to a knot of English grandees, and of priests whom they looked on as heretics and robbers. Seeing their property, their honour, their religious endowments, the civil and municipal government of their own country, thus ravished from them, and put into the hands of their conquerors, and themselves treated with personal ignominy and violence, the consequence was, that the first opportunity which presented itself for the recovery of their liberties and the revenge of their wrongs, they seized upon, when Charles I. was involved in hostilities with his own parliament, and massacred the greater part of the English in the island. Great have been the horror and indignation of English historians, at what they call this barbarous and devilish massacre. Dreadful and cruel indeed it was, but they who so vehemently condemn it, should reflect on the insults, the injuries, and ages of rapine and violence of every kind, which had provoked it. It is a thing to shudder, but not to wonder at. It was perfectly natural in all its detestableness. It was just such an outburst of revenge as might be expected from a semi-barbarous and superstitious people, whom no pains had been taken to conciliate, to civilize, or to evangelize. It was not, in fact, to be expected, that a rude but high-spirited nation would willingly submit to see their pastors all driven from the churches built and endowed by their fathers, and their places supplied by a handful of English, who enjoyed the revenues, and were established by law to preach protestantism, but knew no language but their own, and therefore could be of no use to the natives. Laud had introduced the Thirty-nine Articles of the English church in 1634, and insisted on per-

fect conformity to its creed; in other words, the swarming population of that country were to renounce the religion of their fathers, and to take that of a handful of strangers amongst them, or to be cut off from all civil functions and privileges, and be treated as aliens on their native soil. These insults, added to a thousand others of a political nature, brought on the massacre in 1641, in which a vast number of English perished, variously estimated at from 40,000 to 150,000. As soon as the civil war allowed leisure, Cromwell passed over to Ireland, and took a bloody vengeance for the massacre. In about nine months he had laid the whole country prostrate before him. Clarendon says, "Nearly 100,000 natives, called Tories, were transported into foreign parts for the service of the kings of France and Spain; double that number were consumed by the plague, famine, and other severities exercised upon them in their own country; the remainder were transplanted by Cromwell into the most inland, barren, desolate, and mountainous parts of the province of Connaught. Thus they lived in all the infamy of a conquered nation till the restoration of Charles II." Charles himself, contrary to all his promises, as was his wont, restored the English hierarchy in all its strength.

The continued system of outrage and oppression practised by England upon Ireland, both in church and state, again brought on a rebellion in the year 1798, in the reign of George III. In 1791, a number of Irish patriots formed themselves into "The Society of United Irishmen," binding themselves by oath to seek "an equality of civil rights amongst all religious professions;" and "to obtain a complete reform in the legislature, on the principles of civil, political, and religious liberty." On the other hand, the protestant bigots and leeches of Ireland, who lived on its miseries, and flourished on the exclusion of the great catholic multitude from all office and power, organized "Orange Societies," to keep up the cry of political faction, and, in the name of the protestant faith, to do the worst injuries to the protestant religion. The spirit that was raised by this antagonism, by witnessing the triumph of American liberty, and the destruction of the old system of tyranny and popular exclusion in France, terminated in that unfortunate rebellion, in which Ireland lost some of her finest spirits, as Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Robert Emmett, etc., and saw the destruction of thirty thousand lives. What is more, as has been clearly demonstrated by Mr. O'Connell, on his late trial, government by its spies fomented and encouraged this rebellion, that it might use it as a plea to take away the Irish parliament; which it did by the most monstrous practice of bribery and corruption in history, and at a cost of nearly five millions of money to this country!

If we except the brief reign of James II., the catholics of Ireland, the bulk of its people, have received not the slightest favour for the last three hundred years from our government till the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill. The Tories and high churchmen now plume themselves with the title of the Defenders

of Protestantism, are proud of being Orangemen, and toast the glorious memory of King William, though their own ancestors of King William's time were the enemies of King William. They hated him as a presbyterian, and did all they could to withstand his government, while they would fain have extirpated their brother protestants, the presbyterians of Ulster. Even in that province, where the presbyterians were the multitude, and their ministers did the duty, the established clergy claimed all the tithes. Yet such is the effect of state pay, that, the presbyterians being allowed by grant of William an allowance from the government, which has been repeatedly augmented by subsequent monarchs, under the name of *regium donum*, we have lately seen these said presbyterians coalescing with their ancient enemies, lauding the principle of state establishment, and calling the English episcopal church their *sister church*! That sister which drove them with fire and sword out of Scotland, which would have extirpated them in Ireland if permitted! That *sister church* which their covenanting ancestors declared to be the daughter of the great harlot of Rome; which, on the other hand, as Stephens, in his *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, candidly confesses, "has never yet conceded the title of a *sister church* to the church of Scotland;" which, indeed, declares and maintains that "no church, which cannot show an unbroken chain of episcopal ordination from the apostolic age, is a *church at all*, or its *ministers ministers of the gospel*!" That church, thus rejecting scornfully the title of *sister*, they have seen living till the very moment of this laudation, on the wealth of a nation which it did not teach, and filling the country with blood and bitterness for tithes for which it did not preach;—priests, many of them, without churches, and others with churches, but no people. Truly, "a fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind." In what does the *sistership* between presbyterianism and episcopacy consist, *except in state pay*?

So extraordinary a spectacle as the established church of Ireland the whole world beside does not present. Here is a nation of 7,943,940, according to the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction of 1835, or, in round numbers, 8,000,000 of inhabitants, of whom, according to the same authority, 6,427,712, or, in round numbers, allowing for increase of population since, 7,000,000, have been treated as aliens; their religion barely tolerated, and made a reason for thrusting them out of the civil and political privileges of their own land; their own church property taken from them, and bestowed upon about 800,000 of this body, chiefly the descendants of strangers. Here are the priests of these 800,000 living on the plundered wealth of the 7,000,000, amounting, by the ecclesiastical returns of 1834, to £873,233; but by more probable calculations, as I have shown in Chapter XVIII. of this work, to nearly £2,000,000 per annum; and contending that the 7,000,000 are not fit to be trusted with the management of their own affairs. The Emancipation Bill made them fit to transact

the affairs of the united empire, yet to this hour they have not been able to acquire a right to share in the enjoyment of their own special property. How, then, is this, that they are so unfit, when a body of churchmen are kept by the state at an expense of £2,000,000 a year to convert and to enlighten them?

But all the world knows the wondrous story of the Irish church. With all this wealth, it has not converted anybody. Why? Let us look at a few statistics of this church, and we should wonder much if it had. Mr. Rilands, a clergyman of the church of England, in his "*Ecclesiæ Decus et Tutamen*," says, "From the time of the conquest of Ireland down to this hour, the church of England established in that country, has entirely neglected to preach to nearly *two-fifths* of the population." He adds, that they *could not* even preach or speak the language of those they were paid to convert, and that the state had never taken any means to secure such ministers as could speak Irish. That though they did no duty, they yet had always exacted the pay even from the most destitute, with a savage ferocity unknown to our courts of law, while many of the parishes of this starving population "have been without incumbents, without houses for their residence, or churches in which they can preach." Such, from age to age, has been the condition of the Irish clergy; yet was Trinity college, Dublin, erected and endowed with an archiepiscopal revenue to educate and send forth clergymen well prepared for the office; and one would have thought that the first qualification would have been to speak the native tongue. Schools, too, were founded and endowed so early as 1669, by Erasmus Smith, a worthy alderman of London, for the education of youth, and charters obtained; and various other schools were established and chartered by government, chiefly for educating foundlings, or the children of popish parents, in protestant principles. *Fifty-seven* of these schools were in existence in 1769, but so little did the dignitaries of the church watch over them, that Howard the philanthropist found them soon after that period in the most wretched condition—the children in all these schools amounting only to 1,400, and those "such sickly and miserable objects that they were a disgrace to all society." The funds were embezzled by individuals instead of educating the people. At the end of the 18th century, the commissioners reported that no considerable reform had been effected in those schools.

But if the schools were bad, the church itself was worse. Twenty-two archbishops and bishops, thirty-three deans, thirty-three archdeacons, one hundred and sixty-eight prebendaries, four canons, and nineteen chancellors, with 1,338 churches, which, of course, ought to have had parsons, and these dignitaries and parsons enjoying a revenue of nearly two millions, had not been able to work any conversion, while the religion of the 7 out of 8,000,000 of the population was carried on and paid for on the voluntary principle! In the reports of parliamentary commissioners in 1833

and 1835 appear these facts. Out of 1,472 endowed benefices, there are only 889 resident incumbents. In 210 *there is no church*; in 158 of the benefices, *no divine service is performed either by the incumbent or by a curate*. In 57 parishes or districts, comprising 3,030 nominal members of the established church, there is no provision for religious ordinances according to the forms of that church. There are 41 *benefices in which there is no member of the established church*. Out of 20 benefices, in which the total income is £5,019 11s., there were but 179 members or hearers; 18 out of the 20 had no resident clergyman, and, what was worse, had no church.

Archdeacon Glover, in 1835, when called upon to attend a meeting to address the king to preserve the temporalities of the church, denounced, in a letter to Dr. Pellew, the dean of Norwich, the state of the Irish church in strong terms, and particularly adverted to the fact of "eight, ten, or even more parishes being consolidated to form one rich living; that living without either church, or manse, or protestant congregation; its incumbent enjoying, through a tithe agent, its large emoluments; and these emoluments wrung from a population, who never behold the face of their minister, or hear from his lips one word of exhortation." Nothing is more common—nothing for years was more common—than while the tithe agents were rifling the houses of the starving peasantry for this revenue, or carrying them to prison; while the soldiers attending him were firing on the peasantry, or the peasantry were murdering them; the parson himself was comfortably rolling in his carriage through Italy or France, or enjoying the luxuries of London, Bath, or Paris. Of such unions of parishes the reports are full. I can give only a specimen or two:—*Ballymakill* in Tuam, a union of *nine parishes*, one of which is *thirteen miles* from the rest of the benefices, and *twenty-seven miles* from the church. *Burnchurch* in Ossory, is a union of *fourteen parishes*, three of which are at opposite extremities of the county of Kilkenny. In the diocese of Emly, out of a population of 98,363, the numbers of the established church are 1,246, or only 1½ per cent. of the whole. The diocese, which contains 42 parishes, is divided into 17 benefices, in *seven* of which the incumbent is *resident*, and is *non-resident* in the remaining *ten*, in *five* of which *no divine service is performed*. The amount of tithes in this diocese exceeds £7,000. The dignitaries and prebendaries of this diocese have separate revenues, to the annual amount of £4,554 10s. 6½d. The united incomes of the 17 benefices is £7,967 18s. 5d. There is an economy estate of 111 acres, and there have been granted, for building churches and glebe houses, £5,670 in gifts and £4,320 in loans. Such is the state of the church in the diocese of Emly.

But we might travel over all Ireland in this manner. Lord John Russell, in a debate, in April, 1835, on church reform, stated that "four adjacent parishes, having for incumbents *four absentee* rectors, drawing a total revenue from those benefices of £2,025, or £500 on the average, were served by *two curates* for twenty years at £75

each. Thus, in twenty years, the curates who performed the services drew £5,000, while the sinecurist absentees drew for doing nothing £37,000." Yet, with these facts before him, and moreover all the facts of the atrocities occasioned by the collecting of this revenue—the distrains, the imprisonments, the wrath, the starvation, the violence and bloodshed,—such as that at the ever-memorable Rathcormac; at Inniscarra, where the Rev. Mr. Beresford himself loaded the pistols with swan-drops; at Newtownbarry, in 1832, where twenty-three people were massacred; at Wallstown, at Mooncoin, and a hundred other places,—did this same Lord John soon after declare, that the church of England, of which this church is part and parcel, was "*established on just, wise, and beneficent principles.*"*

The "justice, wisdom, and beneficence" of the foundation and practice of this church, however, do not stop here. They do not cease with thus making over Ireland to a small body of drones thus revelling in the honey of the industrious bees, but they also burden this country with the cost of a great army, to enable these clerical drones to seize this honey, and to prevent their being stung to death in return. In 1834, Mr. Ward stated in his place in parliament, that, "since 1825, from 23,000 to 29,000 men have been regularly quartered in Ireland; as nearly as possible the same amount of forces as was required for our Indian empire, and within one-third of the forces employed to *occupy all our colonies in the other three quarters of the world!* From April 1, 1833, to March 1, 1834, during which there were 19,452 men quartered in Ireland, the expense of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, for the Irish department, amounted to £1,025,621. In addition to this there was a police force, the expense of which had been increasing each successive year. In 1830, the Irish police force cost £256,663; in 1831, £268,119; and in 1832, £287,192; and since 1832, the expense had been greater in proportion. All this expenditure had been occasioned by the tithe system." Thus, in soldiers and police, it has cost us annually nearly a million and half to enable the Irish non-resident parsons to be playing cards at Bath, while the tithe was forced from their starving victims, and such scenes as that at Rathcormac perpetrated, where the Rev. Archdeacon Ryder, and a body of other magistrates, ordered the soldiers to fire on the people, and saw twelve killed, besides others wounded! All this, besides lending the same merciful clergy a million of money which they never repaid,—clergy who, so far from spreading the gospel themselves, have steadily resisted its diffusion by others. A portion of their body being struck with a sense of their awful responsibility, and having formed themselves, about the year 1832, into "A Home Missionary Society," to perambulate the

* No doubt of it. We now see that every day, in the elevation of some Russell to some church dignity. Is not that a wise church too, in which the Russells have twenty-seven hereditary livings?

country, and preach to the neglected people, soon found themselves attacked by the dog-in-the-manger incumbents, and persecuted on the plea of irregularity, in preaching in unconsecrated buildings! Rather than souls should be saved on a common or in a barn, these pious and well-paid priests had rather they were not saved at all! Now, let any one who wishes to convince himself of the comparative value of state-paid and voluntary churches, look back to Chapter XXI., where the rapid increase of the church in America is noticed, and then revert to this Irish state establishment, which in land, tithes, soldiers, and police, costs this country about three and a half millions a year, to maintain about a thousand parsons, to disseminate bigotry, dissension, ignorance, plunder, and bloodshed!—hated amongst the people, and terrible to government!

What labour might our government save itself, to be more usefully bestowed, where, moreover, it is most cryingly wanted, in the settlement of the vast, and accumulating, and every day more entangling civil affairs of this nation, if it would cut the foul snaky knot which binds church and state together, appropriate the enormous wealth with which the ecclesiastical machine is loaded to the discharge of our debts, and leave the clergy, instead of obstructing religion, to exert themselves, and make it flourish as beyond the Atlantic! What an unspeakable relief to our encumbered government, to be quit of all care about churches; to leave them to take care of themselves, as they are well able to do; and to have only on their hands *the care of the state!*

CHAPTER XXVI.

PRIESTCRAFT IN WALES.

WALES presents another striking example of the folly and abomination of a state church. It presents another proof of the awful responsibility of a people, which suffers its government to maintain at their expense such an engine of spiritual ruin.

The inhabitants of the principality, at the Reformation, being made over to the care of four bishops, certain deans and chapters, and about 800 parsons; the English government very comfortably concluded, as it has been accustomed to do in its wisdom, that it had done all that mortal man could do for the salvation of the souls of Welshmen; and the English people as comfortably, in their accustomed acquiescence, concluded, that all was going on well. How much then was this public of easy faith astonished, about the latter end of the last century, to find that it had been completely deluded, and that for 200 years, its well-fed parsons and jolly dignitaries had absolutely done nothing at all towards the regeneration of the population. All that it had done was just what state-endowed priests always did do, and always will do, take care of themselves and families, and leave the devil to shepherd their flocks, on condition that he do not meddle with the fleece.

The Rev. Thomas Charles, a young clergyman, having taken his degree at Oxford, married, and settled at Lanymowddy, near Bala, in North Wales, began to enter on the duties of the curacy there with all that zeal which a young spirit, impressed with the importance of the pastoral office, naturally feels. He was speedily struck with amazement and consternation to find, that, instead of his ardent and active services for the good of the people being cordially responded to by the neighbouring clergy and the gentry, they were made causes of wrath and complaint against him. He was, in short, quickly dismissed from his curacy, and found it impossible to obtain any other employment in the church. He intimated his willingness to serve gratis, but his services were not wanted on any terms. In order to procure that engagement elsewhere that the clergy of Wales would not give him, he forwarded his credentials to the well-known Rev. Robert Newton, to London. These, by some chance, were lost, and the doors of the church being thus, at least for a time, shut against him, he betook himself to the education of the children of the poor. The more

he looked about him on all sides, the more he became struck with the scene of ignorance and neglect which all Wales presented. The old were sitting in the darkness of centuries of neglect; the young were growing up in the same. No pains had been taken to instruct them from the pulpit in their mother tongue; few or none of the clergy could even speak it. No care had been taken to teach the young even to read the New Testament; nay, New Testaments they had none. To use the words of an authority to which we shall quickly turn again, "During the reign of the houses of Tudor and Stuart, several Welshmen were inducted; *but not one since the accession of the house of Brunswick! The consequence was, that the prelates brought into their respective dioceses, their sons, nephews, and cousins, to the ninth degree of consanguinity; the next consequence was, a change of service, on the borders, from Welsh into English; and a third and important consequence was, the desertion of the church.*"

That was the beautiful and legitimate consequence of a state establishment; of setting Mammon to appoint and fatten in his Castle of Indolence the ministers of a church, instead of leaving it to the people to select and appoint their own. As direct a consequence also was, that any one like Mr. Charles, presuming to disturb their slumbers, would be chased away, as, and that truly, a very dangerous fellow, not to the people, not to religion, but to them. As I have before pointed out, the invariable practice of a state-fed and corrupted clergy is, not only to cover the whole district in which they are located with an Egyptian darkness; in which they may the better hide their own sloth, but also to drive from the church any man who would really and even gratuitously instruct the people.

In the early part of the last century, the Rev. Griffith Jones, the rector of Llandowrer in Caermarthenshire, had started from the slumber which surrounded him, and commenced a zealous ministry amongst the people, to the no small scandal of his sluggish brethren. He went out into the fields and churchyards through the country, to preach to the people, thousands of whom flocked to him, so that he soon acquired the name of the Welsh Apostle. His zeal was not only contagious amongst the people, but amongst the younger clergy. The Rev. Howell Harris, curate of Llys y frân in Pembrokeshire, the Rev. Daniel Rowlands of Cardiganshire, Mr. Howell Harris of Breconshire, a gentleman educated for the church, but who refused to take orders on account of what he had witnessed in the church; these joined Mr. Jones, in his zealous preachings and instruction of the poor, but soon found the pulpits and houses of the clergy closed against them, and were compelled to join with Whitefield on his appearance in Wales. Though repelled by the state parsons, the people received them with open arms. They preached through the country, in houses, barns, and fields, on commons or on mountains, and

the Author of Christianity proved to them that his religion was as effectually to be propagated there as when he taught it in such places himself.

Mr. Charles now found himself compelled to join this body, if he did not mean to forego his usefulness in the world. He found himself received in a very different manner to what he had been by the plethoric Sybarites of the state Sleeping-Establishment. The people flew to hear him, and though every church in the country was closed, the country itself was all open to him. Preachers also sprung up in numbers; he travelled through the entire principality, forming associations, encouraging the erection of chapels, and preaching every where. If any evidence was wanting to prove whether the established church had neglected the people, or the people their instructions, that was soon afforded, for wherever the people were addressed in their own tongue, and with earnestness, they immediately responded to it. Here, then, the uselessness of a state establishment, and the all-sufficiency of the voluntary principle, was once more shown. That which the whole Welsh staff of state clergy could not do in two hundred years, was accomplished by voluntary labourers, and the hills and valleys of Wales were soon covered every where with dissenters of various kinds.

But Mr. Charles did not content himself with preaching and organizing societies; he saw the whole population of children existing in profound ignorance, and he planned a system of itinerant charity schools. He raised subscriptions amongst the wealthy of England, and sent out a number of schoolmasters to teach the children of the poor to read the New Testament. This task they generally accomplished on children of a proper age in about nine months, when they again moved on, each to a fresh location. The grand difficulty which arose in this process, was the want of Welsh Testaments. There were no such things in the hands of the people, though they had had the *presence*, benefit I cannot say, of a wealthy hierarchy for two centuries. Mr. Charles, therefore, made a strong appeal once more to the piety and benevolence of the English public, representing, to its surprise, the utter want of the Scriptures in Wales; and by this appeal he became the originator of *The British and Foreign Bible Society*! He set up night and Sunday schools for those who could not attend his day schools. The "Society for the Support and Encouragement of Sunday Schools" in London, made him their agent for North Wales, and, thus assisted, he spread about Testaments and spelling books in abundance. In 1803, such was the great demand for school books, etc., that he set up a printing press at Bala. "Whatever," said he in one of his letters, "we attempted of this nature, succeeded wonderfully; till the whole country was filled with schools of one sort or another, and all were taught at once. The blessed effects were corresponding." "Not only," says Mr. Timpson, in his *British Ecclesiastical History*, "was Mr. Charles the chief

leader of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales for many years, but his various, and judicious, and persevering labours were, under the blessing of God, the means of a *general reformation of the country.*"

Let the advocates of political machinery for manufacturing religion, pause and reflect a moment on that. Let them contemplate what may be done by the zeal of one man, one state-priest rejected, and, therefore, unfettered man. Let them reflect with shame, that this man, spurned from them, set about and did that which these stall-fed priests should have done two hundred years before, but never did at all. But let them not blame those priests, but the state which corrupted them. They were but human nature, and human nature in all ages and all places, under the same circumstances, has been found exactly the same. Set any number of shepherds on cushions, and place before them a luxurious feast which is to last for life, and if they do not speedily grow gross, lethargic, drop asleep, and let fall their crooks into the hands of Satan, to catch their own sheep with, they will be the most extraordinary shepherds that the world ever saw! It seems, indeed, as if, on the contrary, it was necessary that, for men to become successful winners of men, they should be rejected men,—rejected of the high priests and political authorities of their time, as their Master, Christ, himself was. Wycliffe, Luther, Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were all rejected men. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and their contemporaries, had sore cause to rue what they did under the commands of royalty; it was only when they became rejected that they became great and useful. Fox, the Wesleys, Whitefield, the founders of every flourishing body of Christians, were all rejected men.

The astonishing and sudden growth of dissent in Wales attracted that attention which its former ignorance and neglect had failed to do. The ROYAL CAMBRIAN SOCIETY of London, therefore, offered a medal for the best "Essay on the Causes of Dissent in Wales," and this medal was awarded, at an Eisteddvod of the Institution in May, 1831, to the masterly essay of Mr. Arthur James Johns. From the reprint of this able work in 1832, I shall give the following extracts as sufficiently explanatory of the causes of the extraordinary facts I have already stated. Nothing but Ireland can show us a similar scene of national wealth apportioned so mischievously to both clergy and people.

"Churches and chapels of ease in Wales in 1832, 829. Some new churches have been built within the last century, but more have fallen to ruins. Total number of dissenting chapels in 1832, 1,428.* Mr. Johns says, that "before the rise of Methodism in Wales the churches were as little attended by the great mass of the people as now. *Indifference to all religion* prevailed as widely as *dissent* in the present day. That, if the influential members of the church had evinced the same zeal as was done by Griffith Jones and his coadjutors, the Welsh peasantry would have con-

* Now, 1840, supposed to amount to about 1,800.

tinued to look to the church for instruction, instead of seeking it from the Methodists. But that it is many years since the people of Wales had a prelate that was at all imbued with a religious spirit, or who paid personal and unremitting regard either to their temporal or spiritual interests. From the year 1601 to 1640, St. Asaph was governed by Welsh bishops, but from 1761 to 1800 exclusively by English. During the English period, the best benefices were generally bestowed on gentlemen conspicuous only for their connexion with the prelate or their patrons. They were constant absentees from Wales, and neither reason nor justice required that the principality should be drained to reward them. Pluralities existed under the Welsh bishops to much less extent, and were then, too, enjoyed chiefly by Welshmen resident in the country, and not, like most of the present modern English sinecure pluralists of St. Asaph, *stationed on another cluster of pluralities in the remotest counties of England.*"

"From 1745 to 1830, of the highest dignities of the church, *seventy-three* were enjoyed by Englishmen, and *ten* only by Welshmen."

"Should an English bishop be guilty of nepotism in England, the duty may still be efficiently performed; but in Wales, every relation of a bishop is in language a foreigner; and his uncouth attempts to officiate in a tongue unintelligible to himself, can be felt by his congregation as nothing but a profanation of the worship of God."

When this was complained of in parliament in the time of the Whigs, that *great and enlightened statesman*, Lord John Russell, scouted the idea of the clergy making themselves masters of and preaching to the people in the language they understood. On that principle, he observed, we might also govern the country in Welsh; adding, that as Wales was now a part of this country, it was fitting the people should rather learn our language. Very true; but why don't you then teach it them? Have your clergy for *three hundred years* made the slightest attempt to do that? And were they not sent there and well paid to evangelize the country? Till the people, therefore, *were taught* to speak English, it surely became a handful of learned and well-paid *Christian ministers*, to study the tongue of their hearers. If they neither took pains to learn Welsh, nor teach English, what did they there? The Methodists have given the answer;—they were there to take their pay and lose all the people.

"Were I to affirm," continues Mr. Johns, "that the English bishops of Wales have been more fastidious in the distribution of their patronage than their brethren of England, I should contradict the indignant assertion of almost every intelligent writer on Welsh subjects. No where has the church of England been more disgraced by a selfish distribution of patronage. On putting to a gentleman, upon whose accuracy I can rely, the following question—'What proportion of the collective income of the Welsh

church is held by Englishmen?' I received this answer,—Four bishoprics (the whole); a great proportion of the deaneries, prebends, and sinecure rectories; and many, if not most, of the canonries!"

"PATRONAGE IN SOUTH WALES. Most of the church patronage is shared between laymen, the crown, and sinecurists in England and Wales. Hence, under the influence of personal friendship or political connexion, the parishes are filled with ministers unsuited to them. The bishops usually take but very little pains to encourage deserving pastors, and often prefer Englishmen to Welsh benefices. Pluralists and absenteeism exist to a great extent. Thus a very small fund is left for the generality of the clergy, who are reduced to abject poverty. Many of them are obliged to keep farms, situated often in distant parishes from those which they serve. A great many of them serve *two* or *three* places of worship every Sunday; in many churches, service is only performed once a day, and that at an inconvenient hour. These abuses exist to a less extent in the southern parts of South Wales; but in Cardiganshire, Radnorshire, and Caermarthenshire this is the general course of things. Of *seventy-one* parishes in Cardiganshire, including chapels of ease, not more than *thirty* are held by *residents*, at the same time that the revenues of the church are squandered in sinecures, under the circumstances just described."

"PATRONAGE IN NORTH WALES. ABSENTEEISM. Anglesea contains seventy-five parishes, chapelries included; sixty-two of these are in the hands of *non-resident incumbents*; fifty-five have *no resident minister whatever!* Total number of incumbents forty; non-residents, twenty-two; benefices without either incumbent or curate, nineteen. CURATES. Nineteen parishes are served by *six* curates. The curate of Llanrhyddlad and three other parishes, travels fourteen miles every Sunday. The curate of Ceirchiog and of two others has to travel ten miles along a wretched road. The curate of Llanvachreth and of two others has to travel eight miles."

"BISHOPRIC OF ST. ASAPH. Dr. Carey, bishop. Manors and lands in Flintshire, £1,600; manor of St. Martin's, £200; ditto at Llandegle, £80. The above manors produce little emolument to the bishop, in consequence of their having been almost all leased on very advantageous terms by Bishops Shipley and Luxmoore; and, in most instances, to their relatives. The Rev. C. J. Luxmoore is lessee of Llandegle. Mrs. Shipley, of one half of St. Martins, etc. Pensions, spiritualia, and lectualia, £400. Rectories of Llanasaph, £600, Llan-y-Bodwel, £150, St. Asaph, £30, Rhuddlan, £12. Tithes of Aberchwiler, £400, Hellan, £300, Llansilin, £130. In 1567, the following rectories were annexed: Newmarket, £250, Abergele, £150, Llangwstenin, £300, Llysvaen, £35, Llanelian, £130, Bettws, £120, Dyserth, £400, Llan St. Ffraid, £300. In 1662, taken into commendam Llandrinio, £560, Llandysilio, £450, Melorley, £200. Added in 1687, Northope, £800, Flint, £60. Added 1759, Llandrillo, 320. In 1810, Pennant taken into commendam, £300. Some of the preceding parishes are leased—

Aberchwiler to Mrs. Shipley; Llanasaph to the Very Rev. C. S. Luxmoore.

"Total amount of the revenues of the bishopric, £9,267.

Let it be noted, that the income of this bishopric was returned by the commissioners in 1835, as £6,301 only; £3,000 less than its real value. This is only another proof of the worthlessness of the report of that commission, on which sat *sixteen* bishops, who held at the time of making that report, *sixty-one* pieces of preferment! that is to say, sixteen bishoprics, six deaneries, one chancellorship, three archdeaconries, two cathedral treasurerships, eight cathedral prebends, twenty-one rectories, and two vicarages! These were not very fit men to sit on a commission of inquiry into ecclesiastical revenues; but beyond this, the clergy having to make out their own cases, returned all church revenue at about *three millions and a half*, whereas the tithe commutation has now shown the church tithe alone worth *six millions* a year!

"RELATIVES OF BISHOP LUXMOORE. C. S. Luxmoore, dean and chancellor, house, etc. belonging to the deanery, £40. Parishes of Hellan, £1,500, St. Asaph, £426, Llan Nevydd, £300, Llanvair-Tal-Haiarn, £220, Darowain, £120. Chancellorship, from fees, £400. Total, £3,066.

Besides the above, the reverend gentleman enjoys, at least, £600 in this diocese, as lessee under certain leases granted to him by his father, Bishop Luxmoore, of tithes and manors belonging to the see. He also owes to the same patron, the following preferments in Hereford diocese. Cradley R. £1,200; Bromyard V. £500; prebend of Hereford, £50; portion of Bromyard, £50 at present; but on the expiration of a lease depending on a very old life, this preferment will be worth £1,400. Thus, the reverend gentleman is possessed of no less than *eleven* sources of emolument! The total value of his church preferments may be estimated, at least, at £6,356!

"I. M. Luxmoore, brother of the Rev. C. S. Luxmoore. Marchwail R. £720, Llanarmon-yn-Sal, £500, prebend of Meivod in St. George's parish, £60, Morton chapelry, £800, from land purchased with Queen Anne's bounty! Whitford, £1,060. Total, £3,000.

"Besides the above, the reverend gentleman enjoys £200 as joint registrar of Hereford; but the tithes of Whitford being on lease, they are not, at present, of any great value to him. The total actual value of his church preferments may be stated at about £3,000.

"C. Luxmoore. Borriew, £450, Llanymanach, £450, conferred when the reverend gentleman was only twenty-five years of age. Total, £900.

"Coryn Luxmoore, £300.

"Total enjoyed by relatives of Bishop Luxmoore, in the diocese of St. Asaph alone, £7,226.

"The value, however, of church property belonging to the rela-

tives of Bishop Luxmoore, in Hereford and St. Asaph, is £10,776! Such is the amount at present in the hands of this single family. In the time of the late Bishop Luxmoore, the case stood thus:—Such was the prosperity of the times, that the revenues of the see of St. Asaph were worth, at least, £12,000, and the parishes belonging to his relatives were worth, at least, £15,000; so that the country has had to pay £27,000 per annum for the services of one prelate!

“RELATIVES AND CONNEXIONS OF BISHOP HORSLEY.

“H. Horsley. Gresford V., £450, Castel Caereinion V., £600, Llanvair-Tal-Haiarn Preb., £240.

“G. Robson, prebendary of ditto, £200, Chirk V., £600, Erbis-tock R., £350.

“H. Neve. Llan St. Ffraid V., £250.

“Total enjoyed by connexions of Bishop Horsley, £2,690.

“RELATIVES AND CONNEXIONS OF BISHOP CLEAVER.

“J. Cleaver. Corwen, £300, Newtown, £400, exchanged for a living in England.

“W. Cleaver, as precentor of St. Asaph; lands, £60, Llangernyw, £250, St. George's, 30, St. Asaph, £500, Dinmeirchion, £300, as a sinecure rector, Llanvawr, £340.

“Total enjoyed by relatives of Bishop Cleaver, £2,180.

“RELATIVES OF BISHOP BAGOT.

“R. Wingfield. Rhiwabon, £700. C. Wingfield. Llanllwchai-arn, £400.

“Total enjoyed by relatives of Bishop Bagot, £1,100.

“DEAN AND CHAPTER, consisting of the relatives and connexions of bishops. Llansilin R., £670.

“SINECURISTS, who owe preferment to mere influence and personal favour, who are unconnected with the country, have never done any duty in this diocese, and are all resident in remote parts of England!—

“S. Thurlow, son of Lord Chancellor Thurlow, Hope, £600, Llandrillo-in-Edeyrnion, £350. Gibson, Llanbryn-Mair, £300. R. Finch, Cwrn, £210. F. Corie, Kilcairn, £400. H. Milner, treasurer of St. Asaph, Meliden, £300. J. Drake, chancellor of St. Asaph, £15. C. Thoroton, Llan St. Ffraid, £500. Total, £2,675.

“Deans and chapters of Winchester, Gosford, and Wrexham, £2,400.

“SINECURISTS AND ABSENTEES, but connected with the diocese. S. Holland, Llangwrn, £260. R. Clough, Llansannan, £200. Total, £460.

“Cathedral of St. Asaph, £1,040; added in the reign of Charles II., £1,040.

“COLLEGES.—Guilsfield, £900, Pool, £900, Buttington, £200, Meivod, £500; all added since the time of Henry VIII. Total, £2,500.

“To schools of Llanrwst, not properly applied. Eglwys-Fach, £860.

"Incumbents, ignorant of the Welsh language, Llanrhaiadr, £450, Machynllaeth, £400. Total, £850.

"Absentees from the country in which their benefices are situated, and residing remote from them, £3,185.

"Total unemployed as above, (*deducting* salaries of curates of bishops, absentees, etc. £2,680,) £34,369.

"Total enjoyed by the general body of the resident clergy, (*including* the salaries of the curates of bishops, absentees, etc., £2,680, and exclusive of Queen Anne's Bounty and fees, £2,230,) £18,361.

"The amount enjoyed from this diocese, by the bishop and the relatives of former bishops alone, amounts to £23,679; and thus, on the most liberal calculation, exceeds the whole amount enjoyed by *all the resident clergy put together!*

"Such is the picture of the church in North Wales in the nineteenth century! I shall abstain from all comment; for I can little hope to add any thing to the plain force of facts, by any comment of mine,—facts, indeed, which it is equally impossible to strengthen, to palliate, or to deny!"

Yet, when we add to this account drawn up by a churchman, the idea of the poor curates going their rounds of thirteen miles on a Sunday from church to church, for their salaries of £75 a year—of the nineteen parishes served by six ministers, and contrast their labour and their pay with the unearned thousands of those English cormorants which English bishops have fixed on the principality, one cannot help feeling still more forcibly the monstrous nature of a national church, which can be so desperately perverted, and yet be pronounced by a *soi-disant* reform minister, to be built on "just, wise, and beneficent principles."

CHAPTER XXVII.

PRIESTCRAFT IN SCOTLAND.

I request my reader to have this always in mind, THAT THE TRUE END FOR WHICH RELIGION IS ESTABLISHED IS NOT TO PROVIDE FOR THE TRUE FAITH, BUT FOR CIVIL UTILITY, as the key to open to him the whole mystery of this controversy; and the clew to lead him safe through all the intricacies and perplexities in which it has been involved.

BISHOP WARBURTON.—*Essay on the Alliance between Church and State.*—*Works*, vol. iv. p. 240.

Orthodoxy is my doxy; heterodoxy is another man's doxy. "

BISHOP WARBURTON.

IN our controversy with state establishments, we have hitherto been led to look upon the extravagant and unnatural wealth and power with which, for the purposes of the aristocracy, they have been invested, as the great causes of their corruption, and of the hostility of the people to them. But we now come to a church in which the endowments are moderate, and the constitution anything but aristocratic, yet which has failed to secure the purposes for which it was created, and which is every day creating a stronger spirit of repugnance to it in the public mind. It would seem as if Providence had ordained that the principle of a state religion should be tried in a variety of forms, in order to demonstrate its inutility, and, what is more, its anti-christianity, in all.

In no country in the world have state Establishments accomplished the object for which they have ostensibly been created, that of evangelizing the people, and, the more highly they have been endowed, the less has been their success, as in Ireland and England. "Till very recently," says the editor of the *Spectator* newspaper, a native of Scotland; "the church of Scotland was spoken well of by every body. Most of the objections urged against other established churches have been thought inapplicable to the Scottish. Its revenues have been sufficient to support the ministers in decency and respectability; while there has not been that glaring and unreasonable inequality in the income of the various livings, which is a disgrace to the ecclesiastical Establishments in England and Ireland. Till within a comparatively late period, the great majority of the Scottish people have been members of the kirk. Many eminent men have adorned her ministry; and, which is of far more consequence, and much more to her credit, the private

character of her clergy has been generally unimpeachable. The church of Scotland has been considered almost a model for an Establishment."

It was in this light that in former editions I represented it, because I had been accustomed thus to think of it. "But," adds this able writer, "it would seem that the Scottish clergy are impatient at the decent seclusion from political contests which has hitherto been so advantageous to the character of the kirk. Not only are they active abroad, but even in their pulpits they sound the alarm of faction."*

We have already noticed the same change of character and principle in the Scotch presbyterians of Ulster, who receive state pay. Thus, in Scotland and in Ireland, equally the same effect has followed the same cause, exhibiting, in what James I. used to call, in his early days, "the sincerest kirk in the world," the same lamentable but inevitable truth, that Christianity cannot thrive on political hire; sooner or later a worldly support will produce a worldly character. However the excess of honour, riches, and power may hasten the catastrophe, the catastrophe of desecration will arrive, even though the corrupting influence be infused in the very smallest degree. A splendid and proud hierarchy of archbishops, prelates, deans, canons, chancellors, archdeacons, elevated in courts temporal, and exercising dark powers in courts spiritual, are sure to render a church arrogant and intolerable; but one of the simplest construction, of the most popular constitution, will as surely become intolerable too. The pride of rank, however moderate; the indulgence in exclusive power, however limited; the enjoyment of state wealth, however small; are as sure to create a spirit of craft, of insolence, of jealous assumption, of dislike to free discussion and competition, as that water will stagnate in artificial rest, though cooped in a golden cup.

Never was this fact so strikingly exemplified as in the Scottish church! In past times it liberated itself from the thralldom of popery; and afterwards, from the still more ferocious fangs of the English church. We have already alluded to its stout resistance to English episcopacy in other parts of this volume, but we may as well here give a glimpse of the nature of the sufferings it underwent in almost every reign of the Stuarts, that we may see more clearly the extraordinary changes which political establishment can produce. Laing gives this sketch of Charles II.'s treatment of the Covenanters soon after his restoration.

"A court of ecclesiastical commission was procured by Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, consisting of nine prelates and thirty-five commissioners; but a bishop with four assistants composed a quorum, to which the civil and military officers were all subordinate. Neither time nor place was prescribed for their meetings; and an ambulating court was established on the principles of the

* The Church Political in Scotland, Dec. 26th, 1835.

Inquisition; an ecclesiastical court, bound by no forms of law, was instituted, to exercise a civil jurisdiction for the preservation of the church. Its summary proceedings were conducted without accusation, evidence, or defence. The persons cited were convicted on captious interrogatories, and if legal defences, or satisfactory answers, were returned to the questions, they were punished on their refusal to receive the oath of allegiance, which was invariably tendered, or to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the king. The violence of Sharp was abetted by Rothes, who overruled the moderation of the temporal judges; and the commission proceeding from imprisonment, and ruinous penalties, to corporal punishments, appeared to emulate, or even exceed, the severity of the privy council.*

Such was the fury of the church militant, that thousands fled to their brethren in Ulster; the gaols were crowded, and only emptied again by transportation to Barbadoes. The clergy were the sole accusers, furnishing lists of the recusants to the soldiers, who were at once judges and executioners. Turner, an Englishman, naturally ferocious, and always drunk, was let loose with his troops on the country. The inhabitants were hunted to the morasses and the mountains. Driven to despair, and having taken Turner prisoner, and found, on examining his instructions, that they were still more atrocious than his conduct, they soon after fought the battle of the Pentlands. The fury of the persecutors now knew no bounds. The prisoners who had yielded on assurance of quarter, were tortured, and then gibbeted, many of them at their own doors. Dalziel and Drummond, two merciless officers, hardened in the Russian service, put some to the sword; executed others on the highway; some they tortured with lighted matches between their fingers, to extort confession. Amongst the atrocities attributed to Dalziel, a son was executed because he refused to discover his father, and a woman tortured to death because she was accessory to the escape of her husband. The whole country lay at the mercy of the licentious soldiery. Rapes, robberies, and murders, were every where committed. Gentlemen were accused, tried, and condemned in their absence, and their estates given to Dalziel and Drummond. The laws against conventicles were increased in severity. Husbands were made responsible for their wives, fathers for their children, magistrates for those within their jurisdiction; preachers were condemned to forfeiture and death, and their hearers to double fines, and the penalties of sedition. Those who refused to inform, and those who sheltered the unfortunate Covenanters, were to be punished as if themselves the offenders. In a single writ, above ninety clergymen, gentlemen, and ladies, and all who dared to receive or aid them, were cut off from all the rights and privileges of social life. "At a moderate computation," says Laing, corroborated by

* History of Scotland, iv. 37.

Burnet and Wodrow, "seventeen thousand persons of either sex, and every description and rank of life, were already harassed and oppressed in the west for attendance on conventicles, or absence from church. Above two thousand persons were outlawed for conversing with the proscribed parties, and others driven into the wildest recesses of the mountains, where they worshipped God with arms in their hands. Six thousand lawless Highlanders were let loose on their country, and an indemnity given them to commit every excess. The horrors they perpetrated are too fearful for description. These atrocities led to the battle of Bothwell Brig, and that to fresh cruelties. Twelve hundred persons, taken prisoners at that battle, were confined in Grey-Friars churchyard in Edinburgh, uncovered and exposed to the elements for five months; when some were dismissed, and others transported. The fines imposed on the nonconformists were made a regular branch of revenue, and in eleven counties the penalties alone amounted to £180,000 sterling. Diligent inquisition was made by the clergy in every parish, and lists of delinquents prepared for the courts. To such a pitch was the fury of government carried at length, that those who refused to abjure their principles were shot without ceremony on the roads and in the fields at their labour; and, says Laing, "a sanguinary period ensued, from which historians have turned away their eyes in horror." Such was the condition of Scotland under Charles II., and till James II. was chased from the throne of these realms.

Could it have been believed, after such scenes as these, after the long and determined endeavour of the church of England to annihilate the church of Scotland, that the time would ever come when the latter would forget its injuries, the ruin and butchery of its people, and the curses, moreover, which it had denounced on this church of the malignants, this offspring of the great harlot? Yet, in our day we have beheld the unnatural sight, if not of forgetfulness and forgiving on the part of the kirk, yet of actual coalescing, and making common cause with this proud church in its endeavour still to maintain its arrogant ascendancy over those who now endeavour, as the fathers of the kirk endeavoured, to throw off the yoke. We have actually seen mutual fawnings between these once hostile powers, and heard the sickening salutation of "sister church" uttered by the kirk to its ancient devourer. We have heard it sent from the rocks of Edinburgh and the mountains of Ulster simultaneously; though the haughty Anglican hierarchy did not deign to acknowledge the kinship. It is enough to make the bones of the murdered Covenanters shake in their graves! But we have seen and heard more. We have seen Dr. Chalmers sent forth as the representative and champion of this recreant kirk, to trumpet his recognition of the rightful establishment of that rank prelacy, which his ancestors and his church resisted as the very incarnation of Satan himself, as all that was anti-christian, murderous, and unholy. We have heard him

justify this establishment of prelacy in the most monstrous shape in which it ever yet was presented on the earth—in the bloody, murderous, and barren abortion of Ireland! This church, which has been thrust on the catholic millions of Ireland, to the disgust of the whole Christian world, for its bigotry, its cruelty, its avarice, its wallowing in wealth, amid starving hosts of wretches that it has neither fed, nor clothed, nor enlightened,—Dr. Chalmers has not hesitated to sanction in its most abhorrent position. Covered with the blood of Ireland and with ages of the neglect of souls, he has not shrunk from declaring its cause and his own as one. "I have always," says he in a letter to Mr. Campbell of Monzie, quoted in the *Spectator* of Aug. 20, 1836, "regarded the appropriation of any part of the revenues of the Irish church, to other than strictly ecclesiastical objects, as a very gross violation of the principle of an Establishment. And I further think, that the actual appropriation carried in the House of Commons militates in the strongest manner against all the principles of protestantism."

Thus the doctor would rather that the church of Ireland continued in its present iniquitous state, or that those principles which the kirk has always professed to denounce as damnable, and even popish, should be taught, than that the mammon of an Establishment should be reduced, and devoted to diffuse sound and liberal education through the country. So monstrous a perversion of mind, through the influence of a state religion, was never before exhibited.

The doctor's notion of the necessity of state endowment to create and supply a spiritual appetite is of much the same value, notwithstanding Lord Brougham has thought fit to take it up and echo it in the House of Peers. All history shows that Christianity has an immortal vitality in it to create its own demand; that every attempt of governments to supply that demand by enactment has failed most grievously, and that the voluntary impulse of the Christian public in every free nation is the only victorious principle of religious advance.

It is the very demonstration of this principle in its modern life and grandeur which has, I suspect, aroused the alarming cries for the kirk. In every portion of the United Kingdom growing multitudes attest the absorbing progression of the voluntary principle. The Establishment of England, Ireland, and Wales, with all its pompous political apparatus, sees dissent shooting far a-head of it, and cries out lustily, for its craft is in danger. We hear Scotland join the cry, and we are constrained to ask, is that modestly endowed and popularly constructed kirk, that saintly kirk, stripped of the vanities of prelacy, and the seductions of courtiership, guarded from the lust of translation, and the traffic of Simon Magnus, is that also in danger? We may draw an answer from this statement. Gorton, in his *Topographical Dictionary* of Great Britain and Ireland, states, that the number of persons

above ten years of age belonging to the Scottish kirk in 1830 was estimated at—

Scottish established church	900,000
Scottish dissenters :	
Presbyterian seceders	330,000
Independents and others	810,000
Roman catholics	100,000
Episcopalians	60,000
	<hr/> 1,100,000
Total population	2,000,000

If in 1830 more than half the population of the country were dissenters, we can understand the outcry of the kirk, though we sink our belief in the veracity of Dr. Chalmers. But that such is probably the fact, would appear from this statement of Dr. Cleland's respecting Glasgow.

	Population in city and suburbs.	Sittings in churches and chapels of ease.	Sittings in dissenters' places of worship.
1780	42,832	14,980	8,101
1821	147,043	24,780	32,397
1831	202,426	30,928	42,497

This table, which seems strikingly to bear out the other, moreover displays an alarming progression of dissent. In 1780, the church in that city had a majority of sittings of 6,679, but in 1821, the tables were turned by a majority of dissenting sittings of 7,617, which in 1831 was increased to 11,569.

The rapid advance, indeed, of dissent in Scotland of late years, shows that something must have been sadly wrong in the Establishment; and the more so, when we come to discover that it is not dissent from the religious doctrines, but from the constitution of the kirk that has advanced. The episcopalians, if they have increased, have done so on very obvious grounds. They consist of those classes chiefly, who will always belong to that church which is the most aristocratic and fashionable. The catholics, we have it on the authority of various statistical works, are chiefly the descendants of Scottish catholic progenitors, or settlers from Ireland. The grand dissent has shown itself amongst those who hold the strict presbyterian faith, but who find the restraints and subserviency of an Establishment irreconcilable to their consciences, and have gone out to escape the evils of forced patronage, oppressive oaths, and similar obstacles to religious independence. **THUS THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN SYNOD, OF CAMERONIANS, the descendants of the COVENANTERS, dissatisfied with the complying spirit of the church, left it in 1743. The GLASSITES are the adherents of the Rev. John Glass, who in 1730 was deposed by the general assembly for declaring that there is no warrant in the New Testament for a national church. THE SECESSION CHURCH originated in direct resistance to the re-imposition of state**

patronage by Queen Anne; and afterwards split into *Burghers* and *Anti-burghers* on the *burgess oath*, which is administered in the royal burghs, and which requires all to swear that they profess and allow with their hearts the true religion *as authorized by the laws*: to abide by and defend the same to their life's end. The RELIEF SYNOD originated in 1752, in the attempt of the general assembly to force a minister on the parish of Inverkeithing, contrary to the wishes of the people.

Thus it will be seen, that those which are the chief dissenters have, in reality, dissented from those acts and that domination which belong, *ex natura*, to a state Establishment, and point out the principle of Establishment itself as incurably at war with freedom of conscience, and progression of Christianity. No sooner had these parties freed themselves from state thralldom than they began to go a-head, and to such a degree, as shown in the instance of Glasgow, that the kirk took the alarm, and set about, in the true state-church spirit, not to inquire what were the internal causes of its want of growth and loss of affection, but to cry lustily to government for more money to build churches, and endow them. This, under the good old Tory regime, was speedily granted them. In 1810, parliament voted £10,000 per annum; in the first place, to increase the smaller stipends of ministers, so that no minister should have less than £150 a year. The greater portion of this sum has been expended in the Highlands, where various churches had been built with money granted, from time to time, by the British parliament, but which were not sufficiently endowed. Up to 1838, no less than 44 churches were thus erected in the Highlands; about which, the ministers of the kirk raised a loud cry, representing these districts as in the most awful state of spiritual destitution. What is remarkable, however, is, that though this destitution had existed for centuries, little or nothing had been said of it till the dissenters began actively to endeavour to introduce Christianity there. Then the kirk at once beheld it, and raised a lamentable appeal to government for help. But the dissenters protested against the injustice of money grants for such a purpose, both to the country and to themselves, showing that they were ready and willing to diffuse religion through the Highlands, without an expense of a shilling to government; and thence arguing that it was unjust to saddle the country with a burden which might be avoided, and the work as well done; and unjust to saddle them with state patronage and ministers' salaries, when they were prepared to carry a free religion through the country. In 1838, the United Associate Synod, meeting at Edinburgh, in a series of resolutions to be submitted to government on the subject, asserted, that that synod, and other denominations of dissenters, without seeking or wishing for government aid, would long ago have spent large funds in the conversion of the Highlands, "had it not been that all attempts made there, and in other sequestered and destitute places, had met with *the greatest, and often lamentably success-*

ful opposition from Conservative landlords, as the friends of the established church, or from endowed ministers, who, if they did not aspire to the honour of being church-builders in any sense, seem to have regarded with peculiar suspicion all attempts to diffuse the light of evangelical truth amongst those most destitute of it, from whatever quarter that light might proceed."

But not only was the cry raised for church extension in the Highlands, where, in fact, the church had thus rejected it when offered voluntarily, but it was raised too for the old cities of the south. These, even Edinburgh and Glasgow, were represented as suffering dreadfully from want of churches. Dr. Chalmers was sent forth on a crusade to kindle the spiritual sympathies of the religious world for the destitution of these great cities. It was represented that in Glasgow, the population of which then, in 1835, was 202,000, there was only accommodation for 26,000 persons! Thus, if the whole number of persons of an age to attend church or chapel was estimated at 97,500, there would lack sittings for 71,500 persons, if every place of worship in Glasgow of every denomination were filled. Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton asserted this at a great meeting for church extension held in Edinburgh that year, the lord provost in the chair. He also added, that "there existed eighteen thousand families in Glasgow, not one individual of whom was connected with any Christian congregation, or came in contact with any Christian pastor, and who were in as complete a state of heathenism as if they were thousands of miles removed from a Christian shore."

This, it might have been remarked, was but a poor compliment to the efficacy of a state religion which costs about £300,000 per annum for that country, or for those ministers who, if attentive to their duty, must have been aware of the growth of this evil, and yet till recently kept silence. But the excitement raised by these and similar statements was great. Government was appealed to, and had the Peel ministry remained in office the appeal would probably not have been in vain. But the Whigs, being reinstated, preferred inquiry into the facts; and what was the result? Such a mass of misrepresentations and attempts at public delusion as ought to have covered any men, much more Christian ministers, with everlasting confusion. In this very Glasgow, so far from upwards of 70,000 persons destitute of seats, there were found nearly 12,000 seats unlet, of which nearly 5,000 belonged to the Establishment itself; and so far from there being only 26,000 seats in places of worship of all denominations whatever, the dissenters alone provided seats for 48,230, and the church 33,100—total of accommodation, 81,330! In Edinburgh, again, where the want of church-room was represented as equally appalling, the commissioners reported 36,001 sittings in the established churches, 42,705 in dissenting churches—total 78,706, of which 21,154 were unlet! 9,794 being those unlet in the established churches! The Report of the City Mission for 1836, discovered a still more astounding

fact, that in *nine parishes* of the Old Town, having *thirteen ministers* and a population of 25,000, only 1,070 sittings were let in the established churches! It was thus discovered, that in these two cities alone, where such a fearful want of church room had been asserted, there were together actually 32,671 sittings which found no occupants. It was moreover discovered, that in all their calculations the established clergy had paid the dissenters the compliment of reckoning their accommodation as *nothing at all*. To account, however, for the vacuum in their own churches, where they had so unblushingly endeavoured to impose on the government and the country, with a statement of such excessive overflow, they now began to assert that the high price of sittings prevented their being taken; and that new churches well endowed ought to be raised, to enable them to offer cheap seats. But how was it that the dissenters, as they asserted, who maintained entirely their own ministers and churches, could afford to underlet them, who had their churches built for them, and their salaries made a tax on the nation? The *Scotsman*, however, showed that it was not the case that the dissenters let their seats cheaper; and Tait, in his Magazine in May, 1838, showed that even in the established churches they were not the high-priced but the cheap seats that were chiefly unlet. "Of seats at 40s. only 8 per cent. are unlet; of those at 3s. to 8s., 45 per cent.; and of those at 2s., 69 per cent.!"

The whole of this nefarious design of the churchmen on the country being thus blown up, by the watchfulness of the dissenters and the caution of the government, they soon showed, as the church has done in England, that they could help themselves if let alone;—by beating the drum ecclesiastic they speedily raised £150,000 by subscription to build churches—giving a grand proof themselves of the efficacy of the voluntary principle.

The growth of dissent and the resistance of the public to ecclesiastical imposition, have not had in the Scotch church the effect of sweetening the temper, any more than elsewhere. The clergy soon began to exhibit signs of rabies, showing their teeth, desiring to bite, and at length actually demanding at the hand of the executive their "pound of flesh." It seems that the clergy in towns, in default of tithes, are maintained by a tax called the Annuity tax, or Ministers' money. This tax many dissenters objected to pay, as an unjust tax on them, who derived no benefit from those ministers, but maintained their own. It had been the custom to take the goods of such by distraint, but they now resolved to have nothing but the person of the objector. Mr. Tait, the spirited and straightforward proprietor of the Magazine of that name, was the first on whom they laid hands; they threw him in 1833 into the Calton gaol, where he lay till he was released by a public subscription, and fetched forth in triumph. In 1836, according to the *Scotsman*, no less than 600 prosecutions were going on in Edinburgh by the clergy for Ministers' money, and they again imprisoned, for the same cause, Mr. Russell, a member of the city

council, and Mr. Chapman. The latter gentleman got out on a sick bill, and Mr. Russell was released through the means of a public subscription. The effervescence of the public mind on this occasion was excessive, and must have done more to undermine the Establishment than all the efforts of all the dissenters and catholics in the country could have done in fifty years. Indeed, by a return made by the town council, it appeared that between February, 1837, and the same month, 1838, there had been a falling-off of occupied sittings in the city churches of 180.

These facts, and the equally mischievous one, that the country clergy are paid their salaries in *grain*, which leads them to join the landlords in opposition to the people, on all occasions to petition for the continuance of the corn laws, are fast unrooting the kirk in the hearts of the thinking Scots. There is a recent history of this church by Mr. Fyfe, which shows that, on all occasions, the Scotch clergy have been the flatterers of Tory governments, and the obsequious aiders of their most arbitrary measures; tyrants to the seceders, opposers of missionary societies, sabbath schools, and itinerant preachers; strenuous advocates of the Tory war with France, and most pertinacious in maintenance of the *corn laws*.

To crown all, the general assembly next engaged in a contest with the patrons, for the extinction of lay patronage—a thing excellent in itself; but the people, made suspicious by the flagrant and growing symptoms of priestcraft in the kirk, looked on the controversy with indifference. They regarded it but as an attempt less to annihilate patronage than to transfer it to the general assembly, where it would become an engine of intolerable priestly power. They had seen the assembly, as well as lay patrons, engaged in forcing ministers on parishes in spite of the wishes of the people. In fact, out of such a circumstance grew the Relief Synod in 1752; and from the spirit displayed by the established clergy of late years, they dreaded any increase of their influence. Appealing from the people to the government for assistance in this singular contest, but at the same time, as already observed, the kirk denying its dependence on government, it met, as might be expected, with a decided repulse from the government; and in its wrath at the rejection of its overbearing claims, the kirk literally burst asunder. Nearly five hundred of its clergy, with Dr. Chalmers and its greatest men at their head, marched at once out of it, and presented to the astonished public the most extraordinary and wholesale church schism of modern times. This body of clergy, and their adherents, have assumed the title of THE FREE SCOTCH CHURCH, and have sent out a host of missionaries throughout England and America, to beg funds for their support; and thus doing, the kirk of Scotland furnishes another example, that neither moderate endowments, nor a popular form, can preserve a state religion; a thing in itself unnatural and unjust, and therefore incapable of standing in the presence of a free people.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH SINCE THE PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL.

Enormous wealth was granted to clergymen for inadequate services. This was the complaint,—this is the complaint,—this must cease to be the complaint. A prelate must no longer be estimated at thirty admirals; a greater number than were ever in commission at once during the most prosperous of our wars.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR'S LETTERS OF A CONSERVATIVE
ON THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

ON the 7th of June, thirteen years will have elapsed since the Reform Bill became the law of the land; and no thirteen years in the world's history have more clearly demonstrated the power and the nature of priestcraft. The efforts made by this great nation, during this period, and the end of those efforts, afford the most serious warning to all new countries, to prevent the principle of state Establishment obtaining the slightest countenance, for, once admitted, it strikes its roots to the very foundations of a political constitution, corrupts the whole mass of its life-blood, and cannot be torn from its hold without the deadliest strain, and at the peril of a general convulsion.

When the Reform Bill was once passed, the whole nation, excepting the aristocracy, seemed to rise with one spirit of exultation, in the hope of redress from its long sufferings and insults from the national church. The spirit of eager and rejoicing anticipation, marked the deep sense of hatred and indignation. The ministry appeared as prompt to gratify the popular desire. They had been placed in power by the zeal and energy of the people. When king and peers stood up against them, and they gave way to the storm, they were borne back on the shoulders of the multitude, and the royal and aristocratic power succumbed before them. They felt how much they owed to the great body of the dissenters, and they appeared well disposed to repay their support by a grand deed of religious justice. They had themselves shown that energy which inspired a confidence in their decision and perseverance. To carry the Reform Bill, and seat themselves firmly in office, they had even threatened, in the Commons, to stop the supplies, and called on the king to create as many peers as would insure the carrying of the measure. The people fondly asked themselves what "these men, who could thus act, and dare, could not carry in the great cause of necessary reforms!" For a time the ministers seemed

ready to justify, too, these bright expectations. They quickly abolished in Ireland the church rates, there called cess, and reduced ten out of twenty-two bishoprics. It is true that the income of these bishoprics were, as they fell in, to be applied to repair the churches, to augment small livings, and to make incomes for deacons and chapters. But ministers did not stop here. They introduced a tithe bill, into which they introduced a clause, declaring that all surplus revenue from these bishoprics or other church property should be applicable to such purposes of national improvement, education, etc., as the government should, from time to time, deem wise and necessary. This clause, the most important one which had been introduced into any church bill since the Revolution, was called "the appropriation clause," and was hailed by the nation with a general burst of delight. The ministers vowed and pledged themselves with the most emphatic solemnity, that by this clause they would stand or fall; that they would never abandon it, but with entire and irretrievable loss of office!

Raised by this most auspicious aspect of affairs, the dissenters throughout the nation were filled with the highest hopes. They every where stood out against the ancient impost of church rates, and even dared to petition government for the separation of church and state. If any one will look back to the period between the passing of the Reform Bill and the end of 1836, he will now observe with surprise the high state of excitement in which not only the people but the parliament were on the question of church reform. Every where meetings to petition for the abolition of church rates; vestries refusing to grant these rates; petitions for the removal of the bishops out of the House of Lords; petitions for a dissenters' marriage bill, liberating them from attendance at the state altars; for a new registry, having a similar liberation in view; petitions for the abolition of tithes; for the abolition of spiritual courts. Every where severe contests were going on to appoint dissenting churchwardens, or churchwardens advocating the abolition of rates, and for postponing the passing of such rates. In Manchester polling was carried on for many days, and all the heat of a contested election of a member of parliament equalled, or exceeded. The dissenters held large meetings in London, and sent delegates to ministers warm with their wishes on these subjects. In parliament the warfare between the church and anti-church party was carried on with equal fervour and perseverance. Let any one look over the parliamentary debates of from 1832 to 1837, or even 1838, and behold with astonishment what a preponderating mass of their contents is made up of debates on ecclesiastical questions. Commission after commission was issued; bishops were compelled to appear in the novel characters of church reformers; not an abuse but was threatened:—and what now is the result? Scarcely one abuse reformed! The Marriage and Registration Bills were passed; bishops' revenues and sees underwent some trivial regulations, which, however, gave not the slightest re-

lief to dissenters; pluralities were also *regulated*, so as to take off the most rank offence and to preserve the provit; tithes were placed on a new footing in both Ireland and England, certainly doing away with much heart-burning, and, in Ireland, with much bloodshed, but fixing that gross impost only the more permanently and heavily on this nation, and rendering a fresh agitation needful at a future day. And here behold the end of that mighty effervescence of the government and the millions of England, and the labours of eight years in church reform! After all the vaunts of those ministers that they would live and die with the appropriation clause, that was cast to the wind; after their positive assertions that church rates should be abolished, they are not abolished, but on the contrary they exist, a daily source of strife in every town in the kingdom, and the ecclesiastical courts are let loose to fine and imprison those who resist them. The bishops roll in their immense wealth and patronage unmolested; the chapters continue their golden slumbers undisturbed; and the clergy every where are active as ever in resisting cheap food for the starving millions, and cheap government for the whole nation.

After the first flush of official zeal had faded from the Whig ministry, they soon began to betray to the eyes of the nation the fact that, in ecclesiastical as in general affairs, they were but part of that aristocracy which feeds on corruption, and never would of themselves cut off one source of that which had so long nourished their order. They who with the popular aid had compelled prince and peer to submit to reform, when it was necessary to their power, soon began to plead the resistance of these same peers, and the want of support from the middle classes. But the lamentable thing was, that they should have been permitted to succeed in their plans for swamping reform by the old stratagem of "Divide and conquer." They divided the radicals from their own cause, and the dissenters amongst themselves. Of the former they made, especially of those in parliament, a perfect cat's-paw by the mere cry of "Wolf! wolf!" By exclaiming, "Vote with us, or you let in the Tories," they induced those to support them in their desertion of reform, and thus to become the laughing-stocks of both peers and people, when, by voting with Whigs or Tories as the cause of the people required, they might have commanded in the House. The radical members, amongst whom the Irish ones were most notorious, who, by voting *steadily against whatever ministry would not move, be their name what it might, would have become the leaders of the House*, and rendered it impossible that ANY MINISTRY SHOULD RETAIN POWER *which did not go on with reform*, were juggled out of their vantage ground by the shallowest scheme of a recreant party, and lost an everlasting reputation for themselves, and many years of good government for the nation. But the dissenters were equally juggled with the same pleas. An odd member or two in parliament, and a committee in London, calling itself "The United Committee of Dissenters," assumed the name

of the representatives of the dissenters of the nation. These opened communication with ministers; ministers smiled on them; and for the poor honour of appearing to be in the confidence of ministers, and of retailing to their party, as Dickens makes somebody in *Nicholas Nickelby* term it, "what government whispered to me last night,"—they threw a wet blanket on the zeal of the dissenters, and lost the confidence of the country dissenters altogether.

The country dissenters, who are every where a fine, intelligent, and active body, were the first to discover the hollowness of ministerial professions; but the United Committee still cried, "Have confidence, have confidence; ministers will certainly do all they promise!" When the dissenters of Nottingham, by a deputation, of whom I was one, presented a memorial to Earl Grey, praying for separation of church and state, four days after this fact was reported in the papers, this committee sent a deputation to Earl Grey, "to reinstate the dissenters in his good opinion;" denying that the sentiments of that memorial were the sentiments of the dissenters in general, but merely of a few wild people at Nottingham. When, soon afterwards, Lord Althorpe brought in his miserable scheme of a Church-rate Bill, this committee, seeing the dilemma into which their false confidence had led the dissenters, requested delegates to be sent from all parts of the kingdom to consider what should be done. I was one of these delegates, and to undeceive the dissenters at large, and to execute a piece of poetical justice on this committee, engaged the delegates of Manchester to join those of Nottingham in moving an amendment at the meeting at the City of London Tavern, (in May, 1834,) declaring that the committee, and the dissenters at large, sought nothing less than entire separation of church and state. The amendment was carried by acclamation; the country delegates, of whom there were about 300, being joined by a body of equally zealous London ones; and a deputation with the Resolutions of the meeting, headed by that for separation of church and state, and closed by one recommending Anti-church Associations throughout the country, was despatched to Lord Althorpe. His Lordship, on seeing the first resolution, complained loudly that ministers had been grossly deceived by the United Committee in regard to what the dissenters really demanded;—and from that day the confidence of the country dissenters in this Committee was at an end. The want of a body in London really representing the talent, the zeal, and the desires of the great and spirited mass of the dissenters, which was then laid open, became a subject of general anxiety; and the government, availing themselves of the then *headless condition* of the dissenters, soon threw off all disguise, so much so that Lord John Russell avowed his honest opinion, that "the church is founded on just, wise, and beneficent principles," and, of course, that all the threatenings of himself and colleagues to reform it, for so many years, was a farce.

But though the Whigs played off their piece of state-craft on the

dissenters in this respect, much good has actually been done by the agitation of the question, and a mass of facts has been made public which will yet produce their due effect. A series of Commissions of Ecclesiastical Inquiry have been issued, whose reports stand as lasting records of the necessity of thorough reform of the Establishment; and a number of other particulars have risen to the light in the concussion of popular agitation which will never again be forgotten.

In the first place, the great, wealthy, and spirited body of dissenters, both in town and country, became aware of the inefficient manner in which they had been represented by the so-called United Committee, and have since formed themselves boldly into a general "Association for Separation of Church and State," from which the most essential services may be expected.

In the next place, the people have become better informed of the real nature of the Establishment; of its actual extent, power, ramifications, objects, spirit, and supporters. They have seen, what they never saw so clearly before, with what, and with whom they have to do. They have made the important discovery, that the church is but one of those many machines of the aristocracy, with which they have loaded the government of this country, for the slavery of the people, and their own support. The church, in fact, has been made to show itself as it is—the church of the aristocracy; their own property, their invention to get hold of at least *ten millions* a year for themselves and children. Never till the discussions which have arisen out of the Reform Bill was the public aware how entirely this is the case, how completely aristocracy and hierarchy are identical; never before did it stare them in the face, that in contending with the church, they have to contend with the whole race and order of the aristocracy. Never did they see so clearly revealed the root and ground of that intimate alliance between despotism in the church and despotism in the state, which had often surprised them. Never were they fully before aware, that that which starved their spirits, and stinted the food of life, was that which starved their bodies also; that the *tithe* law, the *church-rate* law, and the *corn* law were the work of the same hands, and the different parts of the same machine!

All that is flung into the open day-light now, and the more it is pored on the more foul will this conspiracy against the people appear. The whole history of the church of England shows how completely the aristocracy have looked upon it as a source of plunder, and a mere money concern. The amount of property which they managed to get hold of when Henry VIII. broke up the catholic establishment was enormous. It constitutes the immense estates of some of our proudest nobility, particularly of the house of Bedford. Few of the old families of the nobility and gentry but hold comfortable morsels of it. The amount of tithes that got into the possession of the laity is immense. But the property, still called church property, is not the less the prey of the aristo-

cracy. In the first place, they hold possession of the whole of the parish livings in one shape or another. By a return to parliament in 1818, the number of churches and chapels of the Establishment in the kingdom, was 11,743. Of these the crown presented 1,041, or, in other words, the aristocracy in power had the patronage of them under the following heads.

The first lord of the treasury	103
— lord chancellor	899
— chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster	39
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The 26 bishops	1,041
— 30 deans and chapters	1,303
— 20 colleges of Oxford	1,037
— 18 colleges of Cambridge	403
— 18 colleges of Cambridge	280
300 peers and baronets	1,400
Six schools, etc., in London, etc.	45
About 4,000 private patrons	6,234
<hr/>	
	11,743
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Thus, with the exception of perhaps a few out of the forty-five presented by schools, though public schools in the country are generally, too, under the management of the aristocracy, the whole of the livings of England are the property of the aristocracy, to present to their children and relatives, and, in default of these, to sell to the highest bidder; as we have shown is done every day. The following list will show some of the causes of opposition to church reform in the House of Peers, besides what originates with the bishops.

WHIGS.	Livings.
The Earl of Craven is patron of	13
— Earl of Albemarle	9
— Duke of Cleveland	14
— Duke of Sutherland	8
— Duke of Portland	10
— Duke of Bedford	27
— Earl Fitzwilliam	31
— Duke of Devonshire	48
— Duke of Norfolk	21
Lord Yarborough	15

TORIES.	
The Marquis of Aylesbury	9
— Marquis of Bath	13
— Earl of Lonsdale	32
— Duke of Buckingham	13
— Marquis of Bristol	20

	Livings.
The Earl of Shaftesbury	12
— Duke of Northumberland	13
— Duke of Rutland	29
— Duke of Beaufort	29

The bishops, including the four Irish ones now in parliament, have upwards of 1,900 livings in their gift, and the peers altogether about 4,050.

Let any one sufficiently ponder over these facts, and he will quickly perceive that nothing but a gigantic effort, and that by the whole people, in their most determined mood, will ever carry any thing like efficient reform of the church through the House of Lords. It is not merely in the House of Peers, however, that the resistance created by this property exists. All these livings are filled by the blood connexions and political partisans of themselves and government; and through every part of the country, and into every obscure village, are scattered by them the zealous watchers and upholders of the system.

I have given, under the head of Priestcraft in Wales, a pretty good specimen of the way in which the bishops settle their families on the country. Besides filling all offices in the chapters, prebends, and canonries, that fall into their hands, with them; they fill also the livings in their gift, and lease out the bishopric lands to them. The enormous extent of public property which has been intrusted to the bishops is altogether unknown; as, indeed, is the case with the dean and chapter property, and that of the parochial livings. By report of the Royal Commission of 1834, the returns of the ecclesiastical incomes, as made by the clergy themselves, were as under:

Bishops, £180,000; cathedrals, etc., £350,861; benefices, £3,253,662.

Total annual income of the English church, £3,784,985.

These returns were, at the moment, deemed culpably deficient in the true amount. It was certain, from the known amount of income in past times, that of the cathedral property in Charles II.'s reign being upwards of £400,000, that either the present income, considering the greatly increased value of property in modern times, was grossly understated, or that much of this property had been made away with by the clergy. Both of these suppositions have proved true. The value of many livings has come out by their being offered to sale, and the clerical return of these livings thus shown to have been excessively under the mark. But the grand exposure has been made by the carrying out of the act for the commutation of tithes, by which it has turned out, that the value of the church tithes alone is upwards of *six millions*, or nearly double the whole income of bishops, chapters, and parish priests, according to their own return in 1834. Even where dignitaries may have returned their actual income, it is proved afterwards by themselves that that income is nothing to what the property would

warrant; but is reduced to a mere fraction, by the system of leasing on lives, and by the bad treatment of the lands which such leases naturally produce. Persons holding lands on such terms will not expend that capital upon them which they would on more certain tenures. Thus the archbishop of York returned the actual income of his diocese, in the First Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in 1835, at £12,629, and the probable future income at £10,600; but in the Report on Church Leases in 1838, he returns the net annual value at £42,030! Thus on this estate alone the country is robbed of nearly £33,000 annually! In the Report of 1835 the bishop of Peterborough returns his income at £3103, and the probable future income at £3000, but in the Report of 1838 he returns the annual value at £8969! Here again is, in a small see, a loss to the country of £5866 per annum! So scandalous is the jobbing in this property, that many of the bishops refused to give any return at all, some of them, as Philpotts of Exeter, insolently defying the authority of the House of Commons. The Report contains no returns from the bishops of *Bangor, Carlisle, Exeter, Gloucester, Bristol, Oxford, Rochester, St. Asaph, Winchester, Worcester, or St. David's*. Nothing is, therefore, really known of the actual amount of the property of the bishops, or of the deans and chapters. But there is every reason to believe it monstrous. The glimpses given by the Report of 1838 of the inquiry into the leases of these lands, show that a vast extent of jobbing and nepotism is connected with it. It is leased by the bishops chiefly to their relatives, who again underlet it, and live on the profit thus made. Being let on their lives, and renewable by the payment of a fine, these lands are looked upon almost as so much private property, and mortgages and marriage settlements are made on them. It may be fairly imagined, from the sample of the archbishopric of York, that two-thirds of the real annual value is sunk amongst the bishops' families and relatives, and thus lost to the country. Then, again, so much is received, not in the shape of rent, but in fines, that it is difficult to tell what is the gross income. Lord John Russell, in May, 1838, moving for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the mode of granting and renewing bishops' and dean and chapters' leases, stated that many instances might be given of the reduction of such property by the management of dignitaries, and mentioned one instance where by a bishop the income had been reduced from £11,000 to £4000 or £5000 a year. He quoted the statement of Burnet, that in Charles II.'s reign the bishops pocketed nearly a million and a half from the falling in of leases, which ought to have gone to the general advantage of religion. He added, that the dean and chapter of Durham in recent times had pocketed £40,000 in one instance, and £100,000 in another, from the renewal of leases of coal mines.

A correspondent of the *Spectator* newspaper gives the following facts, showing the manner in which the bishop of Bath and Wells has fixed his sons and relatives on the church property; a bishop

who, he says, during the whole of his career in this diocese, has never yet promoted *one poor and friendless curate*.

Archdeacon of Wells	Rev. H. Law	Clear value:
Chancellor	Rev. H. Law	
Treasurer	Rev. Robt. Law	
West Camel	Rev. H. Law	£270
Christian Malford	Rev. Robt. Law	672
Corston	Rev. — Morgan	150
Stowey	Rev. H. Harkness	183
Weston-super-Mare	Rev. W. Barlow	264
_____	Rev. H. Law	264
Yeovilton	Rev. H. Law	445
_____	Rev. R. Law	445
_____	Hon. W. Law	445
West Camel	R. W. H. Lushington	270

Several other livings are given to gentlemen on condition that his sons shall have other posts in lieu of them. While bishop of Chester, moreover, he did not neglect to quarter his kith and kin on the country. Thus, out of the six, prebends are given to his near relatives—James Slade; R. V. Law; formerly a midshipman; W. Barlow, formerly a dragoon officer.

Commissary of the archdeaconry		
of Richmond	J. T. Law	
Chancellor of Lichfield	J. T. Law	
Prebendary of Lichfield	J. T. Law	
Vicar of Harborne	J. T. Law	£624
— Bowden	J. T. Law	487
Rector of Tattenhall	J. T. Law	277
Vicar of Bolton-le-Moors	J. Slade	464
Rector of Shirley West	J. Slade	703
— Wallagey	R. V. Law	393
— Weverham	R. V. Law	325
— Coddington	R. V. Law	262
— _____	W. Barlow	262

Certainly here is much more *Law* than *justice*. Who can think without indignation, of all the *poor and friendless curates*, who, from the engrossing of these livings by the bishops' brood, must go through life with heart-ache, contempt, and £75 a year! Nay, the furnisher of these facts states, that he was led to make the inquiry by witnessing this circumstance. Being in a small town in Somersetshire, he observed a venerable old man pass by. Struck by his appearance, he inquired who he was. It was an aged curate. He found that he was beloved by every body, and had every qualification for a parish pastor, but having no *interest*, he had never been presented to a living, and now could not even get employment, except by supplying occasionally for the absent. He had then been preaching for a gay rector, who, with his family, was at

Cheltenham. This bishop, who had piled livings in heaps on his sons and nephews, had not even one of the poorest for this worthy old man in his extreme age.

But the bishop's predecessor, Beadon, was equally careful to stock the country with his own connexions. All the following are such, and almost all the livings not given by Bishop Law, are held by the relatives of Bishop Beadon.

Richard Beadon, the bishop's only son, has the manor of Wiveliscombe, worth	£ 4,000 a year.
<i>His</i> son is registrar of the diocese	
F. Beadon, chancellor of the church	
— canon of Wales	800
— prebendary of Compton Bishop	
W. H. Barnard, canon of Wells	800
— vicar of St. Cuthbert's, Wells	500
— late vicar of Yatton	422
R. A'Court Beadon, prebendary of Wiveliscombe	
F. F. Beadon, vicar of Compton Bishop	185
— vicar of Pilton	235
C. Beadon, rector of Uxbridge	158
D. Tremlett, rector of Rodney Stoke	339
N. Ruddock, Westbury	251
C. Johnson, junior, South Brent	548
— White Lackington	219
— Barrow	186
C. Rockett, East Brent	902
— Weston Zoyland	284
Butler Beadon, Over Stowey	150
— Middlezoy	185
George Rous, Laverton	277

And this is not one half that has been held by this family within twenty years.

The following letter to the editor of the Morning Chronicle, will show the working of the system in another quarter.

DEANS AND CHAPTERS.

SIR,

In passing through York the other day, I learnt the beauty of the system of deans and chapters, and the present order of ecclesiastical good things, as set forth in a family at Bishop Thorpe. Ought such things to be?

	£	Total. £
Hon. E. Vernon, archbishop of York, per annum: on an average for twenty-three years	26,000	638,000
All sons of the archbishop, viz.		
Rev. L. Vernon, chancellor of the church, prebendary, and two rectories, for ten years	3,000	30,000
Rev. W. Vernon, canon residentiary, preben-		

	£	Total. £
dary, and three rectories, (one sinecure,) for ten years	2,500	25,000
Rev. G. Vernon, chancellor of the diocese, a deputy allowed, ten years	1,800	18,000
Rev. C. Vernon, one rectory, for ten years	2,000	20,000
Rev. E. Vernon, registrar of diocese, a deputy allowed, ten years	2,000	20,000

Annual income £37,300

Total receipt by family, exclusive of daughters' husbands, relatives, nephews, &c. &c.	751,000
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Leeds, Jan. 20th, 1831.

SWING WESLEY.

These are curious specimens of the doings in "the poor man's church," and the demonstration might be extended over the whole kingdom. When you hear these prelates declaiming in parliament against radicals, infidels, and papists, that would commit sacrilege on the holy church, and rob the poor man of his religion, you would hardly think them such unblushing hypocrites, as these plain figures show them to be. But not content with plundering the church for their relatives in this wholesale style; not content with depreciating the value and diminishing the income of the lands put into their keeping, by their mischievous mode of leasing; they actually rob the church in the most felonious manner, by selling the lands, and pocketing the money.

Great have been the heats and the battles about the appropriation clause; Lord Stanley has made it his boast, that he sacrificed office to oppose it; yet nothing is more certain, than that alienation of church property to a vast extent has been going on amongst the bishops and deans for a great number of years; and acts of parliament have been readily obtained to sanction it. Cobbett, in his "Legacy to Peel," declares, that "in 1797 an act was passed to appoint a board of commissioners, to allow of the SELLING, out and out for ever, *to lay persons*, part of the *glebes* of the college property, of the *tithes* and *oblations* appropriated to *bishoprics, deans and chapters*, and *colleges*. This act went into effect; it is in effect now; *such sales* are *now* taking place every day; and the *proceeds* have been, and are, *paid into the Treasury*! A pretty "thimble-rig" statesman, then, who glories in having sacrificed office to the "great principle of the *unalienable* nature of church property!"

However this may be, particular acts of parliament have easily been obtained when wanted. In 1837, a writer in the *Morning Chronicle* made public this fact. In the year 1768, the duke of Grafton was prime minister. His brother, Mr. Fitzroy, was the lessee of the manor and lordship of Tattenhall, the property of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's, London. Dr. Richard Brown, the then prebend of the stall of Tattenhall, having pocketed the emolument attending the renewal of the lease, and there

being little chance of any further advantage to him from the estate, readily listened to a proposal of Mr. Fitzroy for the *purchase* of the estate. The thing was agreed, and through the influence of the duke of Grafton, the minister, an act of parliament was obtained, which from the 25th of March, 1768, divested the estate, with all its rights, privileges, and emoluments, *from the prebendary*, and conveyed the fee-simple, entire and without reserve, to Mr. Charles Fitzroy and *his heirs for ever*. The act states it to be, with the *consent* of Richard, lord bishop of London, and the *privity* of the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.

Now, what was, and where lay this estate, so readily detached from the church. "The estate commences at St. Giles's parish, extends some distance on the north side of Oxford Street, and in other directions embraces a large part of St. Pancras parish, Kentish town, and up to Highgate; including coppices, woods, and grounds lying beside Highgate, of great extent, and from its situation equal in value to any land round the metropolis. Very considerable buildings were at that time erected upon it; the ground was in great request for building on, and could then be disposed of in leases at a considerable rate *per foot*. A fair estimate of the value of the land may be made by Mrs. Fitzroy's settlement of £400 a year being sufficiently secured on only *twenty-three acres* of it, the estate consisting of some thousands. Any one knowing the situation and extent of the property, must be aware of the astounding value of it at present."

And for what did this good and provident steward of the church dispose of this princely estate? "The full equivalent and compensation given to the church is a *rent-charge on the estate* of £300 per annum; which, as £46 of it was receivable under the lease, makes the amount given for the fee simple £254 per annum; and this was stated to be a much greater revenue than could possibly accrue to the successors in the prebend, either by fines in renewal of leases, or by any other means whatever.

"The possession of this estate in twelve years (1780) caused Mr. Fitzroy's exaltation to the peerage by the title of Lord Southampton; by which name the estate is now known." *Tattenhall is kept out of view, and this church plunder is probably all the title possesses.* Upon a moderate calculation of all the advantages obtained by this act of parliament, Mr. Fitzroy and his family have received from the estate upwards of £1,500,000

The full equivalent which has been paid to the church, amounts to 17,784

Total of which the church has been plundered up to this time £1,482,216

That is pretty well for one transaction by these tender consciences, who are so fearful of radicals robbing "the poor man's church." There is in the library of Lambeth palace, a set of Parliamentary Surveys of Church Lands, which are believed to record many

similar deeds. Mr. Duncombe has repeatedly moved for copies of them to be made and laid on the table of the House of Commons, but, as might be expected, his motion, when pressed to a division, was rejected by a large majority. Yet why need the aristocratic Commons be ashamed of bringing to light acts of their fathers which they do not blush to rival? A writer in the *Morning Chronicle*, again, points out the following transaction between the very families of the bishops of Bath and Wells, whose monstrous alienation of church property we have just noticed.

"Until a very few years ago the entire parish of Wiveliscombe, in Somersetshire, consisting of between 8000 and 9000 acres of good land, belonged to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, and constituted the far greater portion of the revenues attached to that see. The late bishop let the whole of the said property to his son for a term of three lives, at a nominal rent. The present bishop, finding his revenue reduced to a mere trifle by this proceeding of his predecessor, agreed to make over the property *in fee* to the late bishop's family, on condition that £36,529 in money should be settled on the bishopric; and an act of parliament passed through an unreformed House of Commons, and a Tory House of Lords, enabling the parties to fulfil this agreement." Thus the present bishop's family are not only fattening on the property of the church, but have managed to appropriate for ever the bulk of the endowment of the see of Bath and Wells. But the transaction in its full infamy is not understood till the fact is stated, that this property, for which little more than £36,000 is given, is estimated to be of the annual value of £7660! How many other instances of the working of this process of plunder and alienation by the bishops would have come to light, had not the prudent prelates refused to obey the demand of inquiry by parliament? Nay, we have it on the authority of the *Rev. Sidney Smith*, canon-residentary of St. Paul's, that the plunder does not only go on by the bishops, but by petticoat stratagem. "The worst case," he says, "is that of a superannuated bishop. Here the preferment is given away by wives and daughters, or by sons utterly unacquainted with ecclesiastical matters; and the poor dying patron's paralytic hand is guided to the signature of papers, the contents of which he is utterly unable to comprehend!"

These details might be greatly extended, but they are too numerous for our limits; these must be taken as a sample of what has been going forward on a large scale, and that from the bishops and deans down to the ordinary clergy. In the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, it was shown to the vestry, met on the subject of a church rate in 1837, that though an estate had been left by Mr. Thavie, in 1384, for the support of the *fabric of the church*, and that in 1835 the annual rental, independent of the vestry house, was £1,317, the parishioners had all along been called upon to pay church rates. On inquiring to what purpose the funds had been applied, it was found, that they had been expended, *not on*

the church, but on repairing, fitting up, painting, supplying with coals, etc., *the rectory house*! In 1814, for repairs, £697; in 1835, for coals, surrender of lease, etc., £114; in 1816, for two water-closets, etc., £264; in 1819-20, for carpenters, painters, paper-hangers, at rectory house, £261 7s. 6d.; in 1820-1, for *bishop of St. Asaph's fixtures*, £40 2s.; in 1825, for repairs of rectory again, £690 18s. 5d. For an act of parliament to get an estate at Bangor changed, to the agent in 1828, £500; in 1829, £299; 1831, £200; total for the rector's advantage out of the parish fund for repairing the church, £997! In 1830, vestry clerk's bill, paid out of these funds, £515. In 1831, repairs of rectory again, including fifteen pieces of flock and gilt paper, £15 15s.; bell-hanging, £10 12s. 6d.; wash-hand stand, fixing looking-glasses, etc., £3 2s. 6d.; repairing chopping-blocks, tables, chairs, etc., £2 15s. 6d.; total, £201 16s.! Similar abuses of their funds were discovered by other parishes when they came to search into the matter of church rates, showing that the clergy and their satellites, from the highest to the lowest, had become most corrupt, and converted the church literally into "a den of thieves."

But one of the most singular facts brought to light by the investigations and commissions of these years has been to show, that the clergy were not more ready to plunder the church, than to plunder one another. The bishops on the Commission of Ecclesiastical Inquiry, in their second and fourth Report, brought in in 1836, recommended a reform in the cathedral property. They showed that the deans and chapters had been sharing amongst them a gross income of £530,861. They complained of the abuse of their patronage; recommended that the canons should be considerably reduced in numbers; *the patronage transferred to themselves*; all livings without cure of souls to be abolished, and the proceeds to be applied to the augmentation of small livings! From these sources they expected to extract out of the dean and chapter property about £130,000 per annum! Mighty was the wrath of the chapters at this cannibal desire evinced by the bishops to devour them. They sharply recriminated in memorials to government, bidding it look at the manner in which the bishops had exercised their own patronage before it bestowed theirs upon them. They did not deny but that they had taken good care of themselves and relatives, but they showed that the bishops had done so much more. The Rev. Sidney Smith, canon-residentiary of St. Paul's, in a pamphlet assailed the prelates hotly, and charged home their crimes. Mr. Smith has the character of a shrewd man of the world, but passion throws even the shrewdest off their guard, and Mr. Smith told many tales out of school that will not readily be forgotten. It was remarked as curious, that in this internal war no regard was shown for the interests of the church, or for each other, but solely for the security of the booty each was possessed of. The worldly and ravenous character of churchmen was never rendered more conspicuous than in this contest. It was noticed, too, that

even the chapters, in their memorial, pleaded not the advantage of religion, but solely the advantage of their own order; and the memorial of the chapter of Canterbury, contending that the 6th chapter of their statutes enjoined them "to grow fat, and by no means to get lean,"—*pinguescere enim optamus ecclesiam nostram, non macrescere*,—occasioned a good deal of merriment, as most eminently characteristic:

The propensity to prey upon each other was found, however, not to be confined to bishops, deans, or chapters, the whole body of the clergy was possessed by it. Mr. Baines called the attention of the House of Commons in March, 1837, to the state of the firstfruits and tenths which had been given by Queen Anne to augment the poor livings. This fund, we have shown in a former chapter, had speedily been diverted by the rich clergy from the legitimate objects, the poor clergy, to themselves; it had, in a great measure, gone to increase wealthy pluralities, rather than to make small livings such as would maintain a humble clergyman. But not only had this misappropriation taken place, but, lest any portion should reach the poor clergy, all classes of the richer clergy had united in drying up the fund at its source. Instead of paying the firstfruits and tenths according to the value of the times, they had continued to pay them according to their value in the time of Queen Anne. Thus, the bishop of Chichester, instead of paying for firstfruits a year's income, £4,000, had paid £600; the bishop of Exeter, £400, instead of £2,700; the bishop of London, £900, instead of £13,000; the bishop of Durham, £1,600, instead of £19,600. So it was, too, with the parochial livings;—Manchester collegiate church, instead of £4,025, paid £53 1s. 8d.; Rochdale, instead of £1,730, paid £11 4s. 9d.; Lancaster, instead of £1,709, paid £41: this was the rate at which the generality paid. And for tenths, he named livings which paid £3 12s. 4d., instead of £107; £4 12s. 5d., instead of £123; £2 13s. 4d., instead of £140: this was the general rate of tenths. He showed that, according to the income of the English church, as returned by the commissioners, the firstfruits ought to be £166,266; and the tenths £266,000; or an aggregate, £432,266. And what were actually paid on these accounts? Only £13,000! Such is the manner in which the clergy rob one another. This is certainly

The good old rule, the ancient plan,
That he should take who has the power,
And he should keep who can.

Bishops rob the country and one another, deans and chapters do the same, rich clergy rob the poor, the whole is a scene of robbery together. Where the highest example of Christian charity and contempt of worldly wealth should be shown, there we have the most shameless and disgusting display of cupidity, dishonesty, and ruthless want of feeling. And whose is the fault? It is that of the government which permits and upholds such a system. Human

nature is weak, and readily corrupted; and here, where every cause of corruption should be carefully removed, every possible means of corruption is brought together, and to such a degree, that the clergy must be more than men if they are not converted into something worse than the most worldly of those they are set to reform. Mr. Baines's motion for a committee was, of course, vigorously opposed by Lord John Russell, who pointed out a clause in the act of Queen Anne, which limited the payment to "such rates and proportions only as the same were usually rated and paid;" a clause, no doubt, carefully inserted by the bishops at the time; and which certainly ought to be sacredly observed and perpetuated, if their *tithes* were levied by the same rule. While, however, they have taken good care to exact every farthing of benefit, both which change of times and expenditure of capital would enable them to clutch from the laity, a clause which, on the other hand, very eminent lawyers have decided to be contrary to the provisions of that and other acts, ought not to stand in the way of the comfortable subsistence of the poor clergy, out of property which we have seen the bishops and dignitaries have not at all been chary of towards their own families. Mr. Baines pointed out that here was a fund of upwards of £400,000 per annum, which, besides raising every poor living to £150 a year, would leave £300,000 for payment of church rates, or general education. He long persisted in his endeavours to obtain a bill for this purpose. He might just as soon have got a railway to the moon, even though he proposed to abolish the payment of first-fruits altogether, as a *placebo*. Let any one, who would again make such an attempt, look at the facts pointed out in this chapter; let him just ask himself, who but the Lords and Commons are the possessors of the whole church? and if he has yet simplicity enough to hope that they will listen to any such proposition, let him again ask himself, when, at any time, the slightest sympathy or feeling was manifested towards the race of *poor* parsons? The church wealth is not intended for them, any more than plum puddings are for cart horses. The vast property of the church is an aristocratic provision for the aristocracy. The curates are the helots of the church; the humble drudges, who, except they have early learned to toady to some lord, never get any thing, nor are intended to have any thing, but as much labour as they can perform, and as much starvation as they can endure. "Blessed are the poor," say the aristocratic portion of the clergy, "for theirs is the kingdom of heaven;" as for themselves, disinterested men! they are contented to enjoy the kingdom of earth.

It was not to be expected that all those public inquiries into the monopolies of the church, those exposures of its thorough corruption, and those attempts of the dissenters to free themselves from its trammels, would be received in the meekest of spirits. Nor were they. Every where a vindictive and persecuting spirit showed

itself amongst the clergy. Tithes and church rates were exacted with increased acrimony where there was the power. The Shylock of ecclesiastical revenge began to insist upon his bond, and to demand his pound of flesh. Where goods had before been taken, it was now the resolve to take the person. The old powers of the spiritual courts were revived as far as possible, and the clergy of the nineteenth century showed that, had they still the *law* for it, they had the most hearty good will towards the rack and the fag-got. This is another good which the agitation of the last eight years has produced—it has made the established clergy known in their true character to the people, and the knowledge will not perish. In England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, the *dungeon* was again resorted to. The meanest man was not too insignificant for a victim; the meanest object was not too mean to be taxed and tithed. The tailor on his board, and the labourer in his ditch, painfully delving for his eight or ten shillings a week, was each called upon to contribute to the fat pluralist, who held deaneries, prebends, and livings by the half dozen; and if he refused to take the food from the mouth of his children and give it to the clerical dog that had got under his table, he was sold up, pot, pan, stool, and straw bed; or he was cast into prison. In Scotland, as we have seen, Tait, Russell, and Chapman, the sturdy foes of priestcraft, were incarcerated. In Ireland, Mr. Williams of Carlow, a member of the Society of Friends, who had ample means to distract upon, was vengefully seized and cast into prison, and only got out of the hands of the clerical Shylock by an act of parliament. In Wales, David Jones was imprisoned, and eventually lost his life through the persecution of the priests. In England, Mr. John Childs, of Bungay in Suffolk, was, in ill health, thrown into prison for refusal to pay a church rate, and the *animus* of the persecutors was sufficiently shown by the writ being endorsed *Take no bail*. Mr. Childs, a man of substance and talent, and having the press at his command, a man, moreover, not of a spirit tamely to submit to such an instance of clerical rigour, far and wide raised a storm of indignation against the reverend coercionists, which one would have thought would make them hesitate in future to preach Christianity by constables, and teach "Love thy neighbour as thyself" by writs and gaolers; but there was soon lying in Chelmsford gaol John Thorogood, where he continued a year and half, for the simple cause of having refused to pay a church rate of 5s. 6d. Parliament was petitioned on his behalf, and a motion made in order to his release; but in vain. It was on this occasion that Lord John Russell pronounced the principles of the church, of which this of persecution is one, "just, wise, and beneficent;" and there probably, but for singular exertions in his behalf, John Thorogood would have remained, till from its beneficence death released him.

The wisdom and beneficence of this pious church were concerned, between 1833 and 1837, in 375 prosecutions of persons

in the spiritual courts for these church rates; the costs in many instances being forty times the sum due! But the most villanous meanness and ferocity of the state clergy were shown in their ruthless exactions of tithes from the poor. While they protest against paying their tenths and first-fruits in any but the smallest value of Queen Anne's time, they insist upon having the largest possible share of the poor labourer's wages, or, in lieu of them, his goods or body. In August, 1833, a document was laid before the House of Commons, showing that Francis Lundy, rector of Lockington, in the east riding of Yorkshire, had demanded the following *tithes on the wages* of the following working men:—

	Wages.			Sums demanded.	
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
Jeremiah Dodsworth, for last year . . .	13	0	0	4	4
Ditto, for this year, hired weekly . . .	15	0	0	5	0
William Hall	10	10	0	3	6
Harrison Moment	9	0	0	3	0
Henry Blakeston	15	0	0	5	0
William Foster	8	8	0	2	8
George Fenby	6	6	0	2	0
John Hall, half a year	10	10	0	3	6
John Milner	15	0	0	5	0
Matthew Blakeston	8	0	0	2	6
Carling Risim	16	0	0	5	4
John Dodsworth	15	0	0	5	0
William Fallowfield, miller, servant . .	18	0	0	6	0
Roberth Braithwaite, ditto	15	0	0	5	0

Jeremiah Dodsworth refused to pay. He was summoned before two magistrates, JOHN BLANCHARD, a parson, and ROBERT WYLIE, who sentenced him to pay the four shillings and four-pence, and the costs and charges of the prosecution. He still refusing to pay, the same two magistrates issued a warrant of distress against his goods and chattels. He having no goods and chattels, JOHN BLANCHARD, the parson, committed him *to the house of correction at Beverly, there to be kept for three calendar months!*

But perhaps the exploits of the dean of Ripon, and his Christian mercies towards William Darnborough, a poor tailor there, show, in the most striking manner, the "wisdom, justice, and beneficence" of Lord John Russell's church, (I can never repeat often enough his words on this head,) in setting up a lot of Pharaoh's fat kine to devour the lean ones. In this respect, the church strikingly realizes one of Christ's benedictions: "Blessed are the hungry, for they shall be filled." Never were there such hungry rogues as bishops and deans, and whether they are not pretty well filled all England may be brought in evidence. Filled they *will be*, even though it be with the brown bread and bacon snatched from the

hard hands of the hedger and ditcher, or even the very *cabbage* of the poor tailor, and the sweepings of his board. "Hungry dogs," saith the old proverb, "will eat dirty pudding," and dirtier pudding than these hungry black hounds of the state devour never was eaten. Their digestion, outdoing that of the ostrich, is not even daunted by so tough a morsel as the tailor's goose.

It appears that the late dean of Ripon, Dr. Waddilove, left behind him the pretty sum of £120,000. It might therefore have been supposed that his successor, treading only in his steps, must have no fear of poverty; but Dr. Webber, the present dean, and holder of various other rich preferments, did not think so. He was already in possession of the following good things:—

Deanery of Ripon	£ 600	per annum.
Prebend of Westminster	1400	—
Rectory of Kirkham in Lancashire	1200	—
Perpetual curacy of St. Margaret's	350	—
Total		£3550 —

Dr. Webber had shown his taste for *income*, and his abhorrence of *industry*, in his living of Kirkham, so strongly as to bring down upon him chastisement from so stanch a friend of the church as Lord Stanley. On May 18, 1835, he presented a petition from Kirkham, complaining of the conduct of Dr. Webber, and added to its statements severe animadversions of his own. It appeared, that in 1814 the doctor had been inducted into that living. That the parish of Kirkham includes 130 square miles, is divided into 17 townships, of which 8 townships are without any means whatever of religious instruction, though the great tithes amount to £3500 a year. The doctor claimed only the small tithes, which in his predecessor's time made £250 a year. Dr. Webber, however, called for an alteration, and the parishioners agreed to guarantee him £1000 a year. At this his gratitude so overflowed, that he volunteered a statement to these liberal parishioners, that no further alterations should be made by him, and that *nothing should induce him to become non-resident*, to absent himself from the discharge of his parochial duties. Alas! what man knows his own strength! In 1825 or 6, he was presented with the deanery of Ripon, and in 1827 with a prebendal stall in Westminster, and the doctor and his gratitude vanished together! The parishioners complained that *the very reverend dean*, while absenting himself, had appointed a curate in his place, who was completely occupied with teaching a school. The doctor returned in 1832 to Kirkham, in high dudgeon, and resolved to make the complainants pay for their lugubrious piping. If they would have him, he determined that they should know that they had him. He, therefore, coolly kicked aside the agreement for £1000 a year, which he before protested *never should be altered by him*, and demanded £1600! On this the

parishioners demurred, and prayed the interference of parliament.

No sooner was the doctor safely landed in the Ripon deanery, than he demanded a tithe of 5s. upon every milch cow kept in the deanery. This was a demand which it appears had never been made, at least on much of the land, since the dissolution of the monasteries; but the doctor had found that about fourteen hundred cows were kept within the tithing, which, at 5s. per head, would yield £350 per annum. The *Leeds Mercury* of Aug. 20, 1833, mentioning this fact, says, "We believe two or three hundred individuals have been served with processes from the Court of Exchequer, for demands hitherto unheard of, at the suit of the dean and chapter. They have attacked individuals in detail. Many poor families, just able to maintain themselves, and keeping a cow, have had a demand made of 5s. for tithe of milk! From some they have claimed arrears of two or three years, to which has been added the expense of the Exchequer Court. Other persons, tenants of lands tithe-free from time immemorial, having originally belonged to dissolved monasteries, have had the same litigious measures adopted against them. Remonstrance has been vain; the dean and chapter would not condescend to show their title, but, with the arrogance of a wealthy hierarchy, demanded of the parties the proof of exemption."

Amongst the *poor* people thus laid hold of by this gorged but insatiable horse-leech, or rather cow-leech, was William Darnborough, a tailor, with nine children, and expecting of a tenth. He did not refuse to pay the tithe, but he insisted that the dean and chapter should collect it every day. This, which was only a reasonable demand according to the law of tithes, did not suit the haughty claimants, who, though not too proud to demand it, were too dignified to have it fetched every day. Darnborough, moreover, declared in public, that the demands were not correct in fact, even if they were in law. That the said dean, in 1826, had charged him for *five* cows when he *had not one*; in 1827, for *five*, when he *had only one*; in 1828, for *four*, when he *had only two*; in 1829, for *four*, when he had but *two, and two calves*; and in 1831, for a meadow-field, when it was in pasture. He stated, also, that the demand was originally £14! then reduced, on his refusal to pay, to £6 9s.; then, again, by a magistrate's order, to £4 8s., with 16s. 6d. costs and warrants, total £5 4s. 6d. For this a distress warrant was issued, and his goods, valued at £23, sold for 2s. 7d.!

In 1835, a fresh demand of £3 15s. was made on him; and again in 1836 he was sold up for a demand of £1 4s., when the proceeds of the sale were 3s. 7¹/₂d.! Great was the execration of the people at this miserable spoliation of the poor, the very children in the streets crying after the dean,—“Milk-Dean! Milk-Dean!” Darnborough's tenth child, being born, was christened—*TITHES* Darnborough, and offered to the dean, but not accepted. Nothing,

however, could shame the *very reverend* gentleman from the pursuit of his prey, particularly being, according to Lord Stanley's statement in the House, with his £3500 a year, still "suffering under pecuniary and family distress;" the milk claims were enforced and saddled on the district. Yet it is only justice to the Very Reverend Dean Webber to state, that there are brother clergy in the county of York, who lay on a still heavier hand than himself. The *Leeds Times* of May 21, 1836, states that in Warmfield, near Wakefield, the tithe on a milch cow is £1 5s., which operates so much against cow-keeping that the villagers have to go to the neighbouring townships to buy milk. The *Leeds Mercury* of August 31, 1833, calculated that the number of prosecutions for tithes, if they averaged in other counties their amount in that of York, could not be less than 10,000. Prosecutions for the most trivial claims, even of a few pence, have, of late years, been carried on with the most malignant pertinacity. In 1836, the town of Melton Mowbray was thrown into violent agitation by the prosecution of a poor man for 7½d., as a tithe on eggs, by the vicar, deriving from the parish benefice £700 a year! But perhaps the complete climax of all tithing is to be found in a paragraph from the *Liverpool Mercury*, stating that "J. Howard, a farmer of North Meols, on the Lancashire coast, had been summoned on the 6th of March, 1840, by the Rev. E. Hesketh, to pay the sum of 5s. 5d. for small tithes, namely,—potatoes, 4s.; hay grass, 9d.; two cows, 3d.; wife 1½d.! The ladies, I hope, will duly acknowledge the compliment thus paid them in their estimated value by the clergy—a wife being exactly that of a cow; two cows, 3d.; wife, 1½d.; making the real annual value of a wife FIFTEEN PENCE!! Possibly the men escape tithing too, only because the wife being the *better half*, the value of the worst half is found to be nothing at all! Ingenious fellows are these clergy! and this comes of learning mathematics. We never could have discovered to such a nicety the value of a wife without their aid; but, I imagine, when any one has read the whole of this chapter carefully, he will know pretty accurately the value of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. I have, nevertheless, given only the merest samples of its modern merits; the details alone of its tithe and poor rate transactions would fill a folio.

The working of the Tithe Commutation Act has, all over the kingdom, but especially in the neighbourhood of towns, given a fresh proof of the unprincipled and brazen greed of the state clergy. Take the doings of the parson of the parish of Hackney, in which I now live, as a specimen. This man, Thomas Oliver Goodchild, bought the living, and candidly declares that he means to make the most of it. Accordingly, in 1840 he stated the amount of his tithes for the past year to be £442 17s. 6d.; they were then to be assessed to the poor rate. In 1842, he made a claim for £981; they were then to be commuted into a perma-

rent rent-charge for him: and he has since raised them up to £1035! In this charge it has been shown at the vestry, and not denied by him, that he has included £93 on lands never charged before! and £154 of Easter offerings, which he thus summarily converted from a free gift to a positive rent, and then had the audacity to send round his begging officer at the following Easter for fresh Easter offerings! Nor was this all; it was found that, whereas he had thus more than tripled his odious charge on his parishioners, he had taken measures to avoid paying his share of poor rates on these tithes, amounting to £134!

For a "forty-parson power" of digesting tithes, this man might be matched against an archbishop!

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH.—CONFIRMATION.

I look on both sides of this human life—
Its brightness and its shadow.

ONE of the most beautiful and impressive rites of the church, is the confirmation of young people as it is seen in the country. On some bright summer morning, you see troops of village boys and girls come marching into the town, headed by the village clerk, or schoolmaster. First one, then another little regiment of these rural embryo Christians, is seen advancing from different parts towards the principal church. All are in their best array. Their leader, with an air of unusual solemn dignity, marches straight forward, looking neither to the right hand nor to the left, but sometimes casting a grave glance behind at his followers. His suit of best black adorns his sturdy person, and his lappels fly wide in the breeze that meets him. His charge come on in garbs of many colours;—the damsels in green and scarlet petticoats; stockings white, black, and grey; gowns of white, bearing testimony to miry roads and provoking brambles; gowns of cotton print of many a dazzling flowery pattern; gowns even of silk in these luxurious days; long, flying pink sashes, and pink, and yellow, and scarlet bunches in bonnets of many a curious make. The lads stride on with slouching paces that have not been learned in drawing and assembly-rooms, but on the barn-floor, beside the loaded waggon, on the heathy sheep-walk, and in the deep fallow field. They are gloriously robed in corduroy breeches, blue worsted stockings, heavy-nailed ankle-boots, green shag waistcoats, neck-handkerchiefs of red, with long corners that flutter in the wind, and coats shaped by some sempiternal tailor, whose fashions know no change. Amid the bustling, spruce inhabitants of the town, their walk, their dress, their faces full of ruddy health and sheepish simplicity, mark them out as creatures almost of another tribe. They bring all the spirit of the village—of the solitary farm—of heaths and woods, and rarely frequented fields, along with them. You are carried forcibly by your imagination, at the sight of them, into cottage life,—into the habits and concerns of the rural population. You feel what daily anticipations—what talk—what an early rising and bustling preparation there has

been in many a lowly dwelling, in many an out-of-the-way hamlet, for this great occasion. How the old people have told over how it was when they went to be confirmed; what a mighty place the church is; what crowds of grand people; what an awful thing the bishop in his wig and robes! How the fond, simple mothers have sent forth their sons and daughters; and given them injunction on injunction; and followed them from their doors with eyes filled with tears of pride, of joy, and of anxiety. How the youthful band, half gay, more than half grotesque, but totally happy, have advanced over hill and dale. The whole joyousness of their holiday feeling is presented to you, as they progressed through bosky lanes and dells, through woods, over the open breezy heaths and hills,—the flowers, and the dews, and the green leaves breathing upon them their freshest influence; the blue, cheering sky above them, and the lark sending down, from his highest flight, his music of ineffable gladness. You feel the secret awe that struck into their bosoms as they entered the noisy, glittering, polished, and, in their eyes, mighty and proud town; and the notion of the church, the assembled crowds, the imposing ceremony, and the awful bishop and all his clergy, came strongly and distinctly before them.

Besides these, numbers of vehicles are bringing in other rural neophytes. The carriages of the wealthy drive rapidly and gaily on to inns and houses of friends. Tilted wagons, gigs, ample cars, are all freighted with similar burdens; and many a strange, old, lumbering cart, whose body is smeared with the ruddy marl of the fields it has done service in, whose wheels are heavy with the clinging mire of roads that would make M'Adam aghast, rumbles along, dragged by a bony and shaggy animal, that, if it must be honoured with the name of horse, is the very helot of horses. These open conveyances exhibit groups of young girls, that, in the lively air, and shaken to and fro by the rocking of their vehicle, and the jostling of chairs, look like beds of tulips nodding in a strong breeze.

As you approach the great church, the bustle becomes every moment more conspicuous. The clergy are walking in that direction in their black gowns. Groups of the families of the country clergy strike your eyes. Venerable old figures, with their sleek and ruddy faces—their black silk stockings glistening beneath their gowns—their canonical hats set most becomingly above, are walking on, the very images of happiness, with their wives hanging on their arms, and followed by lovely, genteel girls, and graceful, growing lads. As the rustics' aspects brought all the spirit of the cottage and the farm to your imagination, they bring all that of the village parsonage. You are transported in a moment to the most perfect little paradises which are to be found in the world—the country dwellings of the English clergy. Those sweet spots, so exactly formed for the "*otium cum dignitate*."

Those medium abodes, betwixt the rudeness and vexations of poverty, and the cumbrous state of aristocratic opulence. Those lovely and picturesque houses, built of all orders and all fashions, yet preserving the one definite, uniform character of the comfortable, the pretensionless, and the accordant with the scenery in which they are placed;—houses, some of old, framed timber, up which the pear and the apricot, the pyracantha and the vine clamber; or of old, grey, substantial stone; or of more modern and elegant villa architecture, with their roofs which, whether of thatch or slate, or native grey stone, are seen thickly screened from the north, and softened and surmounted to the delighted eye with noble trees: with their broad, bay windows, which bring all the sunny glow of the south, at will, into the house; and around which the rose and jasmine breathe their delicious odours. Those sweet abodes, surrounded by their bowery, shady, aromatic shrubberies, and pleasant old-fashioned glebe-crofts,—homes in which, under the influence of a wise, good heart, and a good system, domestic happiness may be enjoyed to its highest conception, and whence piety, and cultivation, and health, and comfort, and a thousand blessings to the poor, may spread through the surrounding neighbourhood. Such are the abodes brought before your minds by the sight of the country clergy; such are thousands of their dwellings, scattered through this great and beneficent country,—in its villages and hidden nooks of scattered population,—amid its wild mountains; and along its wilder coasts;—endowed by the laws with earthly plenty, and invested by the bright heaven, and its attendant seasons, with the freshest sunshine, the sweetest dews, the most grateful solitude and balmy seclusion.

But the merry bells call us onward; and lo! the mingled crowds are passing under that ancient and time-worn porch. We enter,—and how beautiful and impressive is the scene! The whole of that mighty and venerable fabric is filled, from side to side, with a mixed, yet splendid congregation,—for the rich and the poor, the superb and the simple, there blend into one human mass, whose varieties are but as the contrast of colours in a fine painting,—the spirit of the *tout ensemble* is the nobility of beauty. The whole of that gorgeous assembly, on which the eye rests in palpable perception of the wealth, the refinement, and the elevation of the social life of our country, is hushed in profound attention to the reading of the services of the day by one of the clergymen. They are past; the bishop, followed by his clergy, advances to the altar. The solemn organ bursts forth with its thunder of harmonious sound, that rolls through the arched roof above, and covers every living soul with its billows of tumultuous music, and, with its appropriate depth of inexpressible feeling, touches the secret springs of wonder and mysterious gladness in the spirit; and amid its imperial tones, the tread of many youthful

feet is heard in the aisle. You turn, and behold a scene that brings the tears into your eyes, and the throb of sacred sympathy into your heart. Are they creatures of earth or of heaven? Are they the every-day forms which fill our houses, and pass us in the streets, and till the solitary fields of earth, and perform the homely duties of the labourer's cottage—those fair, youthful beings, that bend down their bare and beautiful heads beneath the hands of that solemn and dignified old man? Yes, through the drops that dim our eyes, and the surprise that dazzles them, we discern the children of the rich and the poor kneeling down together, to take upon themselves the eternal weight of their own souls. There, side by side, the sons and daughters of the hall, and the sons and daughters of the hut of poverty, are kneeling in the presence of God and man—acknowledging but one nature, one hope, one heaven; and our hearts swell with a triumphant feeling of this homage wrung from the pride of wealth, the arrogance of birth, and the soaring disdain of refined intellect, by the victorious might of Christianity. Yet, even in the midst of this feeling, what a contrast is there in these children! The sons and daughters of the fortunate, with their cultured forms and cultured features—the girls just budding into the beauty of early womanhood, in their white garbs, and with their fair hair so simply, yet so gracefully disposed,—the boys, with their open, rosy, yet declined countenances, and their full locks, clustering in vigorous comeliness;—they look, under the influence of the same feelings, like the children of some more ethereal planet: while the offspring of the poor, with their robust figures and homely dresses; with their hair, which has had no such sedulous hands, full of love and leisure, to mould it into shining softness—nay, that has, in many instances, had no tending but that of the frosts and winds, and the midsummer scorching of their daily out-of-door lives; and with countenances in which the predominant expressions are awe, and simple credence; these touch us with equal sympathy for the hardships and disadvantages of their lot.

Successively over every bowed head those sacred hands are extended, which are to communicate a subtle but divine influence; and how solemn is the effect of that one grave and deliberate, yet earnest voice, which, in the absence of the organ-tones, in the hushed and heart-generated stillness of the place, is alone heard pronouncing the words of awful import to every youthful recipient of the rite. 'Tis done,—again the tide of music rolls over us, fraught with tenfold kindling of that spirit which has seized upon us; and amid its celestial exultings, that band of youthful ones has withdrawn, and another has taken its place. Thus it goes on, till the whole have been confirmed in the faith in which their sponsors vowed to nurture them, and which they have now vowed to maintain for ever. The bishop delivers his parting exhortation, and solemnly charges them to return home in a manner becoming

the sacredness of the occasion and of their present act. Filled with the glow of purest feelings, breathing the very warmest atmosphere of poetry and religious exultation, we rise up with our neighbours, and depart. We depart—and the first breath of common air dissipates the beautiful delusion in which we have been, for a short space, entranced. We feel the rite to be beautiful while we cease to think; but the moment we come to penetrate into the mind which lies beneath, it becomes an empty dream. We feel, that did our after consciousness permit us to believe that he who administered this rite was filled with its sanctity, and relied implicitly on its efficacy,—that the youthful tribe of neophytes were rightly prepared by the ministry of their respective pastors, and possessed the simple credence of past ages to give vitality to the office—then, indeed, might it be in fact, what it can now only appear for an instant. We feel, moreover, taking yet lower ground than this, that were the clergy a body filled with the zeal of their calling, they possess in this ceremony a means of powerful influence. But I have hitherto spoken only of its poetical and picturesque effect, and that effect endures not a step beyond the church doors. At that point, the habitual apathy of the clergy converts this rite into one of the most awful and hideous of mockeries. The bishop charges the recipients to return home in soberness and decorum; but he should charge their respective clergymen to conduct them thither. But where are the clergy? They are gone to dine with the bishop, or their clerical brethren; and what are the morals of the youth to good dinners?—they have turned the children over to the clerks. And where are the clerks? They have some matters of trade to transact;—some spades, or cart-saddles, or groceries to buy—and what is the health of the children's souls to spades, and cart-saddles, and groceries?—they have turned the lambs of the flock over to the schoolmasters. And where are the schoolmasters? They, like their clerical lords, are gone to dine with their brother dominions of the town; having reiterated the injunction of the bishop with a mock-heroic gravity, as highly, but not as well assumed as that of the bishop himself, and with as little effect. While they sit and discuss the merits of the last new treatise of arithmetic or spelling, the work of some new Dilworth or Entick, their charges have squandered into a dozen companies, and each, under the guidance of some rustic Coryphæus, have surrounded as many ale-house fires. They are as happy as their betters. The loaf and cheese melt like snow-balls before them; the stout ale is handed round to blushing damsels by as many awkward blushing swains. Hilarity abounds—their spirits are kindled. The bishop, and the church, and the crowd all vanish—or rather, their weight is lifted from their souls, which rise from the abstracted pleasure with a double vivacity. Already heated, they set forward on their homeward way. At every besetting ale-house the revel is renewed. Over hill and dale they stroll on, a rude

roistering, and disgraceful rabble. For the effects of this confirmation, let any one inquire of parish overseers, and they will tell him, that it is one of the most fruitful sources of licentiousness and crime. The contagion of vice spreads under such circumstances, with the fatal rapidity of lightning. Young and modest natures, which otherwise would have shrunk from it and been safe, are surprised, as it were, into sin, and shame, and misery. Instead of a confirmation in Christianity, it becomes the confirmation of the devil. And this clergymen know; and yet, with the same apathy whence the evil has sprung, they continue to suffer its periodical recurrence; and thus, for want of a little zeal, and a little personal exercise of the good office of a shepherd, they convert one of the fairest rites of their church into one of the worst nuisances that afflict our country.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

Yet thus is the church, for all this noise of reformation, left still unreformed.
MILTON.

THUS we have traversed the field of the world. We have waded through an ocean of priestly enormities. We have seen nations sitting in the blackness of darkness, because their priests shut up knowledge in the dark-lanterns of their selfishness. We have seen slavery and ignorance blasting, under the guidance of priestly hands, millions on millions of our race, and making melancholy the fairest portions of the earth. We have listened to sighs and the dropping of tears, to the voice of despair, and the agonies of torture and death; we have entered dungeons, and found there captives wasted to skeletons with the years of their solitary endurance; we have listened to their faint whispers, and have found that they uttered the cruelties of priests. We have stumbled upon midnight tribunals, and seen men stretched on racks; torn piece-meal with fiery pincers; or plunged into endless darkness by the lancing of their eyes; and have asked whose actions these were—and were answered—"The priests!" We have visited philosophers, and found them carefully concealing their discoveries, which would suddenly have filled the earth with light, and power, and love,—because they knew the priests would turn on them in their greedy malice, and doom them to fire or gibbet. We have walked among women of many countries, and have found thousands lost to shame, rolling wanton eyes, uttering hideous words; we have turned away from them with loathing, but have heard them cry after us, as we went—"Our hope is in the priests,—they are our lovers, and defenders from eternal fire." We have entered, for shelter from this horror, the abodes of domestic love, and have stood petrified to find there all desecrated—purity destroyed—faith overthrown—happiness annihilated;—and it was the work of priests! Finally, we have seen kings, otherwise merciful, instigated by the devilish logic of priestcraft, become the butchers of their people; queens, otherwise glorious, become tyrants and executioners; and people, who would otherwise have lived in blessed harmony, warring on each other with inextinguishable malice and boundless blood-thirstiness; and behold! it was priestcraft, that, winding amongst them like a poisonous serpent, maddened them with its breath, and exulted, with fiendish eyes, over their horrible

carnage. All this we have beheld, and what is the mighty lesson it has taught? It is this—that if the people hope to enjoy happiness, mutual love, and general prosperity, they must carefully snatch from the hands of their spiritual teachers all political power, and confine them solely to their legitimate task of Christian instruction. Let it always be borne in mind, that, from the beginning of the world to this time, there never was a single conspiracy of SCHOOLMASTERS against the liberties and the mind of man: but, in *every age*, the priests, the SPIRITUAL SCHOOLMASTERS, have been the most subtle, the most persevering, the most cruel enemies and oppressors of their species. The moral lesson is stamped on the destinies of every nation,—the inference is plain enough to the dull-est capacity. Your preachers, while they are preachers alone, are harmless as your schoolmasters—they have no motive to injure your peace; but let them once taste power, or the fatal charm of too much wealth, and the consequent fascinations of worldly greatness, and, like the tiger when it has once tasted blood, they are henceforth your cruellest devourers and oppressors.

We may be told that there is no such pernicious tendency now in our Establishment,—that it is mild, merciful, and pious: my attention may be triumphantly turned to the great men it has produced; and the number of humble, sincere, and exemplary clergymen who adorn their office at the present day.

Much of this I am not intending to deny; but if it be said, there is no evil tendency in the church, I merely point to Puseyism, to the more recent details of this volume, and a thousand things around us. The present corruption, the present admission, even of the clergy, of the necessity of reform, is sufficient refutation; and if it does not now burn and destroy, we owe it to the refinement of the age, as the history of the past world will amply show. That it can still imprison, and for very slight cause, even for the withholding of a few shillings of church rate, we have had lately but too much evidence. Human nature is for ever the same: it is the nature of priestcraft to render the clergy tyrants, and the people slaves; it always has been so; it always will be so; the only preventive lies in the general knowledge of the community. That the church has produced great men, or rather the national universities, who will not admit, that remembers that Plato of preachers—Jeremy Taylor; Tillotson, Butler, Barrow, Beveridge, Stillingfleet, Hoadley, Hooker, and others?

I honour and love the good men who, even now, in many an obscure village, in the midst of a poor and miserable population, spend their days with no motive but the fulfilment of their duty; cheerfully sacrificing all those refined pleasures,—that refined society which their character of mind, and their own delightful tastes, would naturally prompt and entitle them to. Who do this, badly paid, worse encouraged; compelled by their compassion to despoil themselves of a great part of their meagre salaries, to stop the cries of the terrible necessities by which they are surrounded;—who do

this, many of them at the expense of remaining solitary, unallied individuals; unmarried,—childless; or if husbands and fathers, expending their wives' comforts, their children's education, on the poverty which the wealthy incumbents neither look on nor relieve. When I observe them do this, and all the while see their parishes drained by some fat pluralist, or sinecurist, who scorns to take the cure of souls whom he never goes near, except to take the living, and appoint his journeyman—when I see them look on wealth, dignities, and preferments showered on the well-born, well-allied, or well-impudenced, while there is a gulf between themselves and their attainment as impassable as that between Dives and Lazarus,—then do I indeed love and honour such men; and it is for such that I would see the church reformed; and the road to greater comfort and more extensive usefulness thrown open. I would not, as the bees do, appoint a killing day for the drones, but I would have no more admitted to the hive.

There are excellent men, we admit; but are the multitude such? We shall undoubtedly be told so. The whole body will be represented as the most disinterested, holy, beneficent, industrious, wonder-working, salvation-spreading body imaginable. In their own periodicals and pamphlets, they are, in fact, represented so. Whether they be so or not, let one of the greatest intellects of the age, and one of their own warm friends, testify:—

The sweet words
Of Christian promise, words that even yet
Might stem destruction, were they wisely preached,
Are muttered o'er by men, whose tones proclaim
How flat and wearisome they feel their trade:
Rank scoffers some; but most too indolent
To deem them falsehoods, or to know their truth.

COLERIDGE.

And let one great truth be marked;—The *prevalent character of a public body* stamps itself in the public mind as faithfully as a man's face in a mirror. There may be exceptions to a body, and they may be considerable: but when that body becomes *proverbial*; when it is, as a whole, the object of the jokes, the sarcasms, and contempts of the people; that body is not *partially*, but *almost wholly corrupt*. Now, such is the character of the church-of-England clergy, in the mind of the British people. We may be told it is the vulgar opinion, and the vulgar are wrong. In judgments of this kind the vulgar, as they are called, are *right*. They always were so: but this, too, will be denied. A body in its corruption never did, and never will admit it: its only feeling will be anger, not repentance. When the Romish church was utterly corrupted; when its priests and monks were the scandal and the scorn of all men, did the church admit it? did it reform them?—When Luther's artillery was thundering against it, and shaking it to its foundations, did it admit the justice of his attack? No! it only turned

in rage, and would have devoured him, as it devoured all other reformers. When he had knocked down many of its pillars, blown up many of its bastions, laid bare to public scorn and indignation its secret fooleries and horrors, it relaxed not an atom of its pretensions; it abated not a jot of its pride; it stayed not its bloody arm; shunned not to proclaim itself still holy, invulnerable, and supreme. While Dante and Bocaccio laughed at its errors, or declaimed against its abuses, in its own territories; while Erasmus in the Netherlands, Chaucer in England, and Sir David Lindsay, the Chaucer of Scotland, were pouring ineffable and everlasting ridicule on its monks, its priests, and pardoners, they were told that theirs was but the retailing of vulgar ignorance and envy;—but what followed? Time proclaimed it TRUTH. The corrupted tribes were chased away by popular fury and scorn, and have left only a name which is an infamy and a warning.

From age to age, the great spirits of the world have raised their voices and cried, Liberty! but the cry has been drowned by the clash of arms, or the brutish violence of uncultured mobs. Homer and Demosthenes in Greece, Cicero in Rome, the poets and martyrs of the middle ages; our sublime Milton, the maligned, but immovable servant and sufferer of freedom, who laid down on her altar his peace, his comfort, and his very eyesight; our Hampdens and Sidneys, the Hofers and Bolivars of other lands, have, from age to age, cried, Liberty! but ignorance and power have been commonly too much for them. But at length, light from the eternal sanctuary of truth has spread over every region; into the depths and the dens of poverty it has penetrated; the scholar and the statesman are compelled to behold in the marriage of Christianity and knowledge, the promise of the establishment of peace, order, and happiness,—the reign of rational freedom. We are in the very crisis in which old things are to be pulled down, and new ones established on the most ancient of foundations,—justice to the people. To effect safely this momentous change, requires all the watchfulness and the wisdom of an intelligent nation. The experience of the world's history warns us to steer the safe middle course, between the despotism of the aristocracy and the mob, between the highest and the lowest orders of society. The intelligence, and not the wealth or multitudes of a state, must give the law of safety;—and to this intelligence I would again and finally say,—Be warned by universal history! Snatch from your priesthood all political power; abandon all state religion; place Christianity on its own base—the universal heart of the people; let your preachers be, as your schoolmasters, simply teachers; eschew reverend justices of the peace, very reverend politicians, and right reverend peers and legislators, as you would have done the reverend knights, and marquises, and dukes, of the past ages. They must neither meddle with your wills, nor take the tenth of your corn; they must neither tax you to maintain houses in which to preach against you, and read your damnation in creeds of which

no one really knows the origin ; nor persecute you, nor seize your goods for Easter offerings and smoke-money. The system by which they tax you at your entry into the world ; tax you at your marriage ; tax you at your death ; suffer you not to descend into your native earth without a fee,—must be abolished. The system by which you are made to pay for every thing, and to have a voice in nothing—not even in the choice of a good minister, or the dismissal of a vile and scandalous debauchee ; by which you are made the helpless puppet of some obtuse squire, and the prey of some greedy and godless priest,—must have an end.

On this age, the happiness of centuries—the prosperity of Truth depend ;—let it not disappoint the expectations and mar the destinies of millions !

THE END.

AFTER-WORDS,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE GREAT PRINCIPLE OF THIS VOLUME.

POLITICS INSEPARABLE FROM CHRISTIANITY.

WE are often warned against indulging in politics, as if it were some *sinful* indulgence, like swearing or gin drinking. The religious warn us with a solemn shake of the head; and none more than the members of the Society of Friends deal in cautions against this bugbear of politics, "lest," say they, "it disturb the serenity of our minds; lest it unfit us for religious meditation." Now, I am totally at a loss to comprehend the solid ground of these pious exhortations. It is because I am religious that I feel myself compelled, irresistibly compelled, to be also political. The very practices of the Society of Friends have educated me into this necessity. One excellent practice they have; I wish it were universally adopted, and then we should speedily have a stupendous host of honest, ardent, Christian politicians. It is that of reading every day aloud in the family circle a portion of the sacred Scriptures. I will defy any one to proceed far in the New Testament without coming upon practices and commands of our Saviour, that, if he comprehend their true and practical import, will compel him into a politician. Nay, if we go back to the Old Testament, what is the predicted character of the Saviour? Is it merely that he shall be a spiritual Saviour? No, but that he shall be a temporal one too. He is "to open the prison doors, to loosen the bonds of the captive, and to let the oppressed go free." But when we enter on the New Testament, when we come to follow that great object of our reverence and model of our conduct in his life, and to listen to his commands, there is no alternative left to us. What is the great command of human duty? What is that greatest of all, next to the adoration and zealous service of our Creator? It is to love our neighbour as ourself. But will any man tell me how we are to love our neighbours as ourselves, if we see them oppressed, made poor, made miserable, made ignorant and criminal by the measures of a bad government, and this not in individual cases, but by thousands and tens of thousands, if we move neither hand nor foot to help them? If we are commanded "to do justice, to love mercy, and walk humbly before God;" if we are again commanded "to do to others as we would be done by;" if, again, we are told, that the very mark and distinction of our Christianity, is that "we love one another;" if we are told that, inasmuch as we give but a cup of cold water in the name of

Christ to one of his very least disciples, we give it to him: is there, let me ask you, any turn or escape from these great cardinal commands and injunctions? Is there any exception in favour of political crimes and oppressions? If we are clearly bound, nay, if our very hope and chance of heaven, if our very claim on the name of Christian, depend on our fulfilling these commands to the letter, and to the spirit, in isolated and individual cases, is there any exemption from fulfilling them in the great, the multitudinous, the crying and flagrant one of political misgovernment? The greater the mischief, the greater the need of our assistance; and I will boldly challenge any one to show me any causes or machinery of human suffering, so mighty or prolific as that of bad government. Where private causes make one man miserable, public causes make a million so. Where even the evil passions and propensities of the low and ignorant bring down calamity, discord, disease, and death on them, and their innocent connexions, the mischiefs of bad government bring these down tenfold more; nay, the evils of bad government are the very parents of these evils. Bad governments perpetuate ignorance and low habits, as good governments would promote knowledge, and religious and moral training. Bad governments promote drunkenness, by leaving people ignorant, and making them poor and desperate. Bad governments actually instigate to wholesale murder, to soldierly idleness, and the growth and indulgence of the worst passions. But, besides this, it is the practice of bad governments, by heavy taxation, restrictions on trade, accumulation of heavy debt, and the pursuit of selfish and false principles of action, by monopoly and class legislation, by primogeniture laws, and game laws, that fill our streets, and our manufacturing towns and districts, with distress, filth of person, and house, and life, with crime, and every hateful feeling and revolting act.

Where, then, is the religious man, who can feel himself bound to weep over a single beggar and drop a penny into his hat, and yet can persuade himself that he is not equally bound, nay, that it is a virtue in him, to avoid touching this greatest of mortal sources of crime and misery? Can such lamentable perversion of understanding exist?

Yes, it does exist, and that to an immense degree. There are those, and that perhaps in nearly every third house, who think that religion consists in cultivating certain inward feelings; in reading certain books, in making certain prayers, and passing through certain forms. This may be a religion of some kind, but I will boldly tell all those who practise it, that it is not the *Christian* religion. The religion of Christ is a religion not of negative virtues, but of active, ardent, generous deeds, and sympathies with our fellow creatures and their sorrows. A religion of inward feelings without outward work is the religion of monks, let its votaries call themselves what else they will. The religion of Christ led him out into the highways and hedges, into the streets and the market-places, and to the daily denouncement of public oppressors, as well

as to the alleviation of private woe. The religion that is not prepared to attack human evils at their root, and to *prevent* them as much as possible by destroying their causes, has been long ago pronounced to be "a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal." The man who sees trade destroyed by the mischievous acts of a bad government, and his poor neighbours suffering all round him in consequence, and does not set heartily to work to reform that government, to endeavour to procure a better system; but, on the contrary, shrinks into his house and his closet, lest he ruffle or excite his feelings, is but acting over again the proud Levite, and leaving it to the good Samaritan to pour the oil and the wine into his neighbour's wounds. It is in vain even that such men may attempt to remove the mischief done, by pecuniary aid to the sufferers, when they have neglected to attack and annihilate, when they still leave, in all its malignant activity, the originating cause. Such men are like madmen, who, instead of diverting the stream at its source, attempt to dam it up when it has become a mile wide. The Christian of the highest class calls in his understanding to direct and make effective his feelings. He looks carefully for the source of the mischief, and when he sees that it lies in bad government, to that government he applies his corrective energies; and, leaving the man of "faith without works" to give a *sovereign* where he should aim at a *sovereign remedy*, to relieve some dozen of workless people for a few days or a few weeks, when he should seek to defend and establish those measures that would give constant work to all, he shows the world "his faith by his works." In a word, Christianity is not merely a religion of principles, but of consequences; and he who does not dare to look those principles freely in the face, and, without fear of man or devil, of high or low, of unpopularity or personal sacrifice, to carry these divine principles boldly out into their full, direct, and legitimate consequences; that man may talk of Christianity, but has yet to learn what it is.—*From a Speech delivered by me at Nottingham, in 1835.*

DEFENCE OF MEN IN TRADE WHO INDULGE IN AUTHORSHIP.

And, indeed, now I think of it, what business had I to quit my laboratory, and indulge in the pleasures of literature? in those pursuits which, according to Cicero, "*adolescens alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium prebent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris; pernociant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur?*" What business had I to do this? It is true, little as I have done, I have already had my reward, in the life and strength and joy of my own spirit, and in the communion into which it has brought me with some of the first of living minds. What business had Burns to leave his fields, where he

———walked in glory and in joy,
Following his plough along the mountain side?

Why left he his fathoming of ale firkins, to write the merry Tam O'Shanter; the beautiful picture of humble and pious Scottish life, the Cotter's Saturday Night; and songs and small poems, to whose quick spirit the heart of the Scottish exile, "encamped by Indian rivers wild," throbs tumultuously,

And glows and gladdens at the charms
Of Scotia's woods and waterfalls?

And what business had Hogg to march out of Ettrick forest, and go waving his grey tartan up the streets of Edinburgh, strong in his marvellous resolve, to enrol his name amid the poets of the land? Oh, James! James! "with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know thy pride, and the naughtiness of thy heart!" What business hadst thou at the Queen's Wake? At the court of Queen Hynde?—reclining in the glen, listening to the unearthly words of the pure Milmeny; dancing with the fairies; telling of the Brownie of Bodsbeck; or singing one strong and peerless song of God's Omnipresence? What business had Allan Ramsay to go before thee, chanting of the Gentle Shepherd?—or a far greater Allan to come after thee, from the depths of Nithsdale, and casting down his mallet and chisel amongst his native rocks, dare to enter London and seat himself amid all the fair handiworks of Chantry? What had he to do with collecting the Songs of Scotland; or making mighty ballads of his own?

A wet sheet and a flowing sea—

what were they to him?—he was overstepping his natural functions. O honest Allan Cunningham! what business hadst thou with these things? And what business had William Roscoe to leave his mother's tap; to give over carrying out her pots of beer, and to go and write the lives of Popes and Italian princes; to ennoble his own mind; to cast a splendour over his native town, and to leave a heritage to his children richer than a patent of nobility? And what business had those shoemakers, Bloomfield, the Farmer's Boy, and Gifford, the terror of dunces and the pride of Tories, to quit their stalls and dare to become famous? And those drapers, or drapers' sons, Pope and Southey, and honest Izaak Walton, what wrong-headedness was theirs! What right had Izaak to haunt the Dove, and Shawford Brook, and the Thames, with his rod and line, and go, in summer meadows, making sermons to himself of such beautiful and serene piety, as seldom issues from the lithographic press for the use of state priests? He has written the lives of certain church worthies, too; and yet it is very questionable, that presumption of his. Those apothecaries, Crabbe and Keats, why did they not stick to their vocation, and avoid spoiling us with so much good poetry? What pity is it that our prudent archdeacon was not present when Ben Jonson threw down his hod of mortar, and Shakspeare left off poaching, to warn them against the sin of writing dramas? Could he have prevailed on John Wilson, and John Gibson Lockhart, and Walter Scott,

and Sharon Turner, to abide by their parchments and pleas, what reading of multitudinous volumes might we have been spared! Washington left his farming, to liberate his country, and Franklin his types, to frame a constitution for her, and Dr. Wilkins was not at hand to cry, "Overstep not the proper limits of your professions!" From the ranks of trade, from the very peasantry of the country, ascend to eminence clergymen, lawyers, and merchants; three-fourths of our nobility have sprung from the same source; and yet the enterprise of these men is very questionable, for numbers of them, with the happy daring of Sir Richard Arkwright, reached distinction by overstepping the proper limits of their original professions. Nothing, therefore, can be more questionable, for Archdeacon Wilkins questions it!

Yes, sir, without further irony, you have pronounced an atrocious libel on your country and your countrymen. You have attempted to sneer away from the gates of science and literature all those who are contaminated with trade. You have outraged what is the peculiar glory of England; for you may go over all ages and all nations—and in antiquity pitch on an Esop or a Terence; in modern times, on a Rousseau or a Bürger; but it is alone in England that so numerous a host of the sons of genius rise up from the plough and the spinning-jenny, and take their stations, with bold and unblushing brows, amongst the great and shining lights of the land. Nothing is so expressive of the contracting and blinding influence of priestcraft, as the fact that you do not look upon the venerable Milton as the sublime poet, as a man whose noble sentiments will influence the spirits of countless generations; as all other men look upon him—the glory of the nation; nor as that grand old Tory and stanch lover of the church, Wordsworth, looks on him:—

We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakspeare spake; *the faith and morals hold*
Which Milton held. In every thing we're sprung
Of earth's best blood,—have titles manifold.

You only, through the mist of sectarian prejudice, see in him "the republican and Arian Milton!" Well! welcome be ye to a faith which shuts the heart to sympathy with all that is noble, and imbitters it with hatred of all that is independent.

I think I have said enough to obtain even your future permission for men in trade to write.—*From the Vindication of "the History of Priestcraft" against the attack of Archdeacon Wilkins.*

CONSECRATION.

You now touch on the subject of consecration; and make this statement: "Now, sir, this superstitious belief, and all this priestcraft, by which the rich and poor, for so many ages to the present

hour, have been led to prefer a consecrated spot of ground for the interment of the dead, arises from this ; that it is congenial with the feelings of both the poor and rich, that the place of sepulture should, in the first instance, be made sacred, by prayer offered up to God on their behalf by their chief priest, and by a perpetual *exclusive* dedication of the soil for such holy purpose."

I must take the liberty to deny entirely, that the real cause of consecration arises from its being congenial to the feelings of both rich and poor, that the place should be first made sacred by the prayers of the priest. It is, unquestionably, congenial to the feelings of all men to desire that their remains, and those of their relatives and friends, should repose in ground guarded from violation and change; but it does not follow that prelatical consecration is the only or best means of arriving at this end. If we are to argue on what is congenial to the feelings of men, we must argue on the ground of our common nature; and if so, what is congenial to the *natural* feelings of a Churchman is equally congenial to the natural feelings of a Quaker. Now, we have no such ceremonies. We desire that our dead should be buried with the solemn decorum that is appropriate to the occasion; we desire that our burial-grounds shall be secured from intrusion and desecration; but we find in the feelings of our common nature, sufficient sanctity for this purpose. And where, let me ask, are there burial-grounds which possess more perfect security? Some of them now lie in solitary, and, of themselves, forsaken and unprotected places in the country, from Friends having, through their commercial habits, and in order to escape the plague of tithes, now generally migrated into towns; yet, they are as unmolested, and as inviolably preserved from insult or invasion, by the solemn sanctity of death, as if all the bishops of all the churches in Europe had muttered over them. If, then, as it clearly appears, prelatical consecration is not required by our common nature, this feeling must be an *ingrafted* feeling, and have become *congenial* to Episcopalians by habit and priestly inculcation, not by nature.

You proceed,—“In the next place, they know that the wisdom of the legislature has provided, that such soil, so set apart and so consecrated, shall not be desecrated; shall not be again appropriated to any worldly purpose. And the same of their churches; for it is not an uncommon event, from various causes, that a meeting is literally converted from ‘a house of prayer into a house of merchandise;’ the state has carefully guarded against any such occurrence in the temples and cemeteries of the Establishment.” You add,—“By this operation, a consecrated spot of ground is changed from mutable to immutable property.”

I pass your assertion, that you consecrate places of worship and of burial in obedience to the directions of both the Old and the New Testament, because in the Old Testament there is little to the purpose, except the dedication of the temple, and in the New absolutely nothing; and proceed to declare, that if you can show

that any such effect, as stated above, is produced by your consecration; if you can show that by it "a spot of ground is changed from mutable to immutable property," so that "it cannot again be appropriated to any worldly purpose;" then we will admit that it has some use. But if I shall show that it does produce no such effect; that it does not protect fabric or soil from the invasion of the strong and the bold; that it does not prevent them becoming again appropriated to any worldly purpose; then all your arguments for its use fall to the ground. It will be then shown to be a work of supererogation; and that you have set aside the eternal influences of our nature, to substitute unavailing rites,—rites, moreover, inspiring false views and feelings in the people, and burdensome to their pockets.

Has, then, consecration effected these purposes? Did it at the Reformation protect churches, abbeys, and cemeteries from the daring and rapacious hand of Henry VIII.? Where are the splendid piles of Malmsbury, Glastonbury, Battle, Waltham, Malvern, Lantony, Rivaux, Fountains, Kirkstall, etc.? Where are numerous churches? Where are the cemeteries of scores of conventual buildings?—Oh! you will say, these were broken up by a violent convulsion, and by lawless men. Well, then, where is the efficacy of your consecration? It is against the shock of such convulsions, against the rapacity of the avaricious, and the hands of bold, bad men, that you seek security. There wants none against peaceful times, peaceful and temperate people. I repeat it, the feelings of our common humanity are ample guarantee in ordinary cases. But these noble places, consecrated by prelatical hands, are fallen,—these cemeteries are desecrated; are become the property of laymen; and are appropriated to any and many worldly purposes.

What availed your consecration against the Protector Somerset, in the reign of that pious youth, Edward VI.? What availed it against his pulling down, in London, three episcopal houses, two churches, a chapel, a cloister, and a charnel-house, to clear the site for his palace, and supply materials for it? How availed it, when he carried away the bones by cart-loads, and threw them into a pit in Bloomsbury? What availed it against John Knox, in Scotland, when, animated by his fiery eloquence, the people rose, and tore to fragments the magnificent cathedral of St. Andrews, and which now stands a melancholy ruin on a melancholy coast; nay, more, when under his influence they destroyed almost every cathedral in the country? What availed it against the troopers of Cromwell, who turned your churches into stables, as completely as you represent meeting-houses to be turned into houses of merchandise? Yet all these people were men; they had the common feelings of men; they had a vehement, though erratic sense of piety,—but they had outgrown the *ingrafted* feelings supplied by priestcraft; and, in their wrath against that power, they set all artificial restraints at nought: ere the natural feeling of reverence for such objects had

time to revive in their bosoms, they committed many abominable outrages.

If your consecration be an influential safeguard against churches and cemeteries being again converted to ordinary purposes, what is the reason that Flawford church has disappeared, and its burial-ground become a common field? It is true the grave-stones remain, but it is used for all the worldly purposes of a field, and for nothing more. What has become of Bradmore church too, once consecrated, but now gone? What of the cemeteries of the abbeys and friaries of this town and neighbourhood (Nottingham)? They are all now, in spite of consecration, desecrated, and devoted to the common uses of life.

If burial-grounds, under the mysterious influence of consecration, can, as you assert, be thenceforth only appropriated to the uses for which they are consecrated, then, abundance of churchyards are consecrated to many a good game of marbles and hopscotch; and were formerly to that of football, after Sunday service; and St. Nicholas's churchyard in this town, is consecrated to a certain odd little Shetland pony, which regularly pastures there; to say nothing of your own churchyard, from which a piece is cut off, fenced out with wall and palisades, and converted to an ordinary walk, often used for very ordinary purposes.

You say that no charge is made by the clergy for consecration. Suppose we admit it. Suppose neither bishop nor incumbent is benefited by it;*—suppose it merely an expense of the form of law; it still is an expense to the people, incurred for what I have now shown to be superfluous and unavailing; and it is equally clear that it is incurred by the Bishop's Court, an integral and inseparable part of that great priestly system which is fixed on the nation; and it is of little consequence by whose hands the people's money is taken, if it be taken for the system. It matters little to the man who is taxed, whether the king or the king's servant is fed by his contribution—it is gone. When you are separated from the state, as you will one day be, then you will have a great right to impose whatever doctrine, ceremony, or tax upon your voluntary adherents they will permit, and no one else will have a right to complain: but so long as you are a part of the state, we shall have a right to criticise your customs, and denounce expenses incurred for that which is worth nothing.

There is, then, sufficient sanctity about the place of human sepulture in itself. When we enter one, however lonely and exposed, what are the feelings and the sentiments that impress us? Do we think, at such a time, of the forms and the words by which they were consecrated? No! there spring up feelings of so much higher a nature, that the memory of them would be cast away as an unworthy intrusion. In the wilds of Scotland I have suddenly

* Yet bishops demand from £100 to £300 for consecrating a church—who gets this?

come upon an ancient cemetery. Not a house or human being has been within view. The turf, the enclosing mound, the drooping stones, have all worn the grey aspect of antiquity; yet, hallowed by the solemnity of death, it has lain in the wide, brown wilderness in most inviolate security. When I sat down in this place, what were my thoughts? They were of the awful mystery of our nature—of the common penalty of death—of the everlasting regions of unknown being which lie beyond. They were of the life, the thoughts, the passions which once agitated this now silent mass; and of the inseparable idea that my own lot would be one day as theirs. They were, that many of these very mouldering bodies had once stood up and done battle against the bloody despotism of your church, and invested themselves with the glories of the patriot and the martyr!—Let us change the subject—it is not I who have desecrated it, but you, who have buried the consecrating influences of God's awful law of mortality and man's lot, under the cold forms of a priestly system.—*Ibid.*

THE PLUNDERING CHURCH.

But lest it should be said that all this was owing to the spirit of the times, it is as well to ask, has this church ceased to plunder? This is a serious question, and how is it to be answered? Into whose corn-field has it not entered, and taken away the tenth shock? Whose field or whose garden has it not plundered? Whose pig-stye has it not ransacked? Whose hen-roost has it not scaled? Whose apple-tree has it not robbed? In Ireland it has driven a whole people to desperation, and soaked the earth with blood. And in that country or this has it spared the poor? Let poor Watson, the shoemaker, whom it persecuted and imprisoned for some few pence of Easter-dues, (so called,) answer this. Let Jeremiah Dodsworth and his fellow-labourers answer this. These poor labouring men were charged by the rector of Lockington, in Yorkshire, in 1833, a *tithe upon their wages*; which wages in the highest, and that a single instance, amounted to only twenty guineas a year; few of them more than fifteen guineas, and some not more than six. Yet did this greedy parson demand a tithe upon their hard-earned wages; his own living, by his own confession, in the Liber Ecclesiasticus, being £532! and because Jeremiah Dodsworth refused to pay this iniquitous demand, another clergyman committed him to the house of correction, at Beverley, for three months.—From "*The Three Death-Cries of a Perishing Church*," published by the author at Nottingham, in reply to Archdeacon Wilkins in the Journal. Republished by R. Sutton, Nottingham.

THE POOR MAN'S CHURCH.

Let Jeremiah Dodsworth and his fellow-labourers answer this claim of kindness to the poor! And let the poor tailor, Darn-

borough, of Ripon, and all the poor people there, that were harassed by the dean and chapter and their lawyer, for a tithe upon their milk, join him. If this be kindness, it is an odd way of showing it. And if we would see for ourselves, what is the present comfort and accommodation afforded to the poor in this state church, we have only to go and look; and what is the case? There sit the wealthy people all in their pews, snugly boxed up; pews lined with the finest cloth, often of gay crimson, with luxurious cushions and hassocks; there sit the aristocracy, with their armorial escutcheons and coronets hoisted proudly above their heads; and there sit those poor for whom the church has such bowels of compassion, on a few naked benches, placed in the cross aisles, near the door, with a cold stone or plaister floor under their feet, and every blast which visits the place blowing upon them. Which of these are the *direct blessings*, and which the *indirect*, which the writer talks of as conferred by the church on the poor, we do not take upon us to determine. It is no wonder that *such accommodations* have had their natural effect, that the poor have migrated in legions to the more equal distribution of comfort in dissenting chapels, a confession which the writer unwittingly makes.—*Ibid.*

THE TRUE CHURCH POINTED OUT BY A CHURCHMAN.

"We will not for a moment admit," says the above writer, "that any considerable number of the additional recruits to the cause of schism, have been furnished by desertions from the ranks of the church." Whence, then, did these numbers come? For before dissent commenced, the church must have held all. Did they drop out of the clouds? No; the inevitable inference is, that they were *old deserters* from the church, who had been occupying a sort of neutral ground. And, accordingly, in the next sentence the writer at once confirms this, and pays the highest compliment to dissent that can possibly be devised. "Those," he says, "who formerly were of *no religion*, and who never entered any temple, except those of Mammon, now, impressed by *conscientious* feelings, enter with heart and hand into the service of the enemies of the national Establishment." Dissent! thine enemy has thus declared that thou hast *the especial mark of Christ's church* upon thee! Those who had *no religion*, who never entered any temple, except those of Mammon, thou hast sought out and converted, and brought into thy simple temples of unostentatious piety. Thou hast followed Christ's own example,—for those who had no religion were the very objects of his mission. He declared that he did not come to call the righteous to repentance. It was the poor and the ignorant—those whom the state church and the Tories particularly delight to pour their contempt upon, whom they brand as the rascal rabble, the swinish multitude, the great unwashed, the scum of the earth, the very lowest of the people,—these did our Saviour come

to seek and to save, and these thine enemies of the stipendiary church proclaim, that thou hast sought and converted. Thus have they pronounced thee the true church of Christ!—*Ibid.*

THE CHURCHMAN'S ARGUMENT FOR ENFORCING TITHES AND
CHURCH RATES, AND WHERE IT ENDS.

But the writer goes on to answer the question,—Why does the church persist in attempting to force church rates from those who maintain their own chapels? and replies, "Simply, because the law enjoins us to do so." Is every law, then, just? May there not be a law of God, higher than any human law? and were there not certain apostles who said, "Whether shall we obey God rather than men, judge ye?" Does this writer perceive the length to which his principle of enforcing every law, because it is law, leads him? Does he really see the horrible picture he has drawn of himself? The blind zealot, who is ready to enforce any law because it is the law, is the most fearful and revolting monster that walks the earth. In every land and age he is the same, for he has but one principle, to obey and enforce whatever law is in existence. Had he lived when Nebuchadnezzar made his famous law of the fiery furnace, he would have been the first at the furnace door, to fling the righteous in; and would probably have got a worse scorching than we shall give him before we have done. In pagan Rome, he would have been eagerly employed in throwing martyrs to the wild beasts, forcing them on gridirons, or flaying them alive; and his sole answer to all twinges of conscience, or words of the more merciful, would have been, "It is the law." He would have been a grand Inquisitor in Spain, racking, torturing, and consigning unhappy wretches to the flames of the auto-da-fe. He would have gloried in all the massacres of protestants in the Netherlands,—he would have been great at St. Bartholomew—in Calabria, where the poor Waldenses were butchered like sheep, hunted through the woods like deer, and cut in quarters, and stuck on posts all along the road sides, from one town to another,—he would have revelled in blood, and cried, "It is the law." In our own country, under the Tudors and the Stuarts,—in England, Scotland, and Ireland, he would have cried "havoc!" and been a bloody Bonner, thrusting good men into his coal-hole, till he could bring them to the stake, while he doomed his servants to the devil, if they did not bring him plenty of mellow pears; or a Claverhouse, riding over the hills, red with the gore of men murdered for the faith. But in all this, he cannot see the full enormity of his danger or his crime;—he would have been one of the greatest revilers and crucifiers of Christ, for it was with this very language in their mouths, that the Jews perpetrated that awful deed,—"*We have a law, and by that law he must die!*" We trust that we have shown him enough to make him at least tremble at the rashness of his assertion, and we are thankful, for

his own sake, that he lives under laws which, if they permit him to rob, will not permit him to slay.—*Ibid.*

A VERY USEFUL DEFINITION OF BLASPHEMY.

What is blasphemy? Christ himself was accused of blasphemy by the Jews, because he denounced the corruptions of their Establishment. The meaning of blasphemy, therefore, in a Tory's head, is, not to speak irreverently of God, but to speak irreverently of Establishments. Let every body keep this plain distinction in mind, and they will always understand a Tory perfectly, and will suffer no needless alarm.—*Ibid.*

A WORD ON BEHALF OF COBBLERS.

The journalist is very anxious, too, he says, that the dissenters should disown this writer. No doubt of it; but we cannot hold out to him the least apparent prospect of a speedy release from his anxiety. He thinks, moreover, that we are a Quaker. What peculiar signs of Quakerism he sees in us, we cannot imagine. We are neither *very silent*, nor *very meek*, nor very apt to turn one cheek when we have been smitten on the other. But if the journalist can make it out to his own satisfaction, we are satisfied too. He taunts the Society of Friends with having a presumptuous cobbler for their original apostle. That presumptuous cobbler, we know, the Friends glory in, and justly. He pricked the church with his awl deeper than it ever was pricked before. The wounds have not healed yet, and they never will heal; they are now in a regular process of *mortification*, and will end in *dissolution*. That presumptuous cobbler so thundered, in his day, against the corruptions of the Establishment, and the infamy of mere hirelings, that the very parsons, in many instances, ashamed of their base trade, came blushing down from their pulpits, and followed him, in the honester calling of preaching truth, for the truth's sake. That presumptuous cobbler happened to be no cobbler at all, for, being apprenticed to a shoemaker and farmer, he chose to follow the farming branch, and that only till the expiration of his apprenticeship, when he set off on his religious mission, and never in his life followed any trade at all on his own account. That presumptuous cobbler, who was no cobbler, carried a head on his shoulders worth a gross of parsons' heads, and a heart in his bosom that feared the face of no man; there was neither bishop nor priest, that could either stand the flash of his eye, or the force of his argument. The journalist quoted Coleridge the other day, and as he seems a great authority with him, we will quote him too—"There exist folios on the human understanding, and the nature of man, which would have a far juster claim to their high

rank and celebrity, if, in the whole huge volume, there could be found as much fulness of heart and intellect, as bursts forth in many a simple page of George Fox."—*Biographia Literaria*. What says Thomas Carlyle, too, in his *Sartor Resartus*? "This man, the first of the Quakers, and by trade a shoemaker, was one of those to whom, under ruder form, the divine idea of the universe is pleased to manifest itself; and across all the hulls of ignorance and earthly degradation, shine through, in unspeakable awfulness, unspeakable beauty on their souls; who, therefore, are rightly accounted prophets, God-possessed. Mountains of encumbrance, higher than Etna, had been heaped over that spirit; but it was a spirit, and would not lie buried there. That Leicester shoe-shop, had men known it, was a holier place than Vatican or Loretto-shrine. Stitch away, thou noble Fox! every prick of that little instrument is pricking into the heart of slavery, and world-worship, and the Mammon-god. Thy elbows jerk in strong-swimmer strokes, bearing thee into lands of true liberty. Were the work done, there would be in broad Europe one free man, and thou art he!"

But does this sapient scribe think the Quakers date the origin of their religion in George Fox?—No, they trace it up to the old tent-makers, and fishermen, and the reputed Son of the carpenter; and let him cast contempt upon *them* if he pleases; for it is in the true Tory and church spirit of contempt for the poor and the low—a contempt, it seems, in which Christ did not partake. We really wonder they are not ashamed of Christianity, which had such a beginning—amongst poor fishermen and tent-makers, and a being "who had no place to lay his head." *Pro pudor!* why don't they abandon such a plebeian religion? Nothing less than a king should be the head and founder of their church, and therefore let it have a king for its head—King Henry VIII.—a monster of lust, of cruelty, and tyranny, but still a king—and therefore fit head of a church that scorns all humility of origin. But is there something so peculiarly contemptible in a cobbler? We could draw such a picture of the talent and worth of cobblers, as would astonish these Tory sticklers. Was not St. Crispin a cobbler? Was not Gifford, the editor of the *Quarterly Review*, that great Tory champion, a cobbler? Was not Bloomfield, the poet, a cobbler? Was not Drew, the author of that standard work on "the immortality and immateriality of the soul," a cobbler? Was not Professor Lee, of Cambridge, a zealous advocate of the church, originally a cobbler? Were not Hans Sachs and Jacob Behmen, two celebrated writers of Germany, cobblers? There have been cobblers that would stitch up such puny despisers of their order, in ten minutes, in a logical dilemma, from which they should never escape, while good soles are trodden under foot. There have been painters, poets, historians, divines, and metaphysicians, out of the cobbler craft; and John Wesley used to say, that he thought half the sense of the

working class had got into the cobblers' heads; and no wonder; that, holding their heads so *low*, a deal of sense should run into them, which never gets into the heads that are held too *high*. Let this despiser of the poor henceforth have a care of contemning cobblers.—*Ibid.*

STATE CHURCH SOPHISMS USED TO DEFRAUD THE STATE OF ITS PROPERTY.

But this profound writer denies that the property of the church ever came from the state. He may deny it, for a Tory will deny anything; but we defy all the Tories in the kingdom to prove it. We know the stale sophism by which they attempt to make this appear well enough; they say it came from the catholic church, and they are the catholic church—that the church was never *changed*, it was only *reformed*. They may make the best they can of this; it is just as good as the Methodists calling themselves church people. We will leave them and the catholics to settle this point; it does not concern us or the question. Wherever the catholic church got this property, we know that the church of England got it from the *king*. It is quite enough for us that Henry VIII. seized all church property into his hands, to do what he pleased with it; and some he sold, and some he gave away, partly to the lay nobility and gentry, and partly to that *new church*, of which he made himself the precious head. If he had pleased so to do, he would not have given this new church a farthing, for "he did what he pleased both with his own" and other people's; and there was not a man that dare say nay to it, if he wished his head to stand on his shoulders. He took it, then—and if the church people have a mind to see the fact, they have only to look into the Acts of the 27th and the 31st of Henry VIII., by which all this church property was granted to him. The old church had the pope for its head, but Henry set up a *new church* with a *new head*, to wit, himself, and passed a variety of new ordinances, at total hostility with the canons of the catholic church, and enforced them, too, with fagots and axes. This violent change from one church to another, and this claim of legislating and disposing of the ecclesiastical property assumed by Henry, were maintained by Edward VI., in his Acts of his 1st, 2d, and 3d years; and by Elizabeth, in her Acts of her 1st and 13th years; and it has been well argued by Cobbett, that if the catholic church had a prescriptive right to its property which no government could destroy, and this present church be the catholic church, then all the lay improprators have no title at all to their property; and moreover, that while, under King Edward and Elizabeth, there required fires, fines, and dungeons, to compel the people to adopt the *new church*, there required none of these under Mary to induce them to return to the *old*; a plain indication of the opinion of the people then, as to whether it was the same church or not.

These Tory advocates, when arguing for corruption, are perpetually declaring, that all corporate property, whether ecclesiastical or lay, is as sacredly and completely the property of the body, as private property is of its owners. Now, these people always take care to leave out one little fact, which creates the distinction between corporate and private property. Private property, when granted by government, is granted for the sole use and benefit of the person himself; but all corporate property is granted, not for the sole use and benefit of the corporation, whether it be a church or a lay body, but for public purposes. *Here is the grand and eternal distinction*; and people have only to keep this simple distinction firmly before them, to see through the sophistry of all Tory argument that can be brought forward. Corporate property is given for a public purpose, and whenever government conceives that purpose absurd, nullified, or is a purpose no longer desirable, it can undoubtedly recall the grant.—*Ibid.*

THE BIBLE THE GREAT FOUNTAIN OF ALL REFORMS.

We warn the church, not "to beware of the principles of dissent," but to *beware of the Bible!* They that love the Bible and the Establishment too, love two things that can as ill agree as two wives in one house. The Establishment must cast out the Bible, or the Bible will cast out the Establishment. That is the great enemy that it has to fear. It is that which has been the ruin of every national church yet—it is that which has produced all the great changes and reforms that have appeared in the Christian church yet. It overthrew paganism—it split asunder popery—it ruined monkery in this country—it destroyed it in Spain. The catholics were deeper in worldly wisdom than the church of England; they knew it to be an enemy, and they treated it as an enemy—they kept it down and out of sight as long as they could. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were wiser in this respect than their successors. Henry passed an act in 1539, called the Bloody Statute, in which he decreed, that "no women, artificers, apprentices, journeymen, husbandmen, or labourers, should read the New Testament, on pain of death;" and Elizabeth was equally averse to it. She did not wish the people to read at all, lest it should make them less submissive. She disliked even preaching, lest the mischievous principles of Christianity should steal abroad through it; three or four preachers in a county she declared quite sufficient. Such was the policy of the catholic church, and of the cunning founders of the English church; but now this superannuated state church, allows the Bible to walk abroad, over the whole land, and then wonders to see it produce its natural effects. Oh! foolish and stiff-necked generation! *wherever that book goes, there goes freedom of spirit and opinion.* There the peasant learns to feel that he is a man—and the man that he is an immortal crea-

ture—the child of God—the heir of precious rights and a deathless hope; a being too good to be trodden on by priestly pride, or robbed by priestly pretences. It was because the peasants of Scotland had, in every mountain glen and lowland hut, listened to the animating topics and precious promises of the “big ha’ Bible,” that they rose and resisted the bloody emissaries of this church. And now, throughout England, in city and in hamlet, in field and forest, that great charter of man is studied, and will cast down every thing that is opposed to freedom of spirit and independence of purpose. It matters not whether it be in church or in state—the Bible is the great reformer. You may mow down whole crops of reformers as you would grass, but if you leave the root of all reform, the Bible, in the earth, it will raise up ten times more. Make what laws and destroy what liberties you will, if you leave the Bible free, it will again leaven the whole lump of society, and your labour is in vain. It is abroad; it is in every man’s house, on every man’s table; and its still small voice is perpetually whispering, “Woe to all tyrants, and oppressors of God’s children!” It is the voice of God, and the power of God; and against it what voice, or what power, or what wisdom of man can prevail? From the Bible breathes on every soul near it, the eternal sentiments of liberty, independence, and contempt of death. While the Bible is free, man is free. Therefore, we say to the established church—*beware of the BIBLE!*—*Ibid.*

WHAT WE AIM AT IN CHURCH REFORM.

Here we lay down our pen. We have taken “ample verge and room enough,” and, whether jocose or serious, have had but one object, to diffuse sound information on the empty pretences of a state Establishment, the nuisance it is to the public, and the benefit to nobody but the parsons and aristocracy. One thing we desire to remind our readers of before we finally conclude, the wide difference between the church as an Establishment, and the church as a body of Christians. The Tories always try to confound these two essentially different things, but he who cannot see the distinction, must have a most uncommon skull. It is against the Establishment alone that we make war; and it is for the rights of the church as a body of Christians that we contend as earnestly as for the rights of the dissenters. Against that institution which imposes church rates, Easter offerings, tithes, and pays parsons in all their multifarious characters of bishops, deans, and deacons, parish priests, curates, etc., out of them, without the consent and in spite of the people, we protest; against that body which *worships only*, we have no quarrel. It is for this body, in fact, that we contend. We would restore to them their undoubted right to choose their own ministers. We care not a button about the disposal of the church property; that we leave to the wisdom of the nation; as-

sured of one thing, that were it taken from the Episcopalians, the dissenters would have none of it. But of this we take no care; our concern is, to see that all bodies of Christians whatever have full freedom to choose and maintain their own forms of worship in their own way. And we hope to see the day when the people of the church, so called, will thank us as their best friends, who have striven to free them from the thralldom of the state, and the wretched hirelings imposed upon them by patrons. Let that day once come, and then will the church flourish as the dissenters flourish. Every parish will choose its own pastor, and every honest, pious clergyman will have a chance of being chosen; all the host of imbecile, dissipated, and worldly aristocrats being removed out of their way. This is the end we aim at—the freedom and prosperity of Christ's religion; and he who aims at any end less pure, less disinterested, less noble, deserves not the name of man. This is the end we aim at, and this end once attained, then will commence those internal reforms and adaptations to the advanced knowledge of the times, which Tyndale, Hooper, Jewel, Burnet, and others, declared, long ago, were needed; which the eloquent Barrow particularly desired; which Coxe, Nihil, Acaster, and other clergymen of the present time, proclaim the necessity of. Then will those reforms commence, which none but the members of the church themselves have the least conceivable right to introduce. Then will the objectionable parts be struck out of its creed, and its otherwise fine ritual; and so splendid and animating would be the change, with all those fine spirits that would rise into its pulpits from the halls of purified and unshackled universities, and at the call of a free people, that thousands would flock into it, and we should go thither too, if it were only to witness that great, that glorious, and Christian revolution, for which we had laboured, and for which we had suffered calumny and shame. That day *will* come, whether we see it or not; and the cause of all divisions and misrepresentations, an Establishment, with its tithes, church rates, and invidious distinctions, removed out of the way,—blessed will be that day, and beautiful in the harmony of all hearts, and the mighty spread of pure religion. So, in this inspiriting faith, we say, for the present, farewell to the church, and even while she slumbers in the stupifying influence of established thralldom, may

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