

possible to imagine, that this malady is not contagious, which we do not actually possess? The Committee of the House of Commons, in their report on the doctrine of contagion in the plague, intimate, that this evidence is insufficient. That they should have so thought at that time is not surprising; the subject was new; it was not possible that such facts, brought before their view for the first time, should be comprehended in all their important bearings, or produce their full impression; these facts are now better understood; the argument is much simplified; the evidence is more complete; the mystery in which the subject was enveloped is removed; ancient prejudice is shaken; reason and science have put to silence the clamour of medical authority, more ignorant than it fancied itself learned, and still more illogical than ignorant; that voice has forced itself to be heard; it will continue to be heard, and the truths it announces will prevail: we trust we shall find, in the result of the investigation about to be instituted in the British Parliament, that the period of their triumph is at hand.

We are obliged, reluctantly, to postpone the investigation of the facts (as they are called) which are alleged to prove the contagious nature of the plague; we shall embrace an early opportunity of considering these "facts;" we shall weigh in the balance of justice the medical authority, and examine with some strictness the medical reasoning on which they are founded; we shall then enter into a full consideration of the Sanitary Code.

ART. VIII.—*The Book of the Church.* By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureate. 2vols. 8vo. Murray, London.

Strictures on the Poet Laureate's Book of the Church. By John Merlin.

The Book of the Roman Catholic Church: In a Series of Letters, addressed to Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. on his Book of the Church. By Charles Butler, Esq.

MISLED by the name, we originally intended to place Mr. Bentham's *Book of the Church*, side by side with Dr. Southey's *Book of the Church*; that readers might have the "bane and antidote both before them." This idea was necessarily renounced as soon as we had read the volumes before us. What they furnish is not a *Book of the Church*, in any respectful sense of the word. It is an old woman's story-book; containing tales about the changes of religion, and the lives of the workers of wonders, in Great Britain, from the time of the people who set up rocking stones, and venerated the misletoe,

to the time of those who sent our legitimate sovereign to count his beads at Rome.

In the quality of matron of the nursery-telling stories to children,* we might not have great fault to find with this author. In fact we should not have deemed his faults worth noticing. But his book is so contrived, as to appear what it is not. It has put on the mask of history, and it is desirable that this should be torn off. It is the duty of an historian, as it is that of a judge, to state the evidence with equal care, with equal fulness, and equal accuracy, on both sides. Mr. Southey's practice brought vividly to our recollection the following anecdote, related by Mr. Wakefield. "In the lamented year 1798, a judge was notorious for his severity to all the prisoners who were tried, and for his gross partiality. One unfortunate wretch, brought before him, had met with some accident, in consequence of which his jaw bone, on one side, had become much enlarged. The judge, ambitious of sporting his wit, could not omit this opportunity, and remarked to the prisoner's counsel, that his client would have made an excellent lawyer, as he had so much jaw. I do not know, replied the facetious barrister, whether he would have made a good lawyer, but I am sure he would have made a bad judge, for *his jaw is all on one side.*"†

There are indications that the Church, as often happens to elderly persons, is falling into her dotage. Among these symptoms, one of not the least remarkable is this Book of hers, from the pen of one who proves himself her son, by so many decisive marks of consanguinity. It is a poor imitation of a stale trick of the Romish church. Nothing is more notorious than her books of the lives of her saints, or the use she makes of them. Robert Southey's is a book of the lives of the saints of the English church, and he desires to derive from it a similar advantage.

The Romanists collect tales of the pieties, and the sufferings, and the doings, of numbers of individuals. Then comes the application, how admirable the church which has produced such admirable men, and on account of which such admirable men have undergone actively and passively—the things which are set forth. On all such persons as can feel, but cannot reason—a large class—this is expected to produce a great effect. In less enlightened ages, in the hands of the Romish priests,

* "I offer it," he says, "to fathers [*quære, mothers*], which they may put into the hands of their children." We shall presently see what sort of a manual it is.

† An account of Ireland; Statistical and Political, by Edward Wakefield v. ii. p. 344.

it did produce extraordinary effects. Mr. Southey imagines, that even in the present age it may produce some effect; especially upon "children;" for whose use, and that of another class, namely those who are already prepossessed with opinions favourable to the trick, he gives plain intimation that it is principally intended. Our story-teller prefaceth in following wise:

'Manifold as are the blessings for which Englishmen are beholden to the institutions of their country; there is no part of those institutions from which they derive more important advantages than from its Church Establishment, none by which the temporal condition of all ranks has been so materially improved. So many of our countrymen would not be ungrateful for these benefits, if they knew how numerous and how great they are, how dearly they were prized by our forefathers, and at how dear a price they were purchased for our inheritance; by what religious exertions, what heroic devotion, what precious lives, consumed in pious labours, wasted away in dungeons, or offered up amid the flames. This is a knowledge which, if early inculcated, might arm the young heart against the pestilent errors of these distempered times. I offer, therefore, to those who regard with love and reverence the religion which they have received from their fathers, a brief but comprehensive record, diligently, faithfully, and conscientiously composed, which they may put into the hands of their children. Herein it will be seen from what heathenish delusions and inhuman rites the inhabitants of this island have been delivered by the Christian faith; in what manner the best interests of the country were advanced by the clergy even during the darkest ages of papal domination; the errors and crimes of the Romish Church, and how, when its corruptions were at the worst, the day-break of the Reformation appeared among us: the progress of that Reformation through evil and through good; the establishment of a Church, pure in its doctrines, irreproachable in its order, beautiful in its forms; and the conduct of that Church proved both in adverse and in prosperous times, alike faithful to its principles when it adhered to the monarchy during a successful rebellion, and when it opposed the monarch who would have brought back the Romish superstition, and together with the religion, would have overthrown the liberties, of England.'

This deserves a commentary, because it contains the substance of the whole book, and exhibits a fair specimen of the spirit in which it has been composed.

The argument is worth observing: put into regular form it stands thus:

Every church which can enumerate votaries who have suffered and lived in such a manner as to excite applause, is an excellent church:

Church of England can exhibit such votaries; witness the contents of the present pages:

Ergo, church of England is excellent church.

What strikes one, first, in this reasoning, is the exquisite folly of it. When one comes to one's second thought, it occurs that Mr. Southey may have had his reasons.

It is not what arguments are good, but what arguments will answer his purpose, that sometimes is the main look out of an author. In this point of view, the reasoning of Mr. Southey may not be the worse for its being absurd. The dignitaries of the church, we understand, are active in circulating his production; in hopes no doubt that the same sort of advantage which the Romanists have derived to their church from stories of its saints, may redound through a similar channel to theirs.

To return to the sapient inference, the grand proposition of this book, that a church is excellent, if it has had men that would suffer for it—let us ask, if there ever was a church without such men? The fact is proverbial.

Of whatsoe'er descent their godhead be,
Stock, stone, or other homely pedigree,
In his defence his servants are as bold
As if he had been born of beaten gold.

The motives are no mystery at this time of day, which mounted Simeon Stilites on his pillar, which lay the Indian Yogee on a bed of spikes, which made, but a few years ago, the convulsionaries in Paris submit to the pains of the cross, which supported Servetus, as well as Cranmer, at the stake. When credit is to be gained by suffering, when was there a want of parties to suffer? Suffering, in favour of almost every cause, gains it credit, and excites admiration of him by whom it is voluntarily undergone. If this is a proof of a good cause no cause was ever so bad as to be without it. Thus Mr. S. himself:

'It was deemed meritorious to disfigure the body by neglect and filth, to extenuate it by fasting and watchfulness, to lacerate it with stripes, and to fret the wounds with cilices of horsehair. Linen was proscribed among the monastic orders; and the use of the warm bath, which, being not less conducive to health than to cleanliness, had become general in all the Roman provinces, ceased throughout Christendom, because, according to the morality of the monastic school, cleanliness itself was a luxury, and to procure it by pleasurable means, was a positive sin. The fanatics in Europe did not, indeed, like their predecessors in Syria and Egypt; cast off all clothing, and, by going on all-fours, reduce themselves to a likeness with beasts, as far as self-degradation could effect it, in form and appearance, as well as in their manner of life; but they devised other means of debasing themselves, almost as effectual. There were some saints, who never washed themselves, and made it a point of conscience never to disturb the vermin, who were the proper accompaniments of such sanctity; in as far as they occasioned pain while burrowing, or at pasture, they were increasing the stock of

the aspirant's merits, that treasure which he was desirous of laying up in heaven; and he thought it unjust to deprive his little progeny of their present Paradise, seeing they had no other to expect! The act, of eating they made an exercise of penance, by mingling whatever was most nauseous with their food; and it would literally sicken the reader, were the victories here to be related which they achieved over the reluctant stomach, and which, with other details of sanctimonious nastiness, are recorded in innumerable Roman Catholic books, for edification and example! They bound chains round the body which eat into the flesh; or fastened graters upon the breast and back; or girded themselves with bandages of bristles intermixed with points of wire. Cases of horrid self-mutilation were sometimes discovered; and many perished by a painful and lingering suicide, believing that, in the torments which they inflicted upon themselves, they were offering an acceptable sacrifice to their Creator. Some became famous for the number of their daily genuflections; others for immersing themselves to the neck in cold water during winter, while they recited the Psalter. The English saint, Simon Stock, obtained his name and his saintship for passing many years in a hollow tree. St. Dominic,* the Cuirassier, was distinguished for his iron dress, and for flogging himself, with a scourge in each hand, day and night; and the blessed Arnulph, of Villars, in Brabant, immortalized himself by inventing, for his own use, an under-waistcoat of hedgehog-skins, of which it appears five were required for the back, six for the front and sides.

'The strength of the will was manifested in these aberrations of reason, as prodigiously as strength of body is sometimes displayed in madness; nor can it be doubted, that these fanatics, amid their pain, derived pleasure as well from the pride of voluntary endurance, as from the anticipation of their reward in heaven. The extremes of humiliation and debasement produced also a pride and self-sufficiency not less extravagant in their kind. They, whose austerities were the most excessive, were regarded by the people as living saints, and exhibited as such by other members of the community, who had the same belief, but not the same fervour; or who, not having the same sincerity, considered only in what manner the madness of their fellows might be turned to advantage.'

Southey is perfectly right. The "pride of voluntary endurance" does afford a "pleasure;" and, under circumstances of excitement, so great a pleasure, as overbalances all the terrors of bodily torture, and of death itself. Of so vulgar a fact in the history of human nature, having also the powerful testimony of Dr. Southey in its favour, we need not consume our limited space by offering any illustration. The desirable thing would

* I have given an account of this saint, in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 79. And the reader who is desirous of seeing another example, not less curious, of Roman Catholic superstition in its excess, is referred to the sketch of P. Joam d'Almeida's life, in my *History of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 684.'

be, to shew, on what frivolous occasions the phenomenon, in its most perfect state, is apt to exhibit itself.

But the martyrs of the Church of England were not merely sufferers; they were more; they were, in one word, which imports all excellence, *saints*.

The martyrs of all churches are saints. Saintship hardly ever means any thing else, than a wonderful attention to the ceremonials of religion, with a superiority to the pleasures of sense. The same turn of mind which renders a man superior to the pains of the body, and makes him brave torment, is likely to make him a model of abstinence, where abstinence as well as suffering is a source of admiration. The very worst orders of the Romish Church, those by which the abuses of religion were carried to the greatest height, had shining characters to obtain credit by. We adduce again the evidence of Dr. Southey. Of the mendicant orders he says,

‘The influence which these orders obtained was, for a time, prodigious; it was produced partly by the pure enthusiasm of the virtuous members—partly by the reputation of others (for they could boast some of the subtlest and profoundest intellects that the world has ever seen)—and partly by the implicit belief with which their enormous fables were received. Elated by success, and, as it seems, secretly conscious how little the system which they taught resembled the religion of the Apostles, they conceived a plan for superseding the Gospel; and this was so congenial to the temper of both orders, that it is doubtful whether it proceeded from a Dominican or Franciscan. The opinion which they started was, that as there were three Persons in one Godhead, the scheme of Providence was, that there should be three dispensations, one from each Person. That of the Father had terminated when the Law was abolished by the Gospel; that of the Son was now drawing, in like manner, to its close, and was to be superseded by that of the Holy Spirit. The uses of the Gospel, therefore, were obsolete; and in its place they produced a book, in the name of the Holy Ghost, under the title of the Eternal Gospel. The first dispensation had been for married persons; this had prepared the way for the clergy in the second; the regulars, being as much purer than the clergy, as these were than the Jews and Patriarchs, were, under the third, to become rulers of the Church, with greater authority than had ever been granted to the Apostles. Under the first, men had lived after the flesh; under the second, in a mixed state between the flesh and the spirit; in the third, they would live wholly according to the spirit, and the scheme of Providence would be fulfilled. In this, however, they went too far: the minds of men were not yet subdued to this. The Eternal Gospel was condemned by the Church; and the Mendicants were fain to content themselves with disfiguring the religion which they were not allowed to set aside.’

If the Church of England, then, ever so much abounded in martyrdom and saintship, it would be to none, but to people of

the weakest intellects, the smallest proof of any excellence belonging to it; but the fact is, that the Church of England is remarkably ill-supplied with such ornaments. For one martyr that the Church of England can produce, the Church of Rome can produce thousands.

In respect to saints, her decorations are still more deficient. In fact it is one of the most remarkable things about the Church of England that she has produced so few men eminent for any thing, even for the priestly virtues, leaving altogether out of the question those moral and intellectual qualities, by which the interests of the species are promoted. What men has she to compare in all the apostolical virtues with a Wesley, or a Whitfield? Whom has she to produce that can be named along with Fenelon, for the virtues of humility, meekness, benevolence, and self denial, combined with the most sublime genius? Whom has she to compare with Bossuet and Massillon for eloquence? With Pascal, for almost every gift? * This book, in fact, is the strongest of all proofs of the beggarly state of the Church of England, in respect to men of eminence, when it is obliged to chuse for the most distinguished ornament of that church, such a man as Laud; who pursued none but the most vulgar objects, and by none but the most vulgar means; who had nothing in his composition but what was mean; a flatterer and intriguer; a backbiter and slanderer; deceitful, envious, jealous, cruel; a man who ranked low even in the vulgar walks of literature; whose understanding was at once contracted, and perverted; who had a mind formed for little objects which he pursued, and with the fury of a little mind, as great ones;

* ' Will even Mr. Southey venture to compare, in point of Christian morality and piety, a Peter Bruys with his great opponent St. Bernard? a Tanchelin with St. Norbert? or a Wickliffe, with his enemy William of Wykeham? Will he compare Thomas Cranmer with Sir Thomas More? or Ann Boleyn with Catharine of Arragon? or Queen Elizabeth with the Queen of Scots? Conscious that no miracles have ever illustrated any other church than that to which its Divine Founder promised a continuation of them,* the Poet on every occasion treats these supernatural events, however strongly attested, as refuted impostures. He is particularly indignant at the stigmata of the devout contemplative St. Francis, which, though witnessed by numerous persons of the highest credit, he, on his own personal credit, pronounces to be "atrocious effrontery and blasphemous impiety." Referring afterwards to a book called, *The Conformities of St. Francis with Christ*, which he knows was condemned by the Church, he also quotes, at considerable length, another absurd legend, *The Eternal Gospel*, in order to render the Church odious and ridiculous; at the same time that he himself acknowledges it to have been condemned by her.'—*Merlin's "Strictures,"* p. 23:

• Mark xvi. 17. John xiv. 12.

scrupulous in the small moralities, while he made a sacrifice of the greatest; a man with whom the interests of his own order were every thing; the interests of the rest of mankind nothing.

But we must not anticipate. Laud will meet us again. He is Southey's hero; and we shall have occasion to examine, pretty fully, of what *lignum* his Mercury is made.

We shall not think it necessary to pay much attention to Southey in the early part of his work. It is merely the vulgar view of the ecclesiastical affairs of England, down to the commencement of Non-conformity; and if it can do no good, it will do little harm. We have long lives of St. Dunstan, and St. Becket, full of stories, intended to be entertaining ("to children") of which the following may be taken as a sample.

The Anglo-Saxon monasteries had never been under any uniform discipline; each followed its own rule, independent of all others. Glastonbury at this time was mostly filled with monks from Ireland; it was favourite ground with them for St. Patrick's sake, and as they had no large endowments, they contributed to their own support by educating the children of the nobles. Dunstan was one of their pupils. In such a school local associations would produce and foster ardent enthusiasm, or audacious craft, according to the disposition of the individual. A feeble body and a commanding intellect predisposed him for both in turn. He was of diminutive size from his birth, and by severe application to study brought on a disease, in which, after having been delirious for many days, he was thought to be at the point of death. But feeling at night a sudden excitement as if health were restored, he rose from his bed, and ran towards the church to return thanks for his recovery. The doors were closed, but he found a ladder left there by workmen, who had been repairing the roof; by this he ascended, and in the morning was found asleep in the church, unconscious how he had come there. They who larded the history of his life with miracles, assert, that as he was going there the devil beset him with a pack of fiendish dogs, and was driven away by his strenuous exertions; and that angels had borne him down where it was not possible for him to have descended without supernatural assistance. Divested of such machinery, the fact appears to be, that, in an access of delirium, or perhaps in his sleep, he had got into the church, by some perilous mode of descent, which he would not have attempted in his senses; he himself at the time might easily believe this to be miraculous, and from thenceforth he was regarded as a youth of whom something extraordinary was to be expected.

Mr. Southey, however, occasionally quits the office of the story-teller, to assume that of the Theological Doctor in his chair. We must exhibit a little of him in that capacity.

Britain has the credit or discredit (whichever it may be deemed) of having given birth to Pelagius, the most remarkable man of whom Wales

can boast, and the most reasonable of all those men whom the ancient Church has branded with the note of heresy. He erred, indeed, in denying that there is an original taint in human nature—a radical infirmity—an innate and congenital disease—to the existence whereof the heart of every one, who dares look into his own, bears unwilling but unerring testimony; a perilous error this, and the less venial, because it implies a want of that humility which is the foundation of wisdom, as well as of Christian virtue. But he vindicated the goodness of God, by asserting the free-will of man; and he judged more sanely of the Creator than his triumphant antagonist, St. Augustine, who, retaining too much of the philosophy which he had learnt in the Manichean school, infected with it the whole Church during many centuries, and afterwards divided both the Protestant and the Catholic world. Augustine is too eminent a man to be named without respect; but of all those ambitious spirits, who have adulterated the pure doctrines of revelation with their own opinions, he, perhaps, is the one who has produced the widest and the most injurious effects.

Augustine was victorious in the controversy: his, indeed, was the commanding intellect of that age. The opinions of Pelagius were condemned, but it was not possible to suppress them; and the errors of both soon became so curiously blended, that it would be difficult to say which predominated in the preposterous consequences to which their union led. From the African theologian, more than from any other teacher, the notion of the absolute wickedness of human nature was derived; and the tenet of two hostile principles in man, which had led to such extravagancies among the Eastern Christians, was established in the Western Church. Through the British heresiarch, the more reasonable opinion, that the actions of good men were meritorious in themselves, obtained. Cassian, whose collations were the great fount of monastic legislation in Europe, held that modified scheme, which has been called the Semi-Pelagian. But with him, and with the monks, the opinion ceased to be reasonable: the extremes were made to meet; and the practical consequences, deduced from the monkish doctrine of merits, coalesced perfectly with the Manichean principle, which had now taken root in the corruptions of Christianity.

What is done here by the author, is, to declare for the Arminian theory of Christianity against the Calvinistic. Not contented with determining that the one is true, the other false, which, upon the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Laureat Southey, might have been deemed sufficient; he goes on to condemn the Calvinistic or Augustinian doctrine, as productive of the most injurious effects.

By what warrant does he take upon himself to pronounce, that Calvinism leads to worse consequences than Arminianism? Does he produce any reason for his imputation? Not the shadow of a reason: nor can he. Does he not know—he does know—that those who hold the opinions corresponding, or most nearly corresponding with the Calvinistic, are distin-

guished, and always have been, for an exact and scrupulous observance of the precepts of the Gospel, above all other denominations of Christians. Does this betoken evil tendency? How does Mr. Southey reconcile experience with his theory? Alas! it is one of the last of considerations with Mr. Southey to reconcile his dogmas either with reason or with experience. How he comes by them we shall not undertake to say. How he defends them he affords the public occasion enough to perceive.

One of not the least remarkable qualifications of Dr. Southey for writing the *Book of the Church* is, his gross ignorance of almost every topic of dispute which is included within the limits of the undertaking. He talks here, for example, of the Manichæan school, not only like a man who had now heard of it for the first time, but like a man who supposes it to be the very reverse of what it is. He describes it as bearing an affinity to the Augustinian or Calvinistic doctrine; whereas, the fact is, that the Calvinistic, of all the theories of Christianity, the most perfectly excludes Manichæism; while the Arminian doctrine is justly chargeable with being Manichæism at the bottom; and when analysed to its elements, with being strictly resolvable into that ancient and exploded heresy.

The Manichæans held, that God admitted the existence of evil, because, from the existence of some unknown, but uncontrollable cause, which they called the principle of evil, he was not able to prevent it. The Calvinists say, that all the evil which exists in the universe, was not only permitted, but ordained by God—ordained for certain good purposes, of which it is beyond our competence to judge. Can any two doctrines be more completely opposed to one another than these?

On the other hand, the Arminians say, that God, so far from ordaining, did not intend evil. But moral agents must be free agents, and being free they must be fallible—hence the origin of evil, not with, but contrary to, the will of God. In other words, God was unable to prevent it, owing to some unknown, but uncontrollable cause. And what is this, in reality, but the principle of evil of the Manichæans? So utterly incapable is Mr. Southey of treating of subjects of the utmost importance, on which he has assumed the title to decide.

In the following effusion of zeal against the Catholic church, the author is betrayed into sins against his own church:

'The uses of conscience were at an end when it was delivered into the keeping of a confessor. Actions, then, instead of being tried by the eternal standard of right and wrong, on which the unsophisticated heart unerringly pronounces, were judged by the rules of a pernicious ca-

suistry, the intent of which was, to make men satisfied with themselves upon the cheapest terms. The inevitable effect was, that the fear of human laws became the only restraint upon evil propensities, when men were taught to believe that the account with Divine Justice might easily be settled.

“If the boundless credulity of mankind be a mournful subject for consideration, as in truth it is, it is yet more mournful to observe the profligate wickedness with which that credulity has been abused. The Church of Rome appears to have delighted in insulting, as well as in abusing it, and to have pleased itself with discovering how far it was possible to subdue and degrade the human intellect, as an eastern despot measures his own greatness by the servile prostration of his subjects.”

“An eternal standard of right and wrong—on which the unsophisticated heart unerringly pronounces;” If there is such a standard, so unerringly perceived, what becomes of the argument for the divinity of the New Testament, derived from the excellence, unattainable by human reason, of its morality?

“The fear of human laws became the only restraint upon evil propensities:” Human laws, then, are adequate, without religion, to the support of human society—contrary to the argument, in favour of religion—the famous argument of Warburton, for example, to prove the Divine Legation of Moses—that human society cannot subsist without the aid of the motives arising from the religious sanction. Southey's ignorance and rashness make him a very dangerous advocate.

The “credulity of mankind” is, no doubt, as Southey represents it, one miracle; and the manner in which it “has been abused” another. But this is a delicate subject for a Church-of-Englandist to handle; and we advise the sound heads of that body to keep Mr. Southey's pen away from it.

To set up the Church of England, for which purpose he wrote its Book, Mr. Southey imagined he had two things to do. The first was, to pull down the Church of Rome; the next was, to pull down the Dissenters. The first he essays in the early part of his work; to the last, the concluding part of his achievement is devoted. For his demerits, in respect to the Mother Church, we shall leave him to his Catholic critics, of whom we see that a sufficient number have taken up the pen; and as far as rashness, and ignorance, and groundless abuse, are concerned, have had no difficulty in making out a case against the panegyrist of England's “excellent church.”

Merlin, which is the anagram of Milner, a well-known champion, is nearly as liberal in rough epithets as Mr. Southey himself. Mr. Butler is more gentle and urbane. He uses, indeed, such a superabundance of civilities towards a man who thinks that abuse makes up for the want of argument and

fact, that he probably had the scripture maxim in his eye—
 “Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou also be like unto him.”*

* Mr. Butler, however, notwithstanding all his polish, can be thoroughly foul-mouthed, and a good deal worse, when he thinks there is something to gain, and nothing to fear from it. “There is not,” (he says p. 111, speaking of the abuse of Indulgences) “in the universe, a territory in which, in every secular, and every ecclesiastical department, some abuse does not exist; are we on that account, to conclude with the Lollards, and other Manichæan radicals, that all government is evil.” “MANICHÆAN” is an old *religious* term of reproach; “RADICAL” is a modern *political* term of reproach, and Butler applies them both, in the true spirit of Catholicism, to blacken the memory of the first reformers; with the same truth as if he had told us, that each man of them had seven heads and ten horns. The Lollards were Wicliff and his followers. The character of Wicliff is given us by Mr. Gilpin, in his work intitled, “Lives of the Reformers,” in the following words:

‘Such was the life of John Wicliff; whom we hesitate not to admire as one of the greatest ornaments of his country; and as one of those prodigies, whom Providence raises up, and directs as its instruments to enlighten mankind. His amazing penetration; his rational manner of thinking; and the noble freedom of his spirit, are equally the objects of our admiration. Wicliff was in religion, what Bacon was afterwards in science; the great detector of those arts and glosses, which the barbarism of ages had drawn together to obscure the mind of man.

‘To this intuitive genius Christendom was unquestionably more obliged than to any name in the list of reformers. He explored the regions of darkness, and let in not a feeble and glimmering ray; but such an effulgence of light, as was never afterwards obscured. He not only loosened prejudices, but advanced such clear incontestible truths, as, having once obtained footing, still kept their ground, and even in an age of reformation wanted little amendment. How nearly his sentiments, almost on every topic, agreed with those of the reformers of the succeeding century, hath been made the subject of set inquiries, and will easily appear from a general view of his opinions.’

Mr. Gilpin pursues the history of the Lollards through the *Life of Lord Cobham*, which contains so many liberal sentiments, finely expressed, as redeems many awkward attempts of his brethren in the cause of illiberality. We should like to quote, but must content ourselves with referring to, the following passages: that containing the character of Lord Cobham, at p. 100 to 103; and a clear exposition of the ground upon which Mr. Butler presumes to say, that the Lollards held “all government an evil,” at p. 126 to 131, both in the first volume. The reader who looks at these passages will be satisfied, that Mr. Butler’s defamatory facts, as well as Mr. Southey’s, stand in need of authentication.

Mr. Butler may have copied this abuse from his fellow labourer Merlin (Milner.) “Nothing so easy,” says John, “as to calumniate. Accordingly the Poet, by a fiction of his own, says, ‘the corrupt lives of the clergy provoked inquiry into their doctrine, and caused the first Reformers, meaning the Wicliffites and Hussites, to fraternize with the inhabitants of the Alpine and Pyrenean countries, who,’ he says, ‘had preserved the truth of better ages,’ meaning, the obscene Manichæans, called Albigenes, and the seditious fanatics, the Vaudois.”

The other part of Mr. Southey's undertaking, namely, to traduce the cause of Dissent; to fix an odious character upon Non-conformity, in order to recommend the Established Church, has not yet been met as it deserves. Our object in

The Catholics have the strongest motive to blacken the character of these Puritans; for dreadful is the account which stands against them, for that persecuted people.

Mr. Butler's charge against our first Puritans was, that they were Manichæan and radical. Milner's charge against the first continental Puritans is, that they were Manichæan, radical, and obscene. Obscenity and sedition were imputed to the early Christians, by the Pagans; and regularly, after Christianity was established, by the party in power, to those who dissented from them. As it was in the beginning, it is now, but so it ever shall not be. The term Manichæan embraced a great variety of sects, which were all put down by the triumphant Catholics, their books destroyed, and their name made a term of reproach, by which to denote whomsoever the Catholic wished to point out for abhorrence. This became a habit so inveterate, that a Catholic, we see, cannot even now leave it off.

"OBSCENE." On this point we must quote an entertaining passage from Bayle, [*Réponse aux Questions d'un Provençal*, 4me Partie, ch. 16.] "Cet Historien" [*Léger, Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises*] aiant raporté le témoignage que deux Inquisiteurs ont rendu aux bonnes mœurs des Vaudois, le fortifie par un passage de M. de Thou, et par ces paroles de Baronius. *Valdenses tactum omnem mulierum refugisse, qu'ils ont suy toute fréquentation de femmes, c'est à dire, toute fréquentation illicite, et par la belle preuve qu'en donne Radulphus Cogeshalensis, Moine Anglois . . . où il confirme ce qu'il dit de la sainteté de la vie des Vaudois, et particulièrement de leur chasteté par l'exemple d'une fille, qui se trouvant fort pressée par un jeune homme lascif de se laisser aller à la paillardise, répondit : Dieu ne veuille jamais permettre, ô bon jeune homme, que je devienne jusques-là ton amie, ni l'amie d'homme vivant; car je sçai bien que si j'avois prostitué ma virginité et souillé mon corps, je serois éternellement damnée. Quod audiens Mugister Gervasius, ajoûte-t-il, intellexit protinus hunc esse de impurissima secta Valdensium; c'est à dire, ce qu'ayant ouy nôtre Maître Gervais, il reconnut d'abord qu'elle estoit de la très-impure secte des Vaudois : remarque cher Lecteur, à quoy ce brave Maître reconnoît l'impureté de la secte Vaudoise, assavoir à la chasteté exemplaire de leurs Filles."*

Of the corresponding defamation of the Manichæans, which, among instructed and honest men, is now mentioned only to be laughed at, we should not have thought it necessary to adduce any exposure, if the following had not lain open before us in the same page of Bayle.

"Voici ce que Fauste le Manichéen disoit aux Catholiques chez Saint Augustin: *Vous me demandez si je reçois l'Evangile? Vous le voyez en ce que j'observe ce que l'Evangile prescrit: c'est à vous à qui je dois demander si vous le recevez, puis que je n'en voy aucune marque dans votre vie. Pour moy j'ay quitté père, mère, femme et enfans, l'or, l'argent, le manger, le boire, les délices, les voluptez, content d'avoir ce qu'il faut pour la vie d'un jour à l'autre: Je suis pauvre, je suis pacifique, je pleure, je souffre la faim et la soif, je suis persecuté pour la justice, et vous doutez que je reçoive l'Evangile?*

"M. l'Evêque de Meaux, qui raporte ces paroles, venoit de dire que

the remainder of this article is, to show to the friends of religious liberty, that they have here a very zealous, at least, if not a very formidable adversary.

In Southey's mode of dealing with any party obnoxious to him, the first thing which presents itself for notice always is abusive language. The whole of the non-conformists, into whatever classes divided, and by whatever diversities distinguished, are clubbed by him under the appellation of Puritans, the cant name by which they were, in mockery, designated by their enemies at the time. Of this we do not complain. This has long ceased to be a term of reproach. The following are appellatives in Southey's own style:

"The coarse and brutal spirit of triumphant puritanism"—(vol. ii. p. 403). "Their" [the Puritans] "own bloody intolerance"—(p. 401). "The apostles of rebellion"—(p. 398). "Another *behewther* of rebellion"—(p. 399). "The faction pursued their designs against the Church with all the unrelenting malice of inveterate and triumphant hatred"—(p. 396). "The gospel itself was perverted [by the Puritans] to encourage plunder,

les Manichéens du XIII. siècle avoient un extérieur surprenant. Enervin, ajoute-t-il, "les fait parler en ces termes : Vous autres, disoient-ils aux Catholiques, vous joignez maison à maison et champ à champ ; les plus parfaits d'entre vous, comme les Moines et les Chanoines réguliers, s'ils ne possèdent point de biens en propre, les ont du moins en commun. Nous qui sommes les pauvres de Jésus Christ sans repos, sans domicile certain, nous errons de ville en ville comme des brebis au milieu des loups, et nous souffrons persécution comme les Apostres et les Martyrs. En suite ils vantoient leurs abstinences, leurs jeunes, la voye étroite où ils marchoient, et se disoient les seuls sectateurs de la vie Apostolique, parce que se contentant du necessaire, ils n'avoient ni maison, ni terre, ni richesses. A cause, disoient-ils, que Jésus Christ n'avoit ni possédé de semblables choses, ni permis à ses disciples d'en avoir. Selon Saint Bernard, il n'y avoit rien en apparence de plus chrétien que leurs discours, rien de plus irréprochable que leurs mœurs. Aussi s'appelloient-ils les Apostoliques, et ils se vantoient de mener la vie des Apostres.

"Voïons présentement ce que je vous ai promis ; voïons, dis-je, les Catholiques Romains tenir le même langage que les Protestans qui rejettent les macérations, les vœux monastiques, les abstinences."

It would have been satisfactory to have said something on the charge of "radicality," or "sedition," or "liberty and equality, in the disorganizing sense," as Mr. Butler expounds it, "which," he says, "in this age are so loudly called for, and the loudness of the call increases every day," [p. 144.] This subject, however, must not be lightly treated. Mr. Butler must not be left to alarm, as he pleases, those who have a stake ; and we must return to this upon another occasion. In the mean time, we content ourselves with another reference to Gilpin, who shows, vol. i, p. 69 to 72, how much ground there was, in the opinions of Wicliff, for the zeal of the clergy to defame him and his followers, and how much reason there is for us to detest their defamation.

persecution, and rebellion" — (p. 397). "Root and branch men," they are denominated *passim*. The petitions against Episcopacy are "Effusions of Sectarian rancour and vulgar ignorance"—(p. 391). "Immediately, the London pulpits, and those in the larger provincial towns, where the Puritans had obtained a footing, were *manned with preachers*" [a neat phrase], "ministers, not of peace and Christian morality, but of hatred, violence, and rebellion"—(p. 388). "Wherever a few zealots led the way, a rabble was easily collected to hear them, part, for the love of mischief or the hope of plunder, the Sectarians suffering and encouraging these outrages, for the pleasure of insulting the loyal clergy, and showing their contempt and hatred of the church"—(p. 389). "They brought in a bill for the suppression of deans and chapters. The arguments for this spoliation were such as base and malicious minds address to the ignorant and the vulgar, when they seek to carry into effect, by means of popular clamour, a purpose of foul injustice"—(p. 382). We are amused with the epithet "foul." We wonder what sort of injustice Mr. Southey would distinguish by the epithet clean. We should like to know wherein the two sorts, foul injustice, and clean injustice, in Mr. Southey's idea, differ from one another. Probably it is all clean which is perpetrated in favour of the Church; all foul that is against it. But go on. "The aim of the ruling faction was destruction, not reformation"—(p. 381). "Sir Henry Vane and Hambden had the wisdom of the serpent in perfection"—(p. 378). "Laud had long seen the cloud gathering over the Church of England" [he was blind as a mole to the last]. "He knew also his own danger, from those who were possessed with the spirit of Sectarian rancour, and from an ignorant populace rendered ferocious by all the arts of faction"—(p. 367). "These factious people"—(*passim*). "The malignity of faction"—(*passim*). "The zealots of faction are neither capable of shame nor of remorse"—(p. 358). Southey is not a zealot of faction; he is only a zealot of the stronger party, which is never called a faction, so long as it is the stronger. "The rancorous and deadly hatred" [towards Laud] "of the factions who were now leagued against the state"—(p. 359). A capital passage is here quoted from a sermon of Laud, preached at the opening of Charles' first parliament. "They, whoever they be, that would overturn *Sedes Ecclesiæ*, the seats of Ecclesiastical judgment, will not spare, if ever they get power, to have a pluck at the throne of David; and there is not a man that is for purity, all fellows in this church, but he is against monarchy in the state. And,

certainly, either he is but half-headed to his own principles, or he can be but half-hearted to the House of David"—(*ibid.*) The churchman who could so preach, and the historian who can so quote, are certainly fit for one another.

"They, whose determination it was to shake the throne and to subvert the altar" [the Puritans], practised, without scruple, any means whereby their danger might be promoted"—(p. 357). As a specimen of the Scottish clergy, he says, "A rabid preacher had even from the pulpit denounced against the king himself the curse which fell on Jeroboam"—(p. 315). "The turbulent nobles shared among themselves the spoils of the Church; and the fierce, uncompromising, high-minded, hard-hearted zealots, by whom the storm was raised, encouraged the populace to demolish the abbeys and cathedrals"—(p. 372). "The Puritans, like all factious minorities" [the proper name for minorities], "endeavoured, by activity, to make amends for their want of numbers"—(p. 315); a conduct peculiarly factious.

Milner accuses Southey of writing, to pay his court to the Ecclesiastical powers. "He raves, through the history of many centuries, in abusing and calumniating the common source of Christianity, in order to court the heads of the present establishment, under pretence of vindicating it," (p. 4.)—"It is worth while inquiring, whether the dignitaries, whose favour the poet courts, will echo back his applause of this forerunner [Lord Cobham] of the Anabaptists and Regicides," (p. 26.) "If the writer might advise the Poetical Historian, for the purpose of effectually vindicating and securing the Church, he courts," &c. (p. 85.)

The champion of the Church of Rome is as fond of imputing motives as the champion of the Church of England. It is our opinion, that we have little to do with motives. Actions and their tendencies, with the situations and dispositions which give them birth, are the objects of importance to the public; and what is not of importance to the public, is immaterial to us. One reflection, however, is unavoidably suggested, by the language just quoted of Mr. Southey; that such is not the style which flows naturally from the pure love of truth. If it is not assumed to answer a purpose, it follows, that the author is most unfortunate in his taste, or his disposition. If he assumes it in order thereby to pay court to the Church of England, he imputes to it a strange character. The dignitaries of "Our most excellent Church" (such is its cant name) are as wise as Mr. Southey; if they show the world that they are to be courted, by the use of abusive terms against those whom they dislike.

It is well known, that Maimbourg wrote, in addition to many other things (he, as well as Mr. Southey, was a voluminous author) a history of the Calvinists, the Non-conformists, or Puritans, as Mr. Southey would call them, of France. The celebrated Bayle, who was one of these non-conformists, and driven from his country by the atrocious persecution which they underwent, wrote a *Critique* upon this History, which is published in the general collection of his works. The terms which he employs, to sketch the character of Maimbourg's History of the Puritans in France, so exactly describe the character of the History of the Puritans, presented by Dr. Southey, in his Church of England Book, that we were exceedingly struck with the resemblance; and think it will be interesting, as well as instructive to the public, to have its attention directed to it.

“ Je me figure, (says Bayle, his *Critique* is in the form of letters addressed to a friend) que vous vous mettez en colère tout-de-bon, en lisant cette histoire du Calvinisme; car j' ai vu quantité de bons Huguenots, qui voyant l'inhumanité avec laquelle M. Maimbourg nous mal-traite, battoient des pieds, et s'empportoient à des exclamations tragiques à tout moment. Pour moi, qui suis difficile à émouvoir, je n'ai point senti la moindre tentation de colère en lisant ce livre. Je l'ai lu d'un bout à l'autre avec un sang froid qui a peu d'exemples, et si je sortois quelquefois de ce sang froid, c'étoit seulement ou pour avoir pitié, ou pour rire des emportemens de M. Maimbourg, que je me représentois si acharné sur le Calvinisme dans cette chambre à cheminée, qui avec une pension considérable a été, ou la recompense, ou l'acquisition de ses services, qu'il me sembloit que pour se mettre plus en colère, il s'étoit imaginé que sa plume étoit devenue l'épée de l'Ange Exterminateur.”

Mark the similarity of the accusations.

“ Ils nous accusent en France d'avoir le cœur republicain. Ils nous dépeignent comme des rebelles, qui fouloient aux pieds les ordres de Sa Majesté, qui elevoient des Synagogues de Satan sur le Patrimoine du Fils de Dieu, desquels par conséquent il falloit châtier les entreprises séditieuses. Vous ne verrez point de page dans l'Histoire du Calvinisme, où cet esprit ne soit répandu : si on en croit l'auteur, c'est être ennemi de l'état et de son roi, que de souffrir les hérétiques, et un roi qui les souffre, se rend coupable d'une negligence qui le perdra lui et son royaume.—Cette sorte d'écrits sont fort goûtés à la Cour de France présentement; c'est pourquoi le Père Maimbourg, dont la plume est hypothéquée au roi par une grosse pension, n'avait garde de nous

épargner. Il savoit, avant que de commencer son histoire, qu'il nous falloit trouver coupables de mille séditions horribles. Plein de cet esprit il a feuilleté plusieurs volumes; il y a choisi certains faits qui lui ont paru favorables à ses fins; et sans se soucier beaucoup de l'ordre et de la véritable cause de ces faits, il leur a donné le commencement, le progrès, et le motif qui lui ont plu, de sorte qu' il nous a rendus tout aussi criminels qu'il l' a jugé à propos; et pour faire plus d'impression sur ses lecteurs, il s'est chargé d'un grand nombre d'épithètes diffamatoires, et de descriptions violentes qu'il a répétées mille, et mille fois."

The following reflections of Bayle on the mode of composing a history for a particular purpose, are highly instructive. " Il n'est rien de plus aisé, quand on a beaucoup d'esprit, et beaucoup d'expérience dans la profession d'Auteur, que de faire une Histoire Satyrique, composée des mêmes faits qui ont servi à faire un Eloge. Deux lignes supprimées, ou *pour*, ou *contre*, dans l'exposition d'un fait, sont capables de faire paroître un homme, ou fort innocent, ou fort coupable; et comme par la seule transposition de quelques mots, on peut faire d'un discours fort saint, un discours impie; de même par la seule transposition de quelques circonstances, l'on peut faire de l'action du monde la plus criminelle, l'action la plus vertueuse. L'omission d'une circonstance, la supposition d'une autre, que l'on coule adroitement en cinq ou six mots, un je ne sai quel tour que l'on donne aux choses, changent entièrement la qualité des actions.—Si cela est vrai à l'égard des historiens primitifs et contemporains, il n'est pas moins vrai que ceux qui longtemps après compilent une Histoire de plusieurs Recueils, la font plus ou moins avantageuse, selon qu'il leur plaît de confondre adroitement l'ordre des actions, de passer sous silence certaines choses, d'en relever d'autres. En un mot il n'y a point de *filouterie* plus grande, que celle qui se peut exercer sur les monumens historiques, quand on a autant d'esprit et de routine que Monsieur Maimbourg, si bien qu' ayant entrepris l'Histoire du Calvinisme uniquement afin de nous charger de la haine et de l'exécration publique, et de justifier, et fomentier le dessein qu'on a inspiré au roi de nous perdre, il ne faut pas s'étonner qu'il nous ait accommodés comme il a fait."

Bayle quotes the following poignant expressions of the writers of Port-Royal, relative to the attack of Maimbourg on the *Mons* translation of the New Testament. " Quelqu' extraordinaires que soient les emportemens du Père Maimbourg, contre la Nouvelle Version du Nouveau Testament, on peut

dire qu'ils n'ont rien de surprenant si l'on considère la personne dont ils partent. Que ce Père a ce malheureux avantage, qu'il est maintenant incapable d'étonner le monde par ses excès. Qu'il n'y a rien qu'on n'ait sujet d'attendre de lui, et qu'il a tant pris de soin de se faire connoître depuis plus de 20 ans par ses déclamations scandaleuses, que tout ce qu'il fait de nouveau, ajoute peu à l'idée que l'on a déjà de son génie et de son esprit."

The following passage relative to ceremonies, and the difference between two religions, the one abounding in ceremonies, the other void of them, affords an idea, both of Mr. Southey's complaints against the Puritans, and of the reply that is due to them. "La seconde chose que je remarque dans le narré de M. Maimbourg concernant Calvin, c'est qu'il dit que le Calvinisme n'est qu'un squelette de religion, n'ayant ni suc, ni onction, ni ornement, rien qui sente et qui inspire la dévotion, et qui entrant par les sens dans le fond de l'âme, l'attire et l'élève par les choses visibles au Dieu invisible, ainsi que lui-même l'ordonne : et que Calvin, qui a fabriqué une Religion toute sèche, et toute conforme à son tempérament, n'est avec tout son bel esprit que le disciple de Pierre Valdo, le plus idiot, et ignorant de tous les Hérésiarques qui ont jamais été, et lequel il a pris grand soin de copier, en formant sa nouvelle secte sur une si pauvre idée, et ne voulant aucune de ces sacrées cérémonies dont l'ancienne Eglise s'est toujours servie, pour faire l'Office divin avec bienséance, et avec cette sainte Majesté qui imprime dans l'âme de ceux qui les regardent avec un œil un peu spirituel, les sentimens d'une dévotion tendre et respectueuse, pour honorer Dieu dans ses redoutables mystères.—Voilà, ce me semble, ce que Messieurs de Port-Royal appellent une certaine éloquence pompeuse et magnifique, *abundantem sonantibus verbis, uberibusque sententiis*, qui nous engage dans l'erreur par un faux éclat. Ce qui se peut dire de plus raisonnable sur ce Chapitre, se réduit à ces deux choses, du moins selon mon petit avis, 1. Qu'il n'y a rien de plus propre à séduire l'esprit des peuples, que la majesté des cérémonies, et à leur inspirer beaucoup de zèle pour la profession extérieure de la religion : mais qu'il n'y a rien qui inspire moins de ce zèle spirituel, et véritable, que Dieu demande de ses vrais adorateurs. 2. Que puis que Calvin, qui ne pouvoit pas ignorer cela, n'a point établi l'usage de plusieurs cérémonies pompeuses, c'est une marque qu'il agissoit de bonne foi, et qu'il ne cherchoit pas les expédiens d'attirer et d'attacher les peuples à sa secte, par quelque chose qui frappât leurs sens. S'il eût cherché sa gloire ; s'il se fût fait une idée

de religion par des vues de politique; en un mot, s'il eût consulté la chair et le sang, il n'y a point de doute qu'il se fût bien éloigné de cette pauvre idée, que l'auteur appelle un *squelette*. Ce n'est pas sous cette forme dégoûtante que l'on produit l'erreur et le vice; on les farde, et on les embellit de tous les ornemens dont on se peut aviser: mais la Vertu et la Vérité ne demandent point d'autre parure qu'elles-mêmes: leur simplicité, leur nudité, et si je l'ose ainsi dire, leur brute leur tient lieu de tout. De sorte que si on veut faire justice à Calvin, on avouera pour le moins, qu'il étoit très-persuadé qu'il enseignoit le pur Evangile, et que la beauté naturelle de cette divine Vérité se soutiendrait par sa seule force, sans avoir besoin des artifices, que les fausses religions n'ont jamais manqué de mettre en usage."

When two parties in a state proceed to such extremities, that they take arms against one another; and each looks for the accomplishment of its object, only by shedding the blood of its opponents, they usually employ their utmost endeavours to blacken the character of one another. Every mischievous purpose, every odious quality, to which they can attach any degree of probability, either by truth or falsehood, either by stating facts, or by stating falsehoods, they impute to one another; and by holding up these causes of hatred to the public in the most persuasive light they are able, by incessantly repeating them, in every shape and attitude, they do what they can to fix an odious character upon those by whom they are, or have been opposed, and to derive to themselves the grand advantage which arises from making those who are competitors with them for the favour of mankind the object of their detestation. When one of two such contending parties is put down, and the other becomes not only triumphant, but master of all the powers of government; the vanquished party is treated with a fine set of names, and a set of actions and qualities is provided for it, finely corresponding with the names. It lies under this among other cruel disadvantages, that what is affirmed against it by the party possessing power, finds a ready belief with all the vulgar part of mankind, and the ready, and loud profession of belief from all the interested part. A thousand tongues and a thousand pens, incited either by ancient hatreds, or present hopes and desires, practise every art of defamation against it. The press teems with stories to its disadvantage, generally possessing little, often possessing no connection with the truth. That this was the case with the Puritans in a very extraordinary degree, is known to all the world. The Restoration placed all

power in the hands of Charles 2nd, and the profligate portion of the aristocracy who engrossed his favours ; men who held every species of principle in derision ; and who, as they had long dreaded the Puritans, now hated them with corresponding intensity, as well as the principles of political liberty which the Puritans advocated, and which the loyal aristocracy had been and now were trampling under their feet, together with the rules of Christian morality, which the Puritans observed with a peculiar strictness, and which never were treated with a more open and contemptuous disregard, than by the same loyalists, who found that kings ruled by a divine right, and that subjects were bound, by their duty to God, to suffer pillage and every sort of oppression at the hands of great and loyal men, because they were appointed to this purpose, by the king, and he was appointed by God. With the powers of government in the hands of such persons, after what they had suffered and feared through the ascendancy of the Puritans, it is not to be wondered, that the arts of blackening a character were exhausted, as in truth they were, against the vanquished and prostrate Puritans.

What Mr. Southey has done, has been, to rake into the filth, heaped in that and the preceding age upon the character of the Puritans, and to throw as much of it as he thought would now stick upon their memory. For the notion which he has been pleased to present of the Puritans, he appears to have looked only into the writings of their bitter enemies, whose stories he has given without examination or criticism ; indeed we should suspect, that the faculty of historical criticism—of comparing and weighing evidence—does very little belong to him : he seems hardly to be aware, that it is of any use ; and we offer this as an apology for much of the misrepresentation which he has here dealt out at second hand ; though it will not apologize for the additions and embellishments which he has made purely from his own invention. His second volume now lies open before us, at a passage which so exactly exemplifies the spirit in which the book is written, and in particular the feature which we have now touched upon, that it cannot come in more opportunely. It forms part of the pathetic story he labours to make up, of the situation of Laud during his confinement in the Tower. “ After a severe illness, during which he lost the use of his limbs, when, for the first time, he was able, between the help of his man and his staff, to go to the Tower Church, the Puritan who preached introduced so much personal abuse of him in the sermon, in such foul terms, and with such palpable virulence, that women and boys stood up in the

church to see how he could bear it. But he thanked God for his patience, and prayed forgiveness for his deluded persecutors." [*Book of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 420.] The expression, "a severe illness, during which he lost the use of his limbs," implies a fit of sickness of the most serious kind, which happening in a state of imprisonment, and being followed by losing the use of the limbs, a natural accompaniment of severe restraint, and the want of exercise, suggests the idea of cruel treatment by his oppressors, and intense suffering on the part of the prisoner. This is the impression which the *Book-of-the-Church-maker* leaves to be produced by his account of this incident; the knowledge of which he derived from Laud himself, by whom alone it is mentioned. Hear now the words of Laud; and, observing the changes Southey makes in the story, mark the purposes to which those changes are subservient.

"March 6. Sunday, after sermon, as I was walking up and down my chamber before dinner, without any slip or treading awry, the sinew of my right leg gave a great crack, and brake asunder in the same place where I had broken it before. Feb. 5. 1627⁸.

"It was two months before I could go out of my chamber. On Sunday (*Maii* 15) I made shift, between my man and my staff, to go to church. There one Mr. Joslin preached, with vehemency becoming Bedlam, with treason sufficient to hang him in any other state, and with such particular abuse to me, that women and boys stood up in the church to see how I could bear it. I humbly thank God for my patience."—*Troubles and Trial of Laud*, p. 63.

Here there was no illness; no loss of limbs during a severe illness. The whole of this is pure invention, on the part of the story-teller, with the real facts staring him in the face, since he copies the very words of Laud. The expression, "with such particular abuse to me," Southey enlarges into the phrases, "with such personal abuse of him, in such foul" [a favourite epithet of Southey's] "terms, and with such palpable virulence." Quære, does Southey understand the meaning of the word *palpable*? Palpable virulence! he might as well have called it olfactable virulence. Virulence can be as easily smelt as touched. This "abuse," imputed to the preacher, we know of, only from the words of Laud himself. Laud was sensitive upon these points, and not easily pleased even with praise. There may, after all, have been very little in what he might call and think particular abuse. The circumstance he adduces to prove the particularity, by which we are willing to understand intensity, of the abuse, is somewhat ludicrous. It called the attention

of nobody but the women and the boys. Some of them, of the women and boys, perhaps two or three, had a curiosity to see how Laud would look when he heard a censure. But what that curiosity proceeded from, whether from an idea of the grossness of the censure, or the well-known waspishness of the person censured (though Laud interprets the circumstance all in his own favour) does not appear.

The warmth of the preacher appears to have been the thing which chiefly annoyed the prelate. He preached with a "vehemency becoming Bedlam." We should like to know, if it approached to the vehemency of Mr. Irving, which our greatest orators and statesmen have gone to admire. The meekness which Laud had attained under his sufferings is manifested, by his declaring, that the sentiments of liberty, mixed, no doubt, with censure of the king, which the preacher expressed, deserved no less a punishment than death; which, if he had possessed the power, he would no doubt have inflicted upon the *Puritan*. This is the man whose own death is bewailed.

"I humbly thank God for my patience;" Shakspeare puts into the mouth of the canting Richard—

I do not know that Englishman alive
With whom my soul is any jot at odds,
More than the infant that is born to-night:
I thank my God for my humility.

Not content with his thanking God for his patience, our author makes him pray forgiveness for his enemies; which last circumstance is purely of his own invention. And this is the way in which Maimbourg Southey makes history.

A propos of making history, John Merlin has the following passage:—

Mr. Southey, it has been stated, is a poet; that is, as the original Greek word signifies, a *maker* or *inventor*. Hence we are not to be surprised if he makes use of his poetical licence or faculty in writing history, rather than weary himself in hunting out, and bringing forward, dusty records for the many extraordinary things he records and tells. It is true, he says, he "*can refer to authorities for them among his collections, but that he does not give those, because the scale of his work is not one which would require or justify a display of research.*" But it may be truly said of the case in question: *De non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio.*—"Strictures on the Poet Laureate's *Book of the Church*," By John Merlin, p. 4.

The total want of reference to authorities in Southey's book is a damnatory circumstance. No history not resting on the testimony of its own author to facts of his own witnessing, is worth any thing without such reference. Facts without authentic

tion are not to be regarded as historical facts. A portion of them, formed into a story, should be called a romance, not a history. The excuse made by Southey for not referring to his authorities, is a specimen of the man. He insinuates that he had no room for them; as if the name of an author at the bottom of a page required much room; or as if the most important of all things was that which could best be spared. But the most curious point for observation is, the idea which Southey entertains of the end for which reference to authorities is made, "a display of research." This is the only use which he knows of it; at least, which he chuses to recognize. The story-teller for the Church has correct ideas of the business of an historian.

It is well known, that an execution is a great thing for vulgar minds. A man's life and conduct may have been base and mischievous in the highest degree; he may have been constantly engaged in schemes of the worst description; he may have habitually disregarded the ties of truth, humanity, and justice, in the means he employed for the accomplishment of them; yet, if he is brought to punishment at last; above all, if the forfeit of his life is exacted, and he behaves with tolerable decency and propriety at his exit, the sympathies of the common herd are so much excited, that the merit of dying well throws a veil over the whole demerit of living ill, a character is attached to the man which he by no means deserves, and a morality of the most pernicious tendency is propagated. Maimbourg Southey has exerted himself to the utmost to derive advantage from this source. The dying scenes of Cranmer, and Charles, and Wentworth, and Laud, have been mines to him. Writing, as he was, for old women and children, he had reason to think they would be worth, to him, all the pains he has bestowed on them.

We might have thought we had lived to an era, in the progress of the human mind, when the life and deeds of Laud would no longer be held up for admiration; and when we should not witness a revival of his memory for purposes of mischief. But the Church of England is an intellectual curiosity. She swears that she will stand still; and has, therefore, a cause of enmity with all those who advance. But she has not sworn to retrograde. It does, however, appear impossible in the intellectual world to stand still. There may be effectual reasons which prevent such or such a party from going forward. But then it seems almost necessary for it to go back. The time certainly was, when the leading men of the Church of England gave up Laud; and not only thought that he was the grand cause of the ruin of the Church when he lived, but that his memory did no credit to it when he was dead. Bishop

Warburton, for example, in his spiteful notes upon Neal's History of the Puritans, has not one word of eulogy for Laud, but some of the severest condemnation. Thus, on the passage of Laud's Diary, where he says, on the occasion of making bishop Juxon lord high treasurer of England, "Now, if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more;" Warburton contemptuously remarks, "Had he been content to do nothing, the Church had stood. Suppose him to have been an honest man, and sincere, which, I think, must be granted, it will follow, that he knew nothing of the constitution, either of civil or religious society; and was as poor a churchman as he was a politician." This is giving up his *head* with a vengeance: now for his heart. Mr. Neal, after recording the atrocious proceedings against Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, and using the language of just indignation, on which Warburton makes no remark, comes to the prosecution of Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and of Mr. Osbaldeston, chief master of Westminster-school; whereon bishop Warburton makes the following reflection. "This prosecution must needs give every one a very bad idea of Laud's *heart* and temper. You might resolve his high acts of power, in the state, into reverence and gratitude to his master; his tyranny in the church, to his zeal for, and love of, what he called religion; but the outrageous prosecution of these two men can be resolved into nothing but envy and revenge; and actions like these they were, which occasioned all that bitter, but indeed just, exclamation against the bishops, in the speeches of lord Falkland, and lord Digby." These strokes, though few, are decisive; and depict a very poor, but very mischievous creature; the real character of the man whom Southey, and the Church at his heels, are for holding up as the grand ornament of the Church of England; whose character, and the character of the Church, they would have us believe, bear a perfect resemblance to one another. Whether the resemblance be real, or only imaginary, to assume it, and boast of it, is, at any rate, a curiosity, as a matter of taste, and of prudence.

Of all the crimes which it is possible for a human being to commit against his fellow creatures, that of corrupting the springs of government is beyond all comparison the worst. Other crimes strike at the well-being of one, or at most, of a few individuals. This strikes at the well-being of all the myriads, of whom the great body of the community is composed, from generation to generation. As no human being ever exerted himself more strenuously, or with more persevering purpose to corrupt the principles of government in any country, than did Laud to corrupt to the heart the principles of government in

England, to strip the people of every security for the righteous administration of their affairs, by consequence to establish a perfectly infallible security for the mischievous administration of them, to place his countrymen in the condition of slaves, living only for the benefit of a master, a master, who both would desire to cultivate in them only the qualities which fit them the best for being slaves, the qualities of the spaniel, on the one hand, and the serpent on the other, and would have the power of preventing them from cultivating in themselves any other, of placing them, accordingly, in a condition resembling that of the worst of brutes—on the other hand, as of all the acts of virtue of which a human being is capable, that of ameliorating the institutions of government, of providing the community with more perfect securities for the right administration of their affairs, when all the facilities and all the motives for acquiring the highest intellectual and moral endowments, and elevating their condition as men and as citizens to the highest possible degree, are enjoyed in the greatest perfection, is undeniably the highest, and every exertion and every sacrifice which is made by an individual for this noblest of all earthly purposes, acquires incomparable value, and entitles the maker to a correspondent share of moral and intellectual approbation, love, and esteem—as it is, moreover, an undoubted fact, that of all the men who, during his time, showed any portion of this virtue, Laud was the bitter and remorseless enemy, and with intensity proportional to the degree in which the virtue was displayed, as there was no punishment which he was not eager to inflict upon it, as he uniformly branded it with the names of the greatest vices, and endeavoured by all the arts by which characters are blackened to make the men who distinguished themselves by acts of this virtue be regarded as the greatest criminals and the most hateful of mankind; as there was no suffering and no ignominy to which he was not eager to expose them, acting uniformly as if he wished to extinguish in their blood every spark of the virtue by which they were distinguished—if all this, and more than this, be true, to the letter, then, of all the criminals on record, in the annals of the human species, Laud is one of the greatest. Add to this, that he was not less remarkable for all the low and base qualities of the mind. He began by being a spy and informer at Oxford; he acted as pandar to the adulterous lewdness of his first patron, Devonshire; he afterwards became the abject creature, in every respect, of the worthless and infamous Buckingham; he was indefatigable in the vile arts of undermining all who stood in the way of his advancement; of which, the downfall of the

archbishops Williams and Abbot, the former of whom had been his friend and patron, are memorable examples.* "Placed" (says Mr. Brodie, *Hist. of Brit. Emp.* v. ii. p. 247) "at the head of the ecclesiastical and civil government, Laud betrayed all the presumptuous insolence of a little mind intoxicated with undeserved prosperity. He assumed the state of a prince, and by the ridiculous haughtiness of his manners, disgusted men of high rank and influence in society, who were attached to his measures. See a curious instance of this in Clarendon's *Life*, by himself, vol. i. p. 32." As a specimen of the low arts which he practised for the destruction of his victims, we shall quote another passage from Brodie, relative to the prosecution of Prynne, for his celebrated book against Stage-players.

"The work, entitled *Histrio-mastix*, was the labour of many years, and swelled out into a thousand quarto pages: It consisted chiefly of the opinions of the fathers, a species of authority, one would suppose, not calculated to allure the generality of readers, but particularly offensive to Laud, who affected veneration for them, and to make them the rule of his conduct. The style and bulk of the work were calculated to

* The following passage from the *Narrative of Archbishop Abbot* is conclusive evidence to the character and habits of Laud:—

"This man (he was then bishop of St. David's) is the only inward counsellor with Buckingham; sitting with him sometimes privately whole hours, and feeding his humour with malice and spight.

"His life in Oxford was, to pick quarrels in the lectures of the public readers, and to advertize them to the then bishop of Durham, that he might fill the ears of James with discontents against the honest men that took pains in their places, and settled the truth (which he called Puritanism) in their auditors.

"He made it his work to see what books were in the press, and to look over epistles dedicatory, and prefaces to the reader, to see what faults might be found.

"It was an observation, what a sweet man this was like to be, that the first observable act he did, was the marrying of the earl of D. to the lady R., when it was notorious to the world that she had another husband, and the same a nobleman, who had divers children then living by her. King James did for many years like this so ill, that he would never hear of any great preferment of him, insomuch that the bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Williams, who taketh upon him to be the first promoter of him, hath many times said, that he, when he made mention of Laud to the king, his majesty was so averse from it, that he was constrained oftentimes to say, that he would never desire to serve that master, which could not remit one fault unto his servant. Well; in the end, he did conquer it to get him to the bishopric of St. David's; which he had not long enjoyed, but he began to undermine his benefactor, as at this day it appeareth. The countess of Buckingham told Lincoln, that St. David's was the man that undermined him with her son; and verily such is his aspiring nature, that he will underwork any man in the world, so that he may gain by it."

deter people from the perusal; but the name of the author at once roused Laud and his abettors, and Heylin was employed to hunt out objectionable passages. The manner in which he performed his duty is best explained in his own words. He makes 'notes, and deducts out of them such logical inferences and conclusions as might and did naturally arise in those dangerous premises: One copy of the same to be left for the lords of the council, and another with Noy the attorney-general, and the rest of his majesty's council learned in the laws of this realm, which paper gave such satisfaction to the one, and help to the other, that when the cause was brought to a hearing in the Star-Chamber, they repeated his instructions only, as Prynne himself informed against him to the House of Commons.* By such a course, charges of the following tenor were brought against the author: that players were rogues by statute (which, by the way, was correct); that none were gainers, or honoured by stage-plays, but the devil and hell; and that when players and their abettors have taken their wills of lust here; their souls go to eternal torment hereafter; that so many as are in stage-plays, are unclean spirits, and play-hunters incarnate devils; and that the chief cause of Nero's destruction was his frequenting them: Of dancing, he was alleged to have said, that it is the devil's profession, and so many steps in a dance so many paces to hell. Such were the articles charged. But the offensive part was an exposure of certain innovations in the church, which, though the attorney-general dwelt upon Prynne's alleged language, as he acted without a mission, &c. it was not thought convenient to bring into question. Had such been Prynne's own language and ideas, people of different minds might have properly repaid his abuse of their amusements with contempt and scorn; but there was neither a principle of law, justice, nor common sense, on which he should have been condemned as a criminal. He affirmed afterwards, however, when he had no cause to resort to subterfuges, that the charges were not at all warranted by the text of his book; indeed false charges were the natural consequence of the course pursued: and any one may satisfy himself, that the offensive expressions

* "The following is an account of the reception Prynne's works met with. 'Hi Books,' says one of Wentworth's correspondents to him, 'are so valu by the Puritanical party, that a sister lately dying in London, bequeathed a legacy to buy books for Sion-college in London, and in her will desired that Mr. Prynne's works, in the first place, might be bought for that use.'—[*Straf. Let. and Disp.* vol. i, p. 217.] There is undoubtedly immense research in all his books, and, occasionally, most important information."

are not his own, but borrowed from the fathers, to whose works he invariably refers.

"Lest the humanity of Charles should interpose to save this victim of ecclesiastical vengeance, an artifice was adopted to inflame both him and his consort. Six weeks after the publication, her majesty acted a part in a pastoral at Somerset-House, and Laud and his friends shewed her and the king a passage—women actors, notorious whores (few women appeared on the stage in those times, the characters of females being generally personated by men in women's clothes), and assured them that it was a libel upon her, though, as has just been said, the work had been published six weeks prior to her exhibition."*—*Brodie*, vol. ii. p. 324.

The following instance will convey an idea of Laud's disposition to flattery. For the christening of the young prince, Charles (2nd), Laud composed a prayer, which was recommended to all the parish churches. In this prayer was the following clause, "Double his father's graces, O Lord, upon him, *if it be possible*." Archbishop Williams calls this "three-piled flattery, and loathsome divinity," and says he would not have joined in this prayer.†—*Brodie*, *ib.* p. 358.

Premising these short notices, to enable our readers to form some notion of the real character and actions of Laud, we recommend it to them to read the singular mixture of canting and foul language which our historian pours forth upon occasion of the execution of this worthless man. Of this remarkable specimen of the literature of the age, we can afford to present only the concluding passage:

"Great multitudes attended this victim of sectarian persecution to the grave; the greater part attracted by curiosity, but many by love and veneration; and not a few, it is believed, by remorse of conscience, for having joined in the wicked and brutish clamour with which he had been hunted down. A baser triumph never was obtained by faction, nor was any triumph ever more basely celebrated. Even after this murder had been committed with all the mockery of law, his memory was assailed in libels of blacker virulence (if that be possible), than those by which the deluded populace had been instigated to cry out for his blood; and to this day, those who have inherited the opinions of the Puritans, repeat with unabashed effrontery the imputations against him, as if they had succeeded to their implacable temper,‡ and their hardihood of slander also. More grateful is it to observe how little is in the power

* "Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 8."

† "Whitelocke, p. 18."

‡ For proof of this, the reader is referred to the *Quarterly Review*, vol. x. pp. 99—101.

of malice, even when in the dispensations of Providence it is permitted to do its worst. The enemies of Laud cut off from him, at the utmost, a few short years of infirmity and pain; and this was all they could do! They removed him from the sight of calamities, which would have been to him tenfold more grievous than death; and they afforded him an opportunity of displaying at his trial and on the scaffold, as in a public theatre, a presence of mind, a strength of intellect, a calm and composed temper, an heroic and saintly magnanimity, which he never could have been known to possess, if he had not thus been put to the proof. Had they contented themselves with stripping him of his rank and fortune, and letting him go to the grave a poor and broken-hearted old man, their calumnies might then have proved so effectual, that he would have been more noted now for his infirmities, than for his great and eminent virtues. But they tried him in the burning fiery furnace of affliction, and then his sterling worth was assayed and proved. And the martyrdom of Cranmer is not more inexpressibly disgraceful to the Roman Catholic, than that of Laud to the Puritan persecutors.

‘He was buried according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England; a circumstance which afforded a deep, but mournful, consolation to those who revered and loved him. It seemed to them as if the venerable establishment itself over which he had presided, and for defending which he had died a martyr, were buried with him: for on the same day that six infamous peers past the ordinance of attainder against him, they passed an act also, by which the Liturgy was suppressed, and a Directory for public worship set forth in its stead.’

To form a just estimate of this lachrymation, it is useful to remember the pitiful and unmanly vengeance which was exercised at the time of the Restoration, when Southey's Venerable Establishment came again into power, and into play; and, to think who they are who have an ever-ready approbation to bestow upon the actors in those noble and elevating scenes, when the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till sun-set of the next day, after which their heads were cut off that they might be stuck up in public places, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gallows; when an act was passed for the “attainder of several persons guilty of the horrid murder of his late sacred majesty king Charles 1st., and for the perpetual observation of the 30th of January;” when ten persons were executed after trials which would disgrace the administration of justice in Turkey; “and when,” says Burnett, “the firmness and shew of piety of the sufferers, who went out of the world with a sort of triumph in the cause for which they suffered, turned the minds of the populace, *insomuch that the king was advised to proceed no further.*” How far he and his advisers would have proceeded had they continued to think it safe, we leave their characters to speak for them.

We recommend it earnestly to our readers, to peruse, as one of the most important of all the documents of English history, the Trials of these men, in the late collection of "*State Trials*," by Mr. Howell. We cannot forbear quoting, after Mr. Brodie, the following short passage from the trial of Colonel Harrison :—

" *Harrison*. Notwithstanding the judgment of so many learned ones, that the kings of England are no ways accountable to the Parliament, the Lords, and Commons, in the beginning of this war, having declared the king's beginning war upon them, the God of gods—

" *Court*. Do you render yourself so desperate, that you care not what language you let fall? It must not be suffered.

" *Harrison*. I would not willingly speak to offend any man; but I know God is no respecter of persons. His setting up his standard against the people——

" *Court*. Truly, Mr. Harrison, this must not be suffered: this doth not belong to you.

" *Harrison*. Under favour, this doth belong to me. I would have abhorred to have brought him to account, had not the blood of Englishmen that had been shed——

" *Counsel*. Methinks he should be sent to Bedlam, till he comes to the gallows, to render an account of this. This must not be suffered. It is, in a manner, a new impeachment of *this* king, to justify their treasons against his late majesty.

" *Solicitor-General*. My Lords, I pray that the jury may go together on the evidence.

" *Sir Edward Turner*. My Lords, that man hath the plague all over him; it is a pity any should stand near him, for he will infect them. Let us say to him, as they used to write over an house infected, 'the Lord have mercy upon him;' and so let the officers take him away.

" *Lord Chief Baron*. Mr. Harrison, we are ready to hear you again; but to hear such stuff it cannot be suffered. You have spoken that which is as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as I have heard!

" The plea of Harrison was, that he acted by the supreme authority, the parliament; and that no inferior jurisdiction could take cognizance of the act. He in vain asked for liberty to have counsel to urge that plea. The hangman, in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was purposely placed before him during what they were pleased to denominate a trial.—*Howell's State Trials*, p. 1024-31. *Ludlow*, vol. iii. p. 62.

" Besides this, he was, after three months close confinement, every friend denied access to him, and the indictment never

shown, apprized at nine o'clock in the evening of the 9th of October, that he was to be put to the bar next morning, and he was finally disposed of by the court on the 11th.—*Ib.*

"As Love, the sheriff of London, at the Restoration, would not pack the juries, the trials were delayed till new sheriffs were appointed."—*Ludlow*, vol. iii. p. 59.

The four names in English history, which the Church, as a corporation of priests, have been most assiduous in their endeavours to hold up to admiration, are Charles 1st, Wentworth, Laud, and Clarendon. Those who have read the article on the History by Mr. Brodie, in our preceding number, will not require any assistance from us, on the present occasion, towards forming a proper estimate of Charles and Wentworth. We trust, that what we have now adduced in correction of the misrepresentations attempted in favour of Laud, by the maker of the Church Book, will prevent all danger of mistake in regard to him. We must, in order not to neglect any of these worthies, add a few particulars in regard to Clarendon, whom Mr. Southey declares to be "the wisest, because the most upright, of all statesmen"—[ii. 484]. The invaluable detections of this man, as an historian, and exposures of him, as a man, for which we are indebted to Mr. Brodie, render this part of our task an easy one.

We shall not accuse Clarendon of a strong leaning to one party, and against another. This, especially when a man has been deeply and personally engaged, it requires a high character indeed to avoid; and we blame no man for not rising above, we only blame him for falling below, the ordinary standard of men.

Few crimes can come up to those of the man, who, pretending to write history, sets himself studiously and of purpose, to pervert the materials of history, to suppress and misinterpret evidence, to assert facts without any evidence at all, nay, in the very teeth of evidence. All these crimes, in numerous instances of the greatest importance, Brodie proves upon Clarendon. Thus, in order to apologize for the atrocious usage of Prynne on the occasion of his prosecution for the book entitled *Histrio-mastix*, Clarendon asserts that he aggravated his punishment by petulance and obstinacy in court. The fact is, that he did not open his lips in court, but committed his defence entirely to his counsel. On the king's visit to the city, after his abortive attempt to seize the five members, "Clarendon," says Brodie, "has the effrontery to say, that one Walker cried with a very loud voice, *To your tents O Israel!*" though there is a state paper drawn by Clarendon himself, which shows that the man only threw into the coach a paper which had these words written upon it.

The following are the words of Brodie, on the occasion of the petitions to parliament against Episcopacy :

“ The Journals of the Commons show, that petitions were presented from most of the principal counties and towns in England ; and Mr. Hume's account of the petitions is unworthy of him. The petition from the apprentices had been presented before the impeachment of the members, and one to the same purpose was presented to the throne, as well as another to the lords. The apprentices were, as we have formerly remarked, a powerful body. The one from the porters, whose number is said to amount to 15,000, and who are made to add, that “ if such remedies ” (as they had named) “ were any longer suspended, they should be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the saying, ‘ that necessity has no law, ’ is no where to be found or alluded to, so far as I recollect, except in Clarendon's History ; and I have no hesitation in pronouncing it a forgery by that author, to disgrace the petitions which so galled him and his party. The Journals of the Commons give an account of every petition ; and I have gone over them with the utmost care, in order to ascertain whether such a petition ever was presented, and yet cannot discover a trace of it. The dexterity of Clarendon, as a forger of such things, is triumphantly told us by himself. Told *us*—nay, the work in which he discloses this important fact was intended for his children ; yet he gives a long character of himself, wherein he takes great credit for his candour.”

Brodie points out instances in which that which Clarendon records in his Life is at direct variance with what is related in his History ; and in which the wilful mendacity of Clarendon is beyond dispute. That he was in the habit of committing forgery for purposes of deception is proved by incontestable evidence, indeed by his own testimony. And Mr. Brodie remarks with truth, that “ the principle on which Clarendon wrote was inconsistent with a regard to truth. *I first undertook,*” says he, “ *this difficult work with his majesty's approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication.*”

Clarendon was not honest even in the drawing of characters, for which he has been so much bepraised. Brodie, having mentioned the account propagated by the royalists, that Pym died being on account of his iniquities eaten up of lice (by-the-by Jortin says, either simply or sarcastically, that it is wonderful how many of the persecutors of the early Christians perished in this dreadful way, eaten up either of lice or of worms, and produces a long list of whom that story was propagated),—says,

“ The malice of Clarendon makes him repeat the silly tale

(which he probably assisted to invent) regarding the cause of Pym's death, and endeavour to destroy his character for integrity by a story which, like the other, only reflects against himself; that one of the witnesses against Strafford, 'an Irishman of very mean and low condition, afterwards acknowledged, that being brought to him as an evidence of one part of the charge against the lord-lieutenant, in a particular of which a person of so vile quality would not be reasonably thought a competent informer, Mr. Pym gave him money to buy a satin suit and cloak, in which equipage he appeared at the trial, and gave his evidence.' Now surely, if this person of vile quality was not worthy of credit, upon his oath against Strafforde, he should not, on his bare word, have been believed against Pym, when the Restoration (for that undoubtedly was the 'afterwards') had put all power in the hands of Clarendon's *own* party. But who was this witness? What did he swear to? To whom did he make this important disclosure? Clarendon is prudently silent as to all this. The same writer denies the great natural talents of Pym, and alleges that they were not much adorned with art; but he admits his capacity for business, and allows that 'he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper.' But see what Baillie says of his powerful eloquence, in his *Journal of Strafforde's Trial*.—*Brodie*, vol. iii. p. 461.

One of the most disgusting scenes of cant and hypocrisy ever acted, and that not of the religious but moral kind, we have recorded of Clarendon by his own pen. Speaking as if the knowledge of the secret intercourse between his daughter and the duke of York (James 2nd) had come upon him by surprise, when she was pregnant, he says, that he "broke out into a very immoderate passion against her wickedness; and said, with all imaginable earnestness, that as soon as he came home he would turn her out of his house as a strumpet, to shift for herself, and would never see her again." When he heard that she was married, the case was ten times worse. "He fell" (as he himself expresses it,) "into new commotions, and said, if that were true, he was well prepared to advise what was to be done; that he had much rather his daughter should be the duke's whore than his wife; in the former case nobody could blame him for the resolution he had taken, for he was not obliged to keep a whore for the greatest prince alive. But if there were any reason to suspect the other, he was ready to give a positive judgment, that the king should immediately cause the woman to be sent to the Tower, and to be cast into a dungeon, under so strict a guard, that no person living should

be permitted to come to her ; and then, that an act of parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her head, to which he would not only give his consent, but would very willingly be the first man that should propose it." Something of this sort was strongly enough suggested by the situation in which Clarendon was placed : but who, besides a practised hypocrite, would have acted the part in such perfection ? Or who could have acted the abject creature, so pleasing to kings, in a purer style than he did, a short time after, when the king was prepared to sacrifice him to the public indignation, which he had richly deserved ? " I am so broken under the daily insupportable instances of your majesty's terrible displeasure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wish God knows I am innocent as I ought to be. But alas ! your majesty's declared anger and indignation deprives me of the comfort and support even of my own innocence, and exposes me to the rage and fury of those who have some excuse for being my enemies ; whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only then), your majesty believed them not to be your friends. I should die in peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God Almighty would free you from further trouble by taking me to himself) if I could know or guess at the ground of your displeasure As I have hope in heaven, I have never willingly offended your majesty in my life, and do, upon my knees, beg your pardon for any over bold or saucy expression I have ever used to you ; which, being a natural disease in old servants who have received too much countenance I hope your majesty believes that the sharp chastisement I have received from the best natured and most bountiful master in the world, and whose kindness alone made my condition these many years supportable, has both enough mortified me as to this world, and that I have not the presumption, or the madness to imagine, or desire, ever to be admitted to any employment or trust again." The conclusion is worthy of the rest. He prays the king that he may be allowed " to spend the small remainder of his life in some parts beyond the seas, never to return, where he may pray for the king, and never suffer the least diminution in his duty or obedience."

Habitual want of veracity is not the worst of the charges which Mr. Brodie establishes against Clarendon ; he proves him to have been an approver, and not an approver only, but a suborner, of assassination.

" Colonel Rainsborough, whose father had been an eminent naval commander, and who was himself bred to that line, having been appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, was set on shore

by the mutinous sailors; and many of the ships revolted from the parliament, but several of them were afterwards brought back by the earl of Warwick; and the vigorous measures of the parliament soon made up the deficiency of those which were not recovered. It is strange, that no sooner had the cavaliers obtained these ships, which the Prince of Wales and Rupert entered, than they broke out into the most ruinous contentions for superiority.* The known principles of Rainsborough excited such a rancorous spirit of revenge in the cavaliers, that though defeated in one dastardly attempt at his assassination, they soon afterwards succeeded in another, no less cowardly and unprincipled. Mrs. Macauley remarks, that Clarendon, to his eternal infamy, applauds every circumstance of the foul unmanly deed."—*Brodie*, vol. iv, p. 137.

On the abolition of the republican government, and the establishment of the protectorship, Mr. Brodie says,

"The royalists exulted on the change; but when they perceived that the protector established his government, and that the people still adhered to their principles, of either not restoring monarchy at all, or of doing it under conditions which excluded the malignants, they, conceiving now that Cromwell, at the head of his army, was the grand obstacle to their recovering power, devised plots against his life, while the exiled king, under the direction of Hyde and Nicholas, published a declaration inviting the people to assassinate him, and offering a reward for the atrocious deed.† Let us, however, hear the language of a prelate on this subject: 'But wherefore do we quarrel with the remissness of princes abroad, since there is not among ourselves that hath the courage of a gallant man to meet with Cromwell, who jets up and down, and strike him to the heart? But it is our shame that every one wisheth that done by another's hand which he dare not, for fear, do himself.'" — *Brodie*, vol. iv. p. 372.

It is a fact, that the *Edinburgh Review*, after displaying at great length the merits of Brodie's history, which exhibits irresistible evidence of Clarendon's being one of the most dishonest

* "Clar. vol. v. p. 136, *et seq.* Rush. vol. vii. p. 943, 944, 952, 1131. Whitelocke, p. 308. Cob. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 896."

† "Clar. vol. vi. p. 572. Of the temper of Charles's court, some idea may be formed from the correspondence between Nicholas and Ormonde: "But I must tell your lordship," says the first, 6th April, 1651, "the harangues in council, and discourses in the court at Breda, were, that honour and conscience were but bugbears; and that the king ought to govern himself rather by the rules of prudence and necessity." Carte's *Let.* vol. i. p. 435."

‡ "Hackett, in *Life of Williams*, part ii. p. 225."

and unprincipled of mankind, has, in its last Number, only a few months having intervened, expressed itself in the following terms :—" Lest it should be thought that such persons as M. de Chateaubriand and his fellows, are not of sufficient account, either for talents or respectability, to evince the debasing influence of the tenets in question, we shall add an example from our own country, and in the person of a very celebrated man—no less able, learned, and honest a one, than Lord Clarendon. His talents and accomplishments were undoubtedly of a high order; his integrity is allowed now to have been incorruptible." As to his honesty, we have had the evidence before us. Learning we do not remember before to have ever heard ascribed to him. His reputation for ability rests, and rests solely, upon his writing a tolerable English style, in which however Mrs. Hutchinson far excels him. The grand purposes of his life were those of a besotted, or intentional, enemy of mankind; to fix a despotical government upon the necks of his countrymen; and to give vast wealth and power to a corporation of dependent priests, to enable them to act the janisaries of that government. To accomplish this laudable object, too, he was not very scrupulous about means. For he gave Charles 1st advice, the following of which he saw would lead to his ruin, partly for a purely selfish purpose, partly in order that Charles 2nd, upon the fall of his father might hold the powers of government without limit, and be a simple despot. The fact is related by Brodie, in the following terms :—

" During his (the king's) stay at Newcastle, all the entreaties of the queen and his lay advisers, to yield to the Presbyterian establishment, had utterly failed, and nothing could move him to accede to the less rigorous propositions of the army; but he had now become surrounded with advisers who approved of his resolution. These were ecclesiastics (Sheldon, Hammond, and others), who, having lost their livings, were hostile to any arrangement that should for ever exclude them from power. Lord Clarendon, too, encouraged him by letters, to the same course. Exempted himself from pardon by all the propositions, he founded all his hopes of being restored to his country, and rewarded by the crown, on a steady refusal of accommodation—which, however fatal it might prove to his present master, would, he flattered himself, ultimately be triumphant in the person of the prince. It therefore appears, by his private correspondence, that he deemed it better that the king should fall a victim to his principles than yield to his enemies. In the clash of parties he expected that the successor would be recalled unshackled; but thought that if what he

supposed the best jewels of the crown were once renounced, they might never be recovered.”*

Charles's violation of the treaty of Breda was as gross an instance of the want of faith, as the annals of human villany record. It is no slight matter, that a professed and accredited champion of the Church of England obtrudes at this day a vindication of that foul deed. “Permit me,” says Mr. Butler to Dr. Southey, “to mention, that I have read with surprise this defence.” Clarendon, the Churchman's Clarendon, was the principal adviser of that precious act. Mr. Laing, the historian of Scotland, says, “In the settlement of an ecclesiastical government (for Scotland), Charles was peculiarly embarrassed by the treaty of Breda. When invited to Scotland, on his father's death, he had sworn and subscribed the covenant, and confirmed the Presbyterian church, as the conditions of his accession: And, although the nation was unable to preserve him on the throne, the oaths, which were renewed at his coronation, remained unrepealed. If it was difficult to observe, it was dishonourable to violate, the conditions, formerly accepted, when there was no choice unless to relinquish the crown. But, if the word of a prince is to be reputed sacred, no violence nor state necessity could afford a pretext to dispense with his oaths. However disgusted with the presbyterians during his residence in Scotland, the king himself was indifferent to religion. But Clarendon, whose mind was contracted and soured by religious bigotry, was irreconcilable to the very existence of their church. That upright and able, but not enlightened statesman, had already prepared the most intolerant measures for the revival of the hierarchy, which he urged the king to restore in Scotland, by a violation of those solemn engagements which his own conscience would never have infringed.”

“Upright and able!” these are two epithets borrowed, as Mr. Brodie shows to have been the habit of poor Laing, with servile credulity from Hume, and are not only worth nothing, but actually form part of a sentence ascribing to Clarendon an act, combining to such a degree the essence of knavery and folly, that no man who had either understanding or honesty, could have done any thing but spurn it.

“Contracted and soured by religious bigotry.” Mark what it is which is here by the historian pointed out as malignant religious bigotry. Church-of-Englandism! and that, if we are to believe Church-of-Englandists, in its most perfect form! This is the spirit which lives and breathes, nay, which sometimes

* Clar. Papers, vol. ii. p. 341, *et seq.* particularly p. 411.

speaks and roars, in our Southey's; our Quarterly Reviews, our Oxfords and Cambridges, and in Reverends, and Right Reverends, without number!

The atrocities with which this "religious bigotry" followed up its primary act—atrocities with which, above all men, Clarendon is chargeable—were at least never exceeded. In commencing and carrying them on, during all the early part of Charles's reign, the principal instrument was Middleton, the creature of Clarendon. "The intolerant bigotry of Clarendon," says Laing, "the corrupt ambition of some statesmen, and the servile pliancy and adulation of others, betrayed the king into the most pernicious measures of the two preceding reigns."—Laing goes still farther, for he says that the act of Uniformity in England, and the ejection of the clergy, in Scotland, "fix on the memory of Clarendon an indelible stain of duplicity and persecution." In summing up the account of Charles, these atrocities are thus characterized by Laing:—"Neither in the social, though licentious pleasures of his court, nor in the government of England, disquieted, and therefore controlled by the most opposite factions, did Charles resemble the solitary and suspicious tyrant of Capreæ; but the various and enormous oppressions of his reign in Scotland, may be compared with the tyranny of the worst Cæsars. The only difference is, that instead of cruelties inflicted chiefly on the first ranks of the nobility, whom Tiberius extinguished, a more diffusive, and to the people a more insupportable tyranny, extended over the community at large."

On this subject our doctor has to sustain the cruel, but well-merited taunts of Mr. Butler.

'Why were you silent on the cruelties exercised by the protestant episcopalians on the Scottish presbyterians, throughout the reign of Charles 2nd, notwithstanding his solemn promise of toleration at Breda? Can you read without horror Mr. Laing's account of them? Or can you read without compunction the sufferings of the English Protestant non-conformists in the same reign? In the preface to Delaune's "Plea for Non-conformists," it is said that 8,000 of them perished in this persecution. Perhaps, when you read Mr. Laing's account * of "the treachery, and almost unexampled perjuries of the first ministers of the church and state of Scotland"—and of "the absolute and undistinguished massacre voted by the privy-council," and of the warrant for it signed by the king," and of "the execution of it—not inferior to the spirit by which it was dictated,"—you may think that the Catholic massacre on St. Bartholomew's day has been equalled by more than one Protestant enormity.

* 'Laing, vol. ii. p. 83. 151.—And through the whole of book vii. & viii. of his history.'

"I beg leave to ask you, whether you think it consistent with historic impartiality, to keep out of sight, the outrages committed by Protestants, while you bring forward, in the most glowing language, those committed by the Roman-catholics? Read Dr. Milner's "fourth letter to Dr. Sturges," his forty-ninth letter in his "End of Controversy," his "twenty-second letter to Mr. Grier," and the excellent letter in the "Edinburgh Review" on the toleration of the first reformers; then let me adjure you, as a christian and a gentleman, to say on which side the balance of religious persecution lies—the Catholic or the Protestant?"

Not only is the Church of England essentially intolerant and persecuting, but she has always acted up to that character; and whatever instrument of mischief the spirit of the age permitted her at any time to use against those who dissented from her, she has always eagerly employed. Is not this very book of Dr. Southey an instance? Is not the Bridge-street Association another? Can any stronger proof be afforded than the hymn of praise (*Te Deum, Clarendone, laudamus*) so solemnly from day to day, and from generation to generation, chaunted to this performer of persecution for the Church, who, that he might get at his victims, was willing to break the most sacred ties by which human society is held together. Of the existing disposition to make this low character an idol of the Church, Southey is pregnant proof. A pair of prelates testify to the disposition of the former age. Hurd, in his *Life of Warburton*, says, "Lord Clarendon was one of his favourite characters, as well as writers; he honoured the man, and admired his *History of the Grand Rebellion* in the highest degree." Warburton himself, in his dedication of the *Divine Legation*, says, "In the dissolute times of Charles 2nd, this weapon [ridicule] with the same ease, and indeed in the same hands, completed the ruin of the best minister of that age. The historians tell us, that chancellor Hyde was brought into his master's contempt by this weak argument." Of the *faith* of the Church of England, we shall speak on a future occasion; its worship of this man is a specimen of its *morality*.

We have now pretty fully described the larger features of Mr. Southey's work. Writing upon the plan which he pursues, the points in detail in which he needs correction, are, of course, endless; having collected a large stock of materials for that purpose, we now find it impossible to use them.* To do the

* We cannot withhold the following instance :

Southey imputes to the Puritans the death of Chillingworth! In this he servilely copies Clarendon, and, with or without knowledge, suppresses

thing adequately, some one ought (as Mr. Southey has written a book of the English Church, in abuse of the Catholics and Dissenters, and Mr. Butler has written a book of the Catholic Church, for the purpose of repelling from his own church the

the fact, that in every subsequent historical work Clarendon's falsehood has been corrected.—

"The treatment, indeed, of the loyal Clergy was, to the last degree, inhuman. Chillingworth fell into the hands of sir William Waller as a prisoner; he was of feeble constitution and ill at the time; but instead of shewing that reverence to his person, which he would have obtained from any noble enemy, the Puritan clergy, who attended Waller's army, used him with such barbarity that he died within a few days; nor did their inhumanity cease even with his death; for Cheynell, &c."—*Book of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 406.

"As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable, so that by their barbarous usage, he died within a few days to the grief of all who knew him, &c."—*Clarendon, Hist. of Rebellion*, b. viii.

Being seized with sudden illness, after assisting the Royal army by the invention of battering engines, Chillingworth took refuge in Arundel Castle, then besieged by the Parliament forces. The *Royalist* officers of the garrison, regarding him as a Spy, behaved to him with great harshness, and aggravated his complaint. When the town was taken, he would have gone with the garrison to London, but his illness assumed an alarming appearance. He was carefully sent to Chichester, accommodated in the Bishop's Palace, attended by sir W. Waller's own private physician, and, by command of the Governor of Chichester, lieutenant Golledge and his wife nursed him with the greatest tenderness. Cheynell, who sent for his college friends, also attended him with the same assiduity, though unable wholly to restrain his zeal for the salvation of his heretical soul. Chillingworth did not die for some weeks after his capture, and left legacies to his Puritan attendants. These facts are now undisputed, and are amply verified in Des Maizeaux's *Life of Chillingworth*, in Cheynell's *Chillingworthii Novissima*, 4to. 1644. Anthony Wood says, he "was used very civilly," and Chillingworth's own apothecary published a high testimonial to the care and kindness bestowed upon him in his last moments. Thus it is that Southey makes a good case for the Church!

Chillingworth's defence of Protestantism, advocated the right of religious liberty, and if it is good for the Church against the Catholics, is equally good for the Puritans against the Church. Chillingworth himself in 1637, refused the offer of preferment by the keeper of the Seals, because he could not take the oaths *ex animo*, and subscribe to the 39 Articles. If the Archbishop of Canterbury would give access to a large volume of the Manuscripts of Chillingworth in the Lambeth Library, the real opinions of this able man would be much better known. In 1638, Archbishop Sheldon overcame his scruples with or without the prevailing arguments involved in the Chancellorship of Salisbury, the Prebend of Brixworth, and the Mastership of Wigstan's

abuse of Mr. Southey) to write a book of Non-conformity. Mr. Neal's History of the Puritans is, to a great degree, such a book; but with all its merits, it has some defects.

By-the-by, what Southey says of that work is one of the most impudent things which he has ventured to utter. The Court of High Commission were empowered to inquire into all misdemeanors "not only by the oaths of twelve men and witnesses," says Neal, "*but by all other means and ways they could devise*: that is," he adds, "by inquisition, by the rack, by torture, &c.;" and the fact is, that such were among the means to which these precious inquirers had recourse. Neal subjoins to the expression, "by all other means they could devise," this obvious reflection, "Surely this should have been limited to ways and means warranted by the laws and customs of the realm." Now for Maimbourg Southey: "Surely," says he, "this most prejudiced and dishonest of all historians ought to have observed, that it was so limited twice in the commission itself." To this we reply, and shall have no occasion to ask the reader to make the proper inference—IT IS NOT LIMITED IN THE COMMISSION—IT IS TOTALLY AND PERFECTLY UNLIMITED. Moreover, if Mr. Neal had been in a mistake, he would not have been *in mala fide*, for he gives the commission verbatim at the bottom of the page, where every reader has under his eye the means, directly furnished by Neal, of verifying or refuting his assertion.

It is true, however, that Neal writes with an air of favour towards the Puritans, and of prejudice against the church. There is a tone of apology for the one, and censure of the other. But these leanings do never affect the honesty of the historian. There is no suppression of evidence; there is no perversion of facts. After undergoing the severest scrutiny (the number of the clergy has not been small, nor their desire

Hospital in Leicester. The Laureat Historian was not minded to touch upon these points, though somewhat importing the truth of history.

We must also beg the reader to look at what is said by Southey of Lord Brooke, vol. ii. p. 409, and then to ponder on the following passage:

"Lord Brooke was probably a man of great virtue; for the Royalist writers condescend to say, that if he had lived a little longer, he would, probably, have seen through the designs of his party, and deserted them. This silly sort of apology has been made for other patriots, and by higher writers than mere genealogists, as if nothing but the probability of a conversion could excuse those heroes who withstood the arbitrary proceedings of Charles and his ministers, and to whose spirit we owe so much of our liberty. Our Antiquaries weep over the destruction of convents, and our Historians sigh for Charles and Laud!"—H. Walpole. "Royal and Noble Authora."

to pick holes in such a performance weak), it is quite wonderful how insignificant are the mistakes in the History of the Puritans, which its censurers have been able to point out. And Mr. Neal's work stands incontestibly an authentic document of perhaps the most important of all the portions of English history. Nevertheless it is a portion of history so important, that it ought to be better written. The highest talent could not be more usefully employed. Innumerable are the lessons which it involves; invaluable are the illustrations of human nature, and of all that men have to aim at, and to shun, in their social transactions, which it affords. Many are the prejudices still strongly fixed by the roots which it would present the opportunity of eradicating; and many and important are the principles which would be illustrated and enforced by a just and enlightened exposition of the events. A history of the Puritans, that should be at once philosophical and popular, would be one of the most valuable presents which a man equal to the task could, at the present period, bestow upon his country; and we trust that we shall not long be without it. In the meantime, the Maimbours may write Books of the Church; and the Church may reward them by purchasing and puffing their works.

It is amusing to observe, how precisely similar is the manner in which the champion of the Catholic Church (Merlin or Milner) treats John Fox, and the champion of the English Church treats Mr. Neal. The abusive epithets applied by Southey to Neal we have just quoted. The following is the style which the Catholic uses in regard to poor Fox: "The peculiar style, and lying memorials of the schismatic, John Fox"—"The poet's authority for the whole of his martyrology is that of the lying Puritan, John Fox, whom he repeatedly calls *good Fox*, but whose notorious falsehoods have been repeatedly exposed, and sometimes even in courts of justice, and who himself was the advocate of the most perfidious murder committed in hatred of the Catholic religion, upon record."

This "*Book of the Church*" is so poor a performance, in all senses of the word, that the effects which it can produce, either good or evil, cannot be great. Whatever tendency it has, however, is all mischievous to the Church; and had its members been wiser men, they would have been among the first to cry it down.

In the first place, it cannot be favourable to the character of any institution, to have a suspicion excited by the mode in which a favourite advocate pleads its cause, that a case cannot be made for it, otherwise than by propagating a false character of its competitors; a suspicion that if the comparison is made

between it as it really is, and them as they really are, no very high opinion can be entertained of it; in fact, a suspicion, that men will no longer continue to esteem it, than just so long as they are duped, and taken in, by its panegyrists. This is what a cause naturally and righteously obtains, by enlisting misrepresentation among its troops.

In the next place, this book of Mr. Southey is an exposure of the nakedness of the Church, of its singular poverty, in respect to great men, of every description. It is perfectly wonderful, so wonderful that before experience it would hardly be credible, that so great a number of men as the clergy of the Church of England, receiving what they call the best education, and possessing leisure beyond any other class of lettered men, should, throughout so many generations, have produced hardly one man eminent for any thing; not one man that ranks in the first class of any branch of literature; but few that rank even in the second; and a number disgracefully small that are known to the world of letters at all; that they should have contributed hardly any thing to the promotion of knowledge in any of its departments; that their contributions even to their own theology should, when duly considered, appear to be of trifling account; that they have even maimed the argument for the truth of Christianity, which, as it has been incautiously put by the most admired of their defenders of the faith, is really untenable; and that among them all, not a single philosopher can be named; for Berkeley, who alone can be thought of as an exception, rather showed a capacity for philosophy than made in it any considerable achievement.

But the most deadly blow which this unfortunate Book inflicts upon the Church is, the full evidence which it exhibits of the hostility which the Church has displayed, so constantly as to show that it is one of the elements of its nature, to the great interests of mankind, to all those securities which are necessary to save the Many from becoming the victims of the Few, to those principles of government, which alone can secure to the great body of mankind the benefits of the social union, and constitute the only foundation upon which the structure of human intelligence, morality, and happiness, can be reared to its natural elevation.

This shows that there must be something deplorable in the composition of this Church; for the men who compose it are taken from the mass of the community; and not a less proportion of them, than of the rest of their countrymen, are estimable in all the narrower relations of life. A corporation of priests is indeed unfortunately situated with regard to all the higher

moralities. They have an interest in degrading the human mind; and of any considerable number of men the majority are always governed by their interest. The proof that they have such an interest is irresistible. Every man has an interest in acquiring a command over the minds of other men. That command, to any great extent, constitutes the strongest of all human interests. A corporation of clergy, having the powers of government in league with them, have the prospect of an extensive command over the minds of their countrymen; and thence a motive of great intensity to strive to make that command as irresistible and complete as possible. They have first of all an interest in persuading the powers of government to exclude all competitors with them, to forbid the existence of any other priests than themselves; that thus they may have the minds of the community wholly to themselves, or, if this cannot be done completely, to come as near to it as possible. To get the powers of government to aid them in this, they must be zealous to serve the powers of government in their turn, that is, to employ all the influence which they can obtain over the minds of the people, in helping those who hold the reins of government, to render themselves secure in making any use of it which they conceive for their advantage, that is, to render them despots. This is the interest which a corporation of clergy have in corrupting the springs of government, and in labouring to sink, or to keep, their country in the mire of despotism. When men are free as citizens, they will also assert the freedom of choice in matters of religion, and the monopoly of the Clerical Company is at an end. But this is not all. It is not enough that the government ensure to them freedom from competition. It is desirable, that their dominion should not only extend to every mind, but be as complete and perfect over every mind as possible. How is this to be accomplished? Through the medium of fear. No other weapon of command is sufficiently powerful. The fears which the priest has to act with, are the fears of invisible powers. But these fears are always the most intense, when the human mind is the most degraded. When illuminated and strong, it completely excludes those fears; it ascends to just conceptions of the laws of the universe, and admits no idea of a God, but that of a perfect intelligence, the object not of fear, but of love. In this state of the human mind, the power of the priest is at an end. He is powerful, only when he is supposed of immense importance for averting the wrath of the angry God, and for teaching the trembling and ignorant votary what the terrible Being wills. When every man is sufficiently instructed to know, what is

perfectly simple, the will of a perfectly good Being, to understand that between such a Being and his creature, a Being "who knows his coming-in, and his going-out; his down-sitting, and his up-rising," and at all times wills for him what is most for his good; the idea of a priest as a teacher of this will, still more as a mediator for the averting of wrath, is merely ridiculous. The priest has therefore the strongest conceivable interest in preventing the human mind from acquiring this clearness and strength; in keeping it as far distant from it as possible. It is his interest to perpetuate the reign of ignorance and darkness; to prevent the diffusion of education among the people, and if that cannot be done, to get the management of it into his own hands, and to fix it as completely as possible upon frivolous objects; above all things, to prevent the diffusion of good books, especially every book that criticises him and his system; to prevent the freedom of the press, if possible, altogether; but if that is impossible, perpetually to decry it, and reduce the liberty allowed to it, within the narrowest possible limits.

It appears to us, for these, and for many other reasons, which we shall develop at length on a future occasion, that a corporation of priests, dependent upon the government, is entirely Antichristian; that it leads, by necessity, to the perversion of religion, and is one of the strongest engines of misgovernment, and of the degradation of the people. At present, we have considered only what has been forced upon us by Maimbourg Southey, and his *History of the Church*, and have seen what lessons it affords. We shall hereafter examine the question of an Establishment in general, and the merits in particular of the English Establishment, both in doctrine and constitution.