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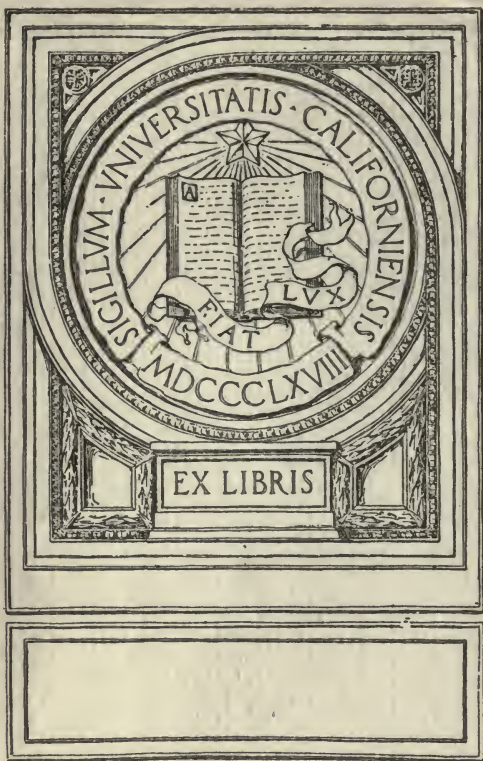
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LETTER

TO

CHARLES BUTLER, ESQ.

ON HIS NOTICE OF THE

“PRACTICAL AND INTERNAL EVIDENCE

AGAINST

CATHOLICISM:”

BY THE

REV. J. BLANCO WHITE, M.A.

Of the University of Oxford.

LONDON:

MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET; RIVINGTONS,
ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE, PALL MALL;
AND HATCHARDS, PICCADILLY.

1826.

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LETTERS

TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

OF THE

PROTESTANT AND REFORMED CHURCHES

OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND IRELAND

AND THE

WEST INDIES

AND THE
FOREIGN MISSIONS

LONDON:

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A

LETTER

TO

CHARLES BUTLER, ESQ.

&c. &c.

SIR;

I TAKE the liberty of addressing you, not with the design of carrying on a more direct and personal controversy than that which has taken place between us, but because, slight as is the notice which you have taken of the contents of my *Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism*, I feel that you have given me occasion for personal remonstrance. But this I must leave for another part of the present Letter.

B

I.

Allow me to begin with a general remark, which will be of use in the sequel. My book is directly and professedly theological : if it glances upon the political question which has so long occupied the attention of the legislature and the public, it is owing, not to any wish on my part to meddle with such subjects, in this country ; but to the manner in which your representations of the doctrines and moral temper of your Church were suited to the political question, in your answer to Mr. Southey. I have never charged, nor do now mean to charge, you with wilful misrepresentation. I am ready to admit that you believe the doctrines of your Church, in the form which they assume in your works ; but, having studied those doctrines under the control of the head of your Church, and received them from true ROMAN Catholic teachers, I felt it my duty to declare, and I now repeat my declaration, that, to the best of my knowledge, you, Sir, cannot be taken as a fair specimen of the Church whose son you still profess yourself. I am ready to acknowledge, that it were most desirable that all your

brethren over the world had become Roman Catholics in no stricter sense than you appear in your works. I wish your influence in your Church were such that it might give *authority* to your sentiments, and thoroughly blend them with the creed of the whole religious community. But you are only a spiritual *subject* in that community: you, like every one of its members, profess spiritual or mental obedience to the Church and its acknowledged head: as long, therefore, as you do not openly disown that intellectual vassalage, we must, in respect to your faith, take you, not as you are, but as you are bound to be. We must take you as all nations are agreed to regard the members of those political bodies with whom they are at war. Many an individual Frenchman might, during their long wars with this country, have claimed the rights of friendship and hospitality from England, and pleaded their views and settled opinions of what their country was in duty bound to do towards this. They might go farther, and prove most convincingly, that their government were acting unconstitutionally, and in defiance of the French laws. They might declare

their detestation of such conduct, and prove themselves staunch friends to the English interest; but as long as by their allegiance they remained Frenchmen, and bound, in duty, to obey the executive government of that nation, so long they would be most justly exposed to be judged and dealt with, not only as aliens, but as enemies. Private sentiments are merged in the public declarations of governments, and both you and your friends are under a *spiritual* government in open hostility with our religious establishment. You deem it a hardship that Protestants should not inquire your religious tenets from yourselves. This is, in my opinion, a hardship of the same nature as that which I have just described. You, as an individual Roman Catholic, have no right to shape your own creed. You are, on that point, under a well known allegiance. Its being a spiritual allegiance does not alter the case; for belief belongs to the *mind* or *spirit*, the very part of your being which is under the absolute control of your Church.

I wish you particularly to notice the word *spiritual*, because I never have urged, I never

will urge, the *temporal* claims of your Church against you. That distinction is the most fertile source of confusion in this matter. I beg, therefore, to repeat what I have said elsewhere, that, in my opinion, whenever the Church of Rome, or its *visible head*, have claimed temporal power, it has been as a direct consequence of their spiritual privileges. Now, if the word spiritual has any meaning, spiritual obedience must mean obedience of the mind; and those who profess it, as they hope for salvation, to the Pope and his church, must renounce, by that act, every right to use the powers of their mind on matters of faith and morals, independently of their Church and its head.

When the subject is examined upon this unquestionable principle, the Roman Catholics, in every part of the world, must be regarded as a moral body, connected by *mental* or *spiritual* ties, and subject to a central authority, which resides in the city from which they take their distinctive name of *Roman*: an authority which (whatever the extent of its power may be) is visibly and permanently exercised by the Pope. Can there

be a stricter analogy between such a body and those which we call nations?

And shall we take the word of individual members of this *mental* or *spiritual* nation—of men whose minds, in matters relating to religion, are as much under a definite constitution, and a visible authority, as men in their civil capacity are under the different states of the earth—shall we take their word against the most solemn public declarations of their acknowledged spiritual monarch and his government? No. Let them begin by a declaration of *spiritual* independence; let them constitute themselves into one or more *spiritual* bodies, free from their old *spiritual* allegiance, and then we will most readily receive their declarations on matters of faith and doctrine; but as long as they profess themselves *Roman Catholics*, as long as their *spirits* or minds are *subjects*, and owe allegiance on every thing connected with religious belief; they must submit to the necessity of being treated, not as their individual views and opinions in matters of religious belief may deserve, but according to those which have been published to the world by the *executive power*

(my language shall follow the analogy) of their spiritual or mental community.

The necessity, Sir, of adhering to this method, in order to ascertain the probable conduct of members of your community in situations and places of trust, where their political may clash with their *spiritual* or *mental* duties, is the more evident, as the two moral bodies of Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians are not only in the relation of two nations *alien*, but *hostile* to each other. Would God that your spiritual authority allowed us to bury this melancholy fact in complete oblivion! Would, that since we cannot, as long as our creeds differ in so many points, visibly form *one fold*, and *one people*, under one shepherd, Christ our Saviour, our two great portions of Christendom were allowed to look on each other, as nations do, who, without blending into one, live in amity and external peace!

Unfortunately, the declaration of war which your *spiritual* liege published against all Protestants, at the time of the separation, has never been recalled: we are still in the case of revolted colonies, enjoying, thank God, our spiritual in-

dependence, but still described and styled as rebels, in the most solemn public acts of that authority to which you and your brother Romanists are bound to submit your judgment upon these subjects*. Can you then complain and think it

* “ If any one should say, that those who have been baptized are free from all the precepts of the Holy Church, either written or delivered by tradition, so that they are not obliged to observe them, unless they will submit to them of their own accord, LET HIM BE ACCURSED !”—*Council of Trent, Sess. VII, Can. VIII.*

“So, even the wicked are within the Church; from which (that is, what had been said before) it follows, that there are only three sorts of men who are excluded from it—the heathen, the heretics and schismatics, and lastly, the excommunicated. The heathen, because they never were in the Church, nor did ever know it, or were made partakers of any sacrament in the society of the Christian people: the heretics, however, and the schismatics, though they indeed do not belong in any other way to the Church, than *deserters* belong to an army from which they ran away; still it is not to be denied that they are in the power of the Church, so that they may be by her called to judgment, *punished*, and condemned by anathema.”—*Catechism of the Council of Trent, Rome, 1761, p. 84.*

The original words of both passages will be found in another part of this Letter.

a hardship, that Protestants will not be satisfied with your private declarations, unless, by renouncing your spiritual allegiance, you become full masters of your own minds — men fully emancipated, and *sui juris*, in intellect and judgment, upon the matter in question?

Pardon me, Sir, if, without meaning any disrespect, I say, that neither you nor any collective number of individuals of your Church — no, not all your bishops, both in England and Ireland — can settle this question by their comments or explanations of the authentic acts of their supreme *spiritual* authority. As well might some natives of the new American states, still professing allegiance to Ferdinand VII and his successors (if his resources to carry on any thing like a war should be at an end before his determination not to relinquish his claims), contend, that they had a right to explain his inactivity into a recognition of the independence of the revolted colonies. “Renounce the authority of the Spanish King, would the new Governments say, and we will believe your professions in regard to us. But though, out of respect to your individual character,

we will not charge you with duplicity, it is impossible for us either to explain upon what principles you act, or to see, without alarm, direct and irresponsible power placed into your hands, while you submit yourselves to our declared enemy."

But though I will not accuse you of deliberately lowering your standard of faith to promote the political views of your party, I cannot shut my eyes to the numerous proofs afforded by your works, that you have been your whole life in the habit of reading your creed through the coloured glass of party spirit. The *Book of the Roman Catholic Church* must be inexplicable to the unsophisticated divines of the Romish Church, abroad; unless they are told, that every paragraph in it, like the radii of a circle, converges to a seat in Parliament.

II.

As a proof of the irresistible power of that bias on your mind, I noticed a strange mistake in a translation of a passage in the history of Paulus

Æmilius Veronensis: a mistake, which, if it could not be explained by the irresistible bent of your mind to evade every thing that can be said against the most glaring errors of your Church, would prove you grossly ignorant of the Latin language. This, Sir, is a matter of fact, which might be settled by referring the passage to any well known and impartial Latin scholar. But in the second edition of my work, I have given the words of Antoninus, Bishop of Florence, the original historian, from whom Paulus Æmilius took the fact of the adoration which the Pope, Martin IV, received from the Parnomitan legates, under the appellation of the Lamb of God.

Perhaps you had not seen my second edition when you took notice of my work: and as it is probable that it has not found its way to your library, I will take leave here to transcribe the words of the two authors, that I may save you the trouble of the search, and that the reader may judge of your impartiality on questions of this nature and tendency.

Ibi etiam (in Chronicis) narratur quod, facta*

* The original reference to this passage came to me, through my friend Mr. Southey, from the Rev. Mr. Garnett,

magna strage Gallicorum per Siculos, Panormitani cum aliis Siculis, antequam Rex Aragonum venisset eis in adiutorium, miserunt oratores suos viros religiosos ad summum Pontificem pro petenda venia, timentes iras Karoli. Et eorum oratio fuit hæc: Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis, ter replicantes. Quibus in publico consistorio, Papa respondit hæc solum: Ave rex Judeorum dixerunt Judæi Christo; et dabant ei alapas; ter et ipse hoc ipsum dicendo. Aliud responsum non habentes, abierunt contristati valde.

“It is besides related there (in the Chronicles) that when the Sicilians had made that great massacre of the French, the Panormitans, before the King of Arragon came to help them, sent some holy men to the Pope as ambassadors, to ask his pardon, in fear of Charles’s anger. And their

curate of Blackburn in Lancashire, a gentleman of the most extensive knowledge upon this subject, as well as upon every other which I happened to touch upon, in a long conversation which it was lately my good fortune to have with him. He told me, that the Chronicles to which Antoninus refers are those of one of the Villanis, who lived very near the event of the adoration. It is there related simply, and without the least qualification.

speech was this : ‘Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us,’ three times repeated. To whom, in public consistory, the Pope answered only these words, which he also repeated three times : ‘Hail, King of the Jews, said the Jews to Christ, and they smote him with their hands.’ Receiving no other answer, they went away very sorrowful.”

The same fact is evidently mentioned, and with the difference of a few ornamental words, in almost the same terms, in the passage which, when you had distorted in your translation, you threw in the teeth of your adversary, as if you had convicted him of a false assertion. I will also copy the passage of Paulus Æmilius.

Cum apud Pontificem de hac consternatione ageretur, a Panormitanis missos ad cum oratores, viros sanctos, qui ad pedes illius strati, VELUT pro arâ hostiâque Christum agnum Dei salutantes, illa ETIAM ex altaris mysteriis verba supplices effarentur — Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri — Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nostri — Qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem. Pontificem respondisse, Panormitanos agere quod fecissent,

qui, cum Christum pulsarent, eundem regem Judeorum salutabant, re hostes, fando salvere jubentes.

Here you made the historian say, that the ambassadors *saluted Christ the Lamb of God*, as before an altar and the blessed sacrament, and by this strange construction you wiped off from your Church the stain of the impious act of idolatry allowed and received by the Pope in person. Yet when I had made it as clear as day, to every impartial and competent judge of a Latin idiom, that the fact was as Mr. Southey had stated it; that is, that the ambassadors being prostrate at the feet of the Pope, *as if* they were saluting Christ the Lamb of God before the *ara*, and the host, used EVEN those words from the mysteries of the altar (the Mass), *Agnus Dei, &c.*:—when I had taken the trouble to prove from one of the editions of Paulus Æmilius, that there was a convenient comma put in the wrong place of the Latin sentence, as copied in your work; you still have the confidence to give the public the following answer. “Mr. Blanco White (page 31, and note A, page 219) finds great fault with my translation of a passage in *Paulus Æmilius Veronensis*.

There is no end of verbal criticism. I still maintain the propriety of my translation. My placing the original under the translation — as by doing it I furnished means for the instantaneous detection of any error which might have found its way into my translation, must satisfy every honourable mind, that, if the error charged upon me exists, it was unintentional*.”

Your appeal to every *honourable mind* shall not be lost upon mine. Strong must indeed be the proof, that would force me to charge a man of your age and reputation with deliberate dishonesty. What I charge you with, and I feel confident that the world will convict you of, is, a confirmed blindness to the clearest proofs of the most glaring errors of your Church, a headlong readiness to avail yourself of every subterfuge, rather than admit the truth in such cases; and a strong disposition to venture bold assertions, in a style too well known to advocates, when you well may suspect the character and design of the witness at whose mouth you take them.

* Mr. Butler's Vindication, page 29.

Were not my powers of research limited by my want of physical strength, I have a strong suspicion that I should be able to find your mistranslation and mispunctuation of the passage of Paulus Æmilius in some of the writers of your Church, by whom you have more than once been led into such awkward difficulties.—You probably perceive that I am on the point of noticing a most remarkable pious fraud, which you have been obliged to disclose in § VI. 1, of your answer to my book.

III.

The readers of my *Practical and Internal Evidence* will probably recollect, that in a note to my second Letter I remonstrated on a very important omission, discovered by me in your translation of the Romanish Profession of Faith, published by Pius IV, which is used without exception by all Roman Catholics, and is quoted by yourself as the surest standard of the belief of your Church. I requested my readers to compare the last article in your translation of the

Creed with the original, and went through the comparison in the following manner.

“ Mr. Butler’s translation:—‘ This true Catholic faith, out of which none can be saved, which I now freely profess, and truly hold, I, N. promise, vow, and swear, most constantly to hold and profess the same, whole and entire, with God’s assistance, to the end of my life. Amen.’

“ The Latin original:—‘ Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest, quam in præsentî sponte profiteor, et veraciter teneo, eandem integram, et inviolatam, usque ad extremum vitæ spatium constantissime (Deo adjuvante) retinere et confiteri, ATQUE A MEIS SUBDITIS, VEL ILLIS QUORUM CURA AD ME IN MUNERE MEO SPECTABIT, TENERI, DOCERI, ET PRÆDICARI, QUANTUM IN ME ERIT, CURATURUM EGO IDEM N. SPONDEO, VOVEO, AC JURO.’

“ Now, the words in small capitals, omitted by Mr. Butler, contain the very pith and marrow of the strongest argument against the admissibility of Roman Catholics to parliament. For if the most solemn profession of their faith lays on every one of her members, who enjoys a place of influ-

ence, the duty of ‘*procuring, that all under him, by virtue of his office, shall hold, teach, and preach,*’ the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, and this under an oath and vow; how can such men engage to preserve the ascendancy of the Church of England in these realms?”

As far, Sir, as *you* are concerned, nothing can be more satisfactory than the account you give of the omission. Even before you had published your statement, no one suspected you of so gross a breach of good faith, though it was in favour of your Church. But who could ever have believed it, if you yourself had not enabled every man to prove it, that your Church, or that part of it more immediately concerned in your spiritual instruction, should have made you her dupe?

Let us hear your own account.

“Mr. Blanco White (you say*) informs his readers, that he noticed my omission of the last clause in the *New Times*. Had I seen the notice, it would have put me upon inquiry; but Mr. Blanco White’s book conveyed to me the first notice I had of his discovery.”

* Page xxvii.

“ My copy of the Creed (you continue) is a transcription of that, which the late Dr. Challoner prefixed to his ‘ Grounds of the Catholic doctrine, as contained in the profession of faith published by Pope Pius IV ’—first published about fifty years ago, and now in its twelfth edition. Dr. Challoner also has prefixed it to his edition of the Catholic Prayer Book, entitled the ‘ Whole Manual.’

“ The words in question are omitted in both. An English version of the profession of faith, with the same omission, is also inserted in the *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta*, published under the sanction of the Catholic Prelates in this country, for the use of the English Catholic mission.”

Sir, this piece of information is most valuable, and should never be lost sight of when the members of your religious persuasion, who like yourself are striving for political power, bring forward any statement of the doctrines and inherent temper of the Church of Rome. From my long and intimate acquaintance with both, the fact, that some Roman Catholics in this country scrupled

not to disguise the intolerance of their Church, and soften down her most odious tenets, has been evident to me, since the day when I first read a report of the debates in Parliament upon what is called the question of Catholic Emancipation. My conviction of this fact has gained strength every year. It had lately assumed the character of a demonstration from the incomparable *supplemental Letter* of Dr. Phillpots to you, as well as from the *Digest of the evidence delivered before the Committees of both Houses of Parliament**, a work which every man, desirous of forming an impartial and conscientious opinion upon the subject of Catholicism as connected with England and Ireland, should make familiar to his mind.—But I never could hope to see the important fact which I have just mentioned, proved upon evidence afforded by *you*, Sir. I congratulate myself for having been the means of putting the public in possession of your invaluable evidence.

We have, then, the following facts upon your own authority.

* By the Rev. William M'Phelan, B. D. and the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan, A. M.

1st. That the clause of your most solemn Profession of Faith, which discloses the insolent and encroaching spirit of your Church, has been so industriously concealed in this country, that it was unknown to you till my book brought it to your notice.

2dly. That it is omitted in your Rituals, published "under the sanction of the (Roman) Catholic Prelates in this country, for the use of the English (Roman) Catholic Mission:" that is to say, for the use of that clergy, which are employed by the Roman congregation *De Propaganda*, for the purpose of converting this country to Popery.

3dly. That the clause is omitted in Dr. Chalonner's work, "Grounds of the Roman Catholic doctrine, as contained in the profession of faith, published by Pius IV:" in other words, that a duty imposed by your Church, under the obligation of an oath and vow, is not noticed in a work, the express and only object of which is to persuade the people of this country to embrace that profession of faith.

Without losing sight of these facts, let us follow up the chain of your evidence. Allow me, how-

ever, for that purpose, and under the assurance that I do not mean to use any flippancy of manner—allow me, I repeat, to frame two questions adapted to the answer which I am about to give in your own words.

Is the last clause of the profession of faith of Pius IV usually omitted in any other editions?

Mr. Butler's answer. "The passage in question is inserted in the Profession of Faith in the *Bullarium of Cherubrinus*, the *Bullarium Magnum*, and in a stereotype edition of the Canons of the Council of Trent, recently published at Paris.

"I am not apprised of any edition of the original, or of any version of it, except Dr. Challoner's, and the edition in the *Ordo**, from which it is absent †."

Can you account for that omission?—or are we to understand, that the Roman Catholic

* Let the reader observe, that this *ordo* is that mentioned in the preceding passage of Mr. Butler's book, as "published under the sanction of the (Roman) Catholic prelates in this country, for the use of the English (Roman) Catholic mission."

† Vindication, page xxviii.

Clergy of this country disown and reject the clause omitted in the books you have mentioned?

Mr. Butler.—“ Upon inquiry of those most likely to be well informed upon the subject, of the probable cause of Dr. Challoner’s omission of the passage in his editions of the Profession of Faith (of) Pius IV, I understand that *the clause is always retained, when the oath is tendered to priests, and always omitted when the oath is tendered to the laity*; and that the latter (for till lately, priests were very seldom ordained in England) being of most frequent use in this country, Dr. Challoner naturally thought it was most proper to publish the profession in that form*.”

I regret, Sir, that it is not in my power to obtain still an answer more, to a question, which even the most unpractised man in the art of cross-examination, would instantly draw from your last answer.—It is the following: You give us a conjectural explanation of the omission by Dr. Challoner. Dr. Challoner, you say, “ naturally thought it was most proper to publish the Profes-

* Vindication, page xxviii.

sion of Faith in that form" which is "of most frequent use in this country." But can you tell us how, and why the profession of your faith was reduced to that form? Can you say who, for what purpose, and by what authority, has curtailed the *Roman Catholic Profession of Faith of most frequent use in this country?*

Sir, this is a question of the highest importance to the Protestants, not only of this kingdom, but of all parts of the world. It is of paramount interest to every one who has the happiness of having been born out of the *spiritual* grasp of Rome, and of those, who, less fortunate, have escaped for their lives, with the sore marks of that grasp on their hearts—it is of vital interest to us all, to be acquainted with the details of that policy, which is incessantly at work to destroy our mental and moral liberty. We know too well the temper of your Church, from the past; we know her by her deeds of blood when she had power; but it is more difficult to discover her wiles, when she has grown weak, and artful in proportion to her weakness. She formerly took the field against heretics with all the pomp and

clamour of a *battue* prepared for an eastern Prince; now she glides silently, like the degraded beings pursued by the game laws, setting her gins and traps in the dark. Having in your company stumbled upon one of these engines, we must take it to pieces, and examine it in your presence.

The first thing that strikes me is, that the most sacred materials are not spared in your Church, when they may be adapted to the purpose of entrapping the laity in these kingdoms. What, Sir! your most solemn profession of faith curtailed and mangled, in order that the public may remain in ignorance of a duty enforced by your infallible authority under an oath and vow! I thought, indeed, that I knew to what extent casuistry was allowed in order to forward the interests of the Roman Catholic Church; but I confess that I never conceived, that any one Roman Catholic prelate, much less a whole national body of Roman Catholic prelates, would venture to tamper with such a document as the Profession of Faith of Pius IV!

Upon meeting, a short time ago, with these

words of Mosheim—"It has long been known from experience, that many are in the habit of speaking differently from what they think; but there is no kind of men, whose deeds differ more widely from their intentions, than those who craftily and cunningly watch over the interests of the Bishop of Rome*"—I confess they appeared to me, though true, not quite accordant with the sober and moderate tone of that learned and candid writer. But how would he have expressed himself, if such a system of ecclesiastical policy as that of the English Roman Catholic clergy had fallen within his notice? Would Heaven we might be able to explain the extraordinary fact, which you have been forced to bring to light in your own defence, by the supposition, that the Roman Catholic prelacy in England had gradually imbibed the milder spirit of the Church

* *Usu dudum constat, aliud agere, aliud sentire multos solere, nec ullum esse genus, in quo animus ab opere vehementius dissideat, quam id, quod astute et callide, pro commodis antistitis Latinorum vigilat.*—Mosheim, *Syntagma Dissert. De Pœnis Heret.* p. 409, *ed. Lipsiæ et Gorlitzii*, 1733.

they oppose, and silently dropped that clause of their Creed, which binds them to undermine, if they cannot openly oppose, every Christian establishment which refuses to acknowledge their head. But we cannot, either for their credit or our own peace, make such a supposition for a moment. "The clause is always retained when the oath is tendered to priests, and always omitted when the oath is tendered to the laity." No! the obligation of the Roman Catholic clergy in England is "to procure that all under them, by virtue of their office (and this office comprehends the whole island, divided between the Roman Catholic bishops by the Pope, who places them at the head of his *mission* among us), shall hold, teach, and preach, the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church." It is true, that they have so effectually concealed this their bounden duty, that even a layman of your eminence and learning in theological matters among them, was ignorant of its existence. With what view, then, has this policy been resorted to? Shall it be declared uncharitable to say, that it has been done in order that you might so boldly deny the spirit of intolerance

—of active and direct intolerance—of your Church, and that, by removing this odious spot from her face, the incautious Protestants should allow themselves to be allured by her shows and spiritual quackeries? Shall I be accused of malice if I declare, that this desperate measure of your clergy has been the result of the growing political claims of their flocks?

Can you otherwise explain why the clause of your Creed most alarming to a Protestant Establishment, the clause, which, being the concluding words of the Profession of Faith, could be omitted with the least danger of detection, is to be found in every copy which you have consulted, and is absent only from those which are in the hands of the people in this country?

“I am confident (such are your words, after having stated the fact which I have been canvassing), that Mr. Blanco White is sufficiently informed of the high character of Dr. Challoner for learning, piety, and integrity, to attribute his omission of the clause in question to any sinister motive*.”

* Vindication, p. xxix.

It does not concern me, Sir, to judge Dr. Chaloner's motives; I have only to do with the outward act of which that divine stands convicted upon your own evidence. He garbled the most sacred document that ever issued from an authority which he believed to be infallible and divine; and no human ingenuity can acquit him of having abetted a plan of indirect or negative deception, not to disclaim, but conceal or disguise, an important part of his faith and duty: not to free the Roman Catholic laity from the obligation of promoting the exclusive sway of their faith and Church system; but to keep that obligation in abeyance, to cherish it in the bosoms and consciences of the clergy, ready to be instilled into the minds of their spiritual subjects at the confessional, whenever they should have it in their power, by direct or indirect means, to forward the interests of Popery. The high character of the convict "for learning, piety, and integrity," affords an awful proof of the irresistible influence of the Roman Catholic system to pervert the best minds, and give them that degree of obliquity which is required in the service of the wily set of

Italian priests, who lord it over more than one half of Christendom, under the name and title of the *only true Church of Christ, the Mother and Mistress of all churches.*

In this case, I am persuaded, your forensic dexterity can be of no avail. You must leave either the moral character of Dr. Challoner, or that of your own Church, in my hands, to be exposed to the abhorrence of every mind that loves truth in sincerity.

A most important clause of your creed having been suppressed, a *sinister* motive must be charged, either on Dr. Challoner or his spiritual superiors. If he believed (as I am perfectly convinced he did) that when acting in favour of his Church the *motive* could not be *sinister*, whatever might be the *object*:—that, for the purpose of promoting her interests in these kingdoms; that, with a view of placing members of her communion in Parliament, where they might help their clergy in rescuing their Protestant brethren from the jaws of hell, by penning them up within the Pope's fold, he might not only tamper with the truth upon a plain matter of fact (as that of

delivering an authentic document as it is, or noticing any necessary or convenient alteration), but that he was allowed, though with a trembling hand, to stop the mouth of his own *divine oracle*, and stifle part of the words of its most solemn answer ; then, let the world learn to what degree the best and most pious minds lose sight of the first principles of right and wrong, when they fully give themselves up to the peculiar doctrines of the Romish Church.

It would be not uninteresting to know, whether the suppression of the last clause of the creed of Pius IV, when that profession is administered to laymen in this kingdom, has been resorted to with or without the approbation and consent of the Court of Rome. But we cannot expect to be indulged every day with such discoveries as it has been my good luck to bring about. What we do know is most valuable every way ; and in none, I hope, more really so, than in helping me to answer your paragraph on the Roman Catholic doctrine of Exclusive Salvation*.

* VI, 5, p. xxxiv.

IV.

Suppose, Sir, that a man had, at some period, attempted your life, and solemnly declared that he would never rest till he destroyed you; that the same man, having grown weak, and rather helpless, without procuring a complete reconciliation, asked you to admit him within the doors of your house; and that, while, from an excess of good nature and liberality, you were doubting whether to admit him or not, you perceived that he had carefully concealed in his bosom the dagger, which in former days he wore openly, as destined to pierce your heart; would you listen to an elaborate declaration on his part, intended to show that the dagger could never hurt you? Sir, the very act of concealing the weapon from you, would instinctively prove to you, that it was aimed at your breast. No commentary, or exposition, can convey the sense and tendency of your doctrine of Exclusive Salvation so clearly as the anxiety of your bishops to keep from the knowledge of the British public the authorized enforcement of its practical consequences. What

weight can the hair-splitting distinctions of the author of "*Charity and Truth*," and the shame-faced declaration of the Irish titular bishops, lately published upon this point, have against that recognition of the unrelenting spirit of intolerance consecrated by their Church, which we have received from the concealment of part of their creed, contrived by your English Prelates?

But let us examine both your favourite exposition, and that more recent one of the Irish Romanist Prelacy. Before we proceed, let us, however, pause to consider the words with which you usher in your quotation. "Permit me (you say to the friend you address in your introduction) to state distinctly, from an authority that cannot be questioned, the doctrine of the Roman Catholics, respecting Exclusive Salvation in their Church, in opposition to the representation which Mr. Blanco White gives of it (p. 61), and in other parts of his work." *Unquestionable authority!* Have you forgotten the long string of restrictions which you laid upon Protestant writers, whenever they should attempt to attribute any

doctrine to your Church? I would resquest you to cast your eye over the ninth and the two subsequent pages of your first edition of the *Book of the Roman Catholic Church*. I should like to know upon what equitable principle we are to be prevented charging your Church with opinions and practices which she notoriously encourages in the writings and conduct of her members; and be also obliged, whenever it suits you, to take the statements of a *private* writer, or even the declarations of your Irish Bishops, as “*unquestionable authority*.” Never forget, Sir, I entreat you, that neither you, nor your writers, nor your bishops, have any judgment of their own on these matters. You are all *subjects*; all minors.

But we will hear your *unquestionable* authority, as well as the declaration of the Irish Romanist hierarchy. The former states, that any person, by whomsoever baptized, “receives, on his baptism, justifying grace and justifying faith.”—“That he loses the former by the commission of any mortal sin.”—“That he loses the latter by the commission of a mortal sin against

faith, but does not lose it by the commission of a mortal sin of any other kind."—"That without such wilful ignorance or wilful error, as amounts to a crime in the eye of God, a mortal sin against faith is never committed."—"And that, except in an extreme case, no individual is justified in imputing, even in his own mind, this criminal ignorance or criminal error to any other individual*." This is all very kind and charitable. But, before I proceed, I cannot help adverting to a few omissions in this luminous declaration. I allude, Sir, to the author's silence in respect to the rule by which we are to be found guilty or not guilty, of that kind and degree of ignorance and error, which should be considered wilful, and amounting to a crime in the eye of God? I should like also to know if your unquestionable authority engages, that your Church shall henceforward reserve the decision of that point to God alone. If such be the fact, I trust, that for our comfort and peace, we shall soon receive from Rome a corrected edition of the council of Trent,

* Vindication, p. xxxv.

leaving out the decrees which I have above quoted, and which, till they are expunged by the Head of your Church, I shall take every opportunity of keeping before the eyes of my fellow-Protestants. “If any one should say, that those who have been baptized are free from all the precepts of the Holy Church, either written or delivered by tradition, so that they are not obliged to observe them, unless they will submit to them of their own accord, *let him be accursed.*” — “If any one should say, that these baptized children, when they grow up, are to be asked whether they will confirm what their godfathers promised in their name; and that, if they say they will not, they are to be left to their own discretion, and not to be forced, in the mean time, into the observance of a Christian life *by any other punishment* than that of keeping them from the reception of the eucharist and other sacraments, till they repent; *let him be accursed**.” — “Besides, in order to check petulant minds, the same most Holy Synod declares, that no person, by trusting

* Section VII, Can. VIII, et XIV, de Baptismo.

his own judgment, upon things of faith and morals, relating to the edification of the Christian doctrine, and wresting the Holy Scriptures to his own meaning, dare to interpret those Scriptures against that sense which the Holy Mother Church (to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of them) has holden and does hold, or even against the unanimous sense of the Holy Fathers: though such an interpretation should not be intended ever to be brought to light. Whoever contravenes, let him be presented by the Ordinaries *, and be punished with the penalties established by law †.” I am sorry, indeed, to trouble you with quotations which want the attraction of novelty; but I clearly perceive that they cannot be sufficiently repeated to preserve them in your recollection. Where there exist an authority acknowledged by you to be *divine*

* The Ordinaries at the time of this decree were the bishops, where there was no Inquisition established; and the Inquisition with the Bishops, in places where that tribunal existed.

† Decretum Conc. Trident. de editione et usu sacrorum librorum, Sess. IV.

and *infallible*, why should we, for the sake of display go to councils of a remoter date than that of Trent? Why should we enter into a historical controversy with you and your friends, whom we know to be most ready to draw us into doubts and questions about genuineness of canons, infallible and fallible decrees, parts that are approved by the Pope, and parts which want his sanction? Here we may proceed more safely.

By the bye, the mention of Trent reminds me of two other passages which must also be expunged, when the Church of Rome shall agree with your *unquestionable* authority. They are found in the Catechism of your last and greatest council, that pure source of knowledge in these matters to which you refer us*. The definition of a heretic, in that Catechism, does not quite agree with the elaborate description of the same being, by your author of "*Charity and Truth*."—

"He (says your Catechism), who, *disregarding*

* A wise method of ascertaining this (whether a principle has been propounded as an article of faith by the Church), would be to read the "*Catechism of the Council of Trent*."—*Book of the Roman Catholic Church, page 10, first edition.*

the authority of the Church, defends impious opinions with a pertinacious mind, is to be held a heretic.—*Hæreticus dicendus est . . . qui, Ecclesie auctoritate neglecta, impias opiniones pertinaci animo tuetur**.

Now this is clear and practical. The Church, in the language of the Catechism, is that of Rome: impious opinions, are those condemned by her: they are to be disbelieved upon her authority; and he who does not yield to that authority after a certain time is pertinacious, and consequently a heretic. Why, Sir, should any one of your persuasion, any one who thinks himself justified in keeping up an eternal clamour and complaint of oppression and degradation, and wishes the world to regard his party as suffering a protracted martyrdom for conscience sake, and the love of his Roman Catholic faith:—why should any such man take liberties with the declarations of his Church, obscure her sense, and disfigure her decrees? Shall I repeat the well known declaration concerning the spiritual state

* Catech. ad Parochos, Romæ 1761, p. 80.

of Protestants, and the treatment which your Church prepares for us, heretics, as both appear in the same article of her Catechism? I will, Sir; for it is necessary to do so, in order to show how truth is husbanded and economized among the Roman Catholics, when they appear before the English public. You yourself, Sir, shall be shown to be no spendthrift of her stores.

“Nor, indeed (says your spiritual guide), do they (the heretics) any more belong to the Church, than deserters belong to the army from which they fell away. Yet it is not to be denied, that they are in the power of the Church, so that they may be called by her to trial, *punished*, and condemned by anathema.” *Neque illi magis ad Ecclesiam spectant, quam transfugæ ad exercitum pertineant, a quo defecerunt. Non negandum tamen, quin in Ecclesiæ potestate sint, ut qui ab ea in iudicium vocentur, puniantur, et anathemate damnentur**.

Be good enough, Sir, before we proceed, to mark the points which we find settled by an au-

* Ib. p. 84.

thority to which you refer us, and which you cannot decline without reducing your Catholicism to a mere political tie — a name which secures you the good will of a party. First, We have found (what I had most distinctly stated in my *Evidence*) that it is not error, but *pertinacity*, which, in the opinion of your Church, constitutes a heretic. — Secondly, That such pertinacity consists in neglecting the authority of the Church. — Thirdly, That persons who have received Christian baptism are declared not to be free to reject the precepts of the Church; that Church, which, in your Profession of Faith, is declared to be under the Pope as its head, and proclaimed to be the only true Church. — Fourthly, That such as use their own discretion on that point, should not only be separated from the use of your Church's sacraments, but also *punished* otherwise. — Fifthly, That heretics are considered in the same character as deserters from an army, and that the Church has a right to bring them to trial and punish them. — Sixthly, and lastly, That no Roman Catholic is allowed to be a judge of the sense of

Scripture, but that the declaring that sense belongs to the Romanist Church.

It is difficult, indeed, after having settled these points to observe, with a proper degree of forbearance, the mixture of truth and evasion—the artful combination of openness and mental reservation, which every man of sense and candour must perceive in the VIIth article of the Declaration, lately published by your Irish Prelates. “ Catholics hold, that, in order to attain salvation, it is necessary to belong to the true Church* ; and that heresy, or a wilful and obstinate opposition to revealed truth †—as taught in the Church of Christ ‡—excludes from the kingdom of heaven. They are not, however, obliged to believe, that all those are wilfully and obstinately attached to error, who, having been seduced into it by others,

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* Why not say openly, the *Church of Rome*, which is the true meaning, according to their Profession of Faith?

† This is not true : it is opposition to the Church which constitutes the heretic.—See Definition of a Heretic in the passage of the Trent Catechism above quoted.

‡ Observe the evasion by which the preceding false statement is palliated.

or who, having imbibed it from their parents, seek the truth with a cautious solicitude, disposed to embrace it when sufficiently *proposed* to them; but leaving such persons to the righteous judgment of a merciful God, they feel themselves bound to discharge towards them, as well as *towards all mankind*, the duties of charity and of social life."

Sir, I cannot conceive how a man of unsophisticated honesty can read the latter half of the above declaration, without blushing for those who recognize the Church, whose mixed spirit of casuistry and intolerance appears in it. That Protestants are placed, by the above declaration, in the same *spiritual* rank with pagans; that in respect to God and salvation they are left, *as all mankind*, is obvious. Now, I infinitely prefer the bold open insults which your Church, when she felt strong, hurled against the Protestants, to the mean and insidious smoothness of her representatives in these parts.

Seduced Protestants — Protestants by *inheritance*, disposed to embrace the truth, *i. e.* Popery, when sufficiently *proposed* to them, are left to the

righteous judgment of a merciful God. Protestants by their own conviction, like myself, cannot, of course, expect to be consigned to those mercies by these tolerant and mild pastors. But, who was ever anxious to obtain their declaration upon this point? What Protestant would have troubled himself about their private sentiments, as to the individual future fate of those who differ from them in doctrine? Sir, you must confess, that your prelates have avoided the question concerning your doctrine of Exclusive Salvation, which alone can be of any interest to the Protestant public, in regard to the Catholic Question, *i. e.* the admission of Catholics to Parliament. I will say to you, what a divine of your own persuasion urged, with much less reason, when he was pressing an English divine to state, explicitly, whether he allowed salvation in the Roman Catholic Communion. "And it will be here expected that he perform these things, as a man who professeth learning should do; not flying from questions which concern things as they are considered in their own nature, to accidental or rare circumstances of ignorance, incapacity,

want of means to be instructed, erroneous conscience, and the like, which, being very various and different, cannot be well comprehended under any general rule. And therefore when, for example, he answers to our demand, whether he hold that Catholics may be saved, or whether their pretended errors be fundamental and damnable, he is not to change the state of the question, and have recourse to ignorance, and the like, but to answer concerning the errors, being considered what they are apt to be in themselves, and as they are neither increased nor diminished by accidental circumstances*.”

I will not stop to take much notice of the expression—*truth sufficiently proposed*, by which the bishops avoid clashing with the definition of *pertinacious* error given by their Church. We are to have the truth *proposed*, not *proved* to our satisfaction; proposed *sufficiently*, not according to *our* judgment, but that of the Church herself. Sir, that was exactly the method pursued by the

* Preface to “*Charity Maintained*,” in Chillingworth’s *Religion of Protestants*. London, 1638.

Inquisition, which you so cordially *detest*. But of this presently.

As we do not fear the consequences of Roman Catholic doctrines relating to our salvation, in regard to the Divine judgment, the Protestants would not trouble themselves about them, except with a view to convince you, if possible, of their anti-christian uncharitableness. What we want to ascertain from you and your bishops is, whether you are disposed to disclaim, that the Protestant systems of Christianity, in *themselves*, lead to eternal perdition? If you will not deny this, and yet engage to take an oath to protect our Church Establishment, in case of being elected a member of parliament; we shall be at a loss to explain such a glaring practical contradiction.

—————
 V.

And here allow me to take notice of the disdainful tone in which you represent me as having suffered a *miserable* deception, with regard to the “support which (some of the Romanist priest-

hood) seem to give to oaths so abhorrent from the belief of their Church, as must precede the admission of members of that Church into Parliament."

Such are my words; the following are those by which you comment upon them. "These are the oaths of Supremacy, and those against Transubstantiation and Popery. Here Mr. Blanco White has been miserably deceived." Pardon me, Sir, if I retort by saying, here Mr. Charles Butler has shown a *miserable* oscitancy in reading the book he meant to answer. Had you paid any attention to the next period, if not to the whole tenor of the argument, you would not have betrayed this first indication of the suppressed ill humour, which seems to have troubled you while reading my book.—"If (said I) there be conscientious believers among them (the Roman Catholic Clergy), which I will not doubt for a moment, and they are not forced into silence, as I suspect it is done in similar cases, I feel assured that they will earnestly deprecate and condemn *all engagements on the part of the Roman Catholics to support and defend the Church of England.* Such were the oaths of which I spoke. I beg

you to examine the whole passage over again, and to be more cautious in future of showing yourself so careless a reader, or so desirous to meet with a blundering adversary, as to conceive that I could say, that a Roman Catholic might take the oath against popery, and still retain that name.

Since, however, you have obliged me to allude to the various oaths of security which have been proposed, and which, I believe, are deemed necessary by every one of your Protestant advocates, who is not perfectly indifferent to the interests of his religion; I will propose the sketch of a clause in that oath, which might, I conceive, be used as a test of the real and practical tendency of that doctrine of exclusive salvation, on which you and your Irish bishop are so fertile in modifications and distinctions. The clause I would propose is this.

And I make oath, that though I profess the Roman Catholic religion, I will, in the exercise of my parliamentary duties, promote the welfare of the Protestant Religion, as by law established. And I declare upon my oath, that I feel completely at liberty, in my conscience, to promise and swear

that I will support the religion by law established in this realm, because I do not believe that Protestantism, in itself, is a wicked or antichristian system, or that Protestants are, by the simple circumstance of their disowning the authority of the Church of Rome on matters of faith, excluded from any of the privileges and advantages of true Christians. I moreover promise upon the same oath, that if at any time I should change my opinion upon this subject, and feel persuaded that the Church of England is not a true Church of Christ, and that Protestantism is a system pernicious to the souls of men, I will immediately resign my seat in Parliament.

I do not pretend, Sir, to any skill in preparing the draft of a bill upon this subject; and there may be something very incorrect in the style and wording of my clause. But I hope that it is sufficient to meet your evasions. Can you, as a Roman Catholic, bind yourself with the above oath? Then your doctrine of exclusive salvation will give us no umbrage. If you cannot, you afford us a direct proof that we have not mistaken the

danger to the Protestant liberties of this country with which that doctrine is pregnant.

It is probable, however, that you will contrive such an answer, as that which I find among your remarks on my book, to the question which I substituted for those which were addressed, with the approbation of Mr. Pitt, to the Roman Catholic universities. The name of that great man presented to you the opportunity of throwing over me one of those small and transient clouds, by which, I find, you rather frequently endeavour to place your adversary in an unfavourable light. I notice it, Sir, because the moment approaches when I shall show that you are a *polite*, but not a fair or generous antagonist. “Mr. Blanco White (you say) expresses his dissatisfaction with the questions proposed to the foreign universities, and with their answers. *As the questions satisfied Mr. Pitt, there certainly is reason to presume that they were framed properly.*” Here you wish to gain over the reader, by making him feel indignant at my implied presumption in trying to correct Mr. Pitt. Such arts, Sir, are *miserable*.

Mr. Pitt's extraordinary powers of mind could not give him that practical and intimate acquaintance with the tendency of the Roman Catholic tenets, and the legerdemain tricks by which that tendency is concealed, which I owe, not to any peculiar powers, not to any studies of which I can feel proud, but to the misfortune of having been subjected to a long and elaborate Roman Catholic education. The individual who lately gave us the interesting account of his early captivity among the North American Indians, might be listened to, with advantage, by the most highly gifted man in Europe, in case of danger from those tribes; and yet, in spite of that honour, he might well lament the great waste of time, the loss of opportunities to improve his natural powers, the hardships and the sufferings by which he acquired the knowledge, for the sake of which much greater men than himself would now lend him an attentive ear.

VI.

But I will, by your leave, return to my former question and your answer.

“ Can the POPE, in virtue of what the Roman Catholics believe his divine authority, command the assistance of the faithful in checking the progress of heresy, by any means not likely to produce loss or danger to the Roman Catholic Church; and can that CHURCH acknowledge the validity of any engagement to disobey the Pope in such cases?” “ My answer (you say) shall be short and explicit; and will, I trust, be satisfactory.”

Your answer, Sir?—Was it not from a strong suspicion that the political bias of most English and Irish Roman Catholics, without weakening their disposition to obey the authority of their Pope and Church, had led them to misunderstand (I will not, when speaking in general, say, *misrepresent*) their doctrines and decisions?

Your answer?—It was to give weight to such answers that the expedient of consulting the foreign universities was thought necessary. I

certainly did not propose *my* question to have it answered by *you*; for I could easily conjecture how a Roman Catholic layman, living under the protection of the English Constitution, and wanted as a stalking-horse by your clergy, might evade the most searching question in writing, and under the certainty of not having another instantly urged to bring out the whole truth. But let us, nevertheless, hear your answer.

“ The Pope may, in virtue of what the Roman Catholics believe his divine authority, command the assistance of the faithful in checking the progress of heresy, by preaching and teaching, in the manner prescribed in the Gospel, BUT BY NO OTHER MEANS: — and the Roman Catholics may acknowledge the validity of any engagement to disobey the Pope, in any case in which he should command them to check heresy, BY ANY OTHER MEANS than of preaching and teaching, in the manner prescribed by the Gospel*.”

I really suspect, Sir, that any one who attentively examines this answer must think that you

* Vindication, page xxxvii.

have erected yourself into a pope of your own Pope. What right have you, as a Roman Catholic, to explain the Gospel to the head of that Church, "to which it belongs to judge of the sense of the Holy Scriptures*." Are you disposed to declare, that your Roman Catholic Church—your Council of Trent, where she was visible and audible for the last time—misunderstood the Gospel, and acted against its precepts, when she passed the decrees about forcing baptized persons into obedience to her written and traditional precepts, by other *punishments* than that of excommunication? Read again, I entreat you, that and the other decrees which I have copied a few pages before; and if you are disposed to deny them, then do not call yourself any more a Roman Catholic; do not help to keep up the awful struggle which every honest man laments in this kingdom; and give your political ambition any other colouring but that of attachment to the faith of your Church.

After dwelling so long on the character of your

* Council of Trent, *ubi supra*.

arguments, the [art] with which you avoid the mention of *the Church* in your answer to my question, gives me little or no surprise. I ask, “can *that Church* (meaning the indefinite being to which you attribute supreme authority over your minds and consciences) acknowledge the validity of any engagements to disobey the Pope in such cases, *i. e.* of engagements not to check the progress of heresy.—You answer, the *Roman Catholics* may acknowledge the validity of any engagement, &c. Sir, I did not word my question at random. I framed it with all the caution suggested by the idea, too familiar to my mind, of a Roman Catholic University,—by the idea of the broad gap which an assembled faculty of Roman Catholic Divines can make between a downright falsehood and the simple truth, when the interests of their Church are concerned. I knew that *THEY* would not dare to deny that the Church has solemnly declared the nullity of such engagements. *THEY* are too well acquainted with the xvth Canon of the third Council of Lateran, which says: “Nor let the saying of any one, that he is bound by oath to

keep the constitution of his own Church, oppose our decree. Oaths, which oppose the utility of the Church and the constitutions of the Fathers, should rather be called perjuries than oaths." *Nec nostram Constitutionem impediatur si forte aliquis, ad conservandam ecclesiæ suæ consuetudinem, juramento se dicat adstrictum. Non enim dicenda sunt juramenta sed potius perjuria, quæ contra utilitatem ecclesiasticam et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta.*

The foreign divines would on such an occasion be fully aware of the increased force of that declaration, when applied, not to contending interests of a *particular* Church and that which assumes the title of *universal*; but between the *heretical* Church of England and the (in their opinion) *only true* Church of Rome. I am far from denying, I indeed actually acknowledged, the probability that the foreign universities would have evaded my question; but they certainly would have evaded it by means of a more respectable sophism than that of slipping into the answer; the expression *Roman Catholics*, instead of *Roman Catholic Church*.

§ 1. I have often dwelt upon the vague and indefinite signification of *Roman Catholic Church*, because, I believe, it involves one of the most powerful arguments that can be presented to a thinking and accurate mind, against that system of Christian Faith; the most boasted excellence of which, among its supporters, is the comfort and certainty that those, who, on religious matters, submit their understandings and consciences to the Church of Rome, derive from her infallibility. In this light, every one of the numerous evasions to which you and the Irish bishops have resorted; when the decision of such canons as that which I last mentioned were brought to prove the doctrines which you are pledged to support; is an irrefragable proof of the delusion upheld under the name of their infallible oracle. But the difficulty of ascertaining the precise circumstances in which the organs of Church infallibility cannot err, as it shows the vanity of the Roman Catholic system, in regard to the security it promises to the conscience; so, when the conscience is to be worked upon by the fears of disobeying the infallible oracle, the very uncertainty, as to its pre-

cise seat and nature, places increased power in the hands of those who may choose to employ the name of the Church for the furtherance of their private, or party designs. The Roman Catholic Church is a real Proteus, when she wishes to withhold her oracles. She is now the Pope; she is next a council; by and by, she is the Pope and council; presently the Pope and the council, as it happened at Basil, break into two halves, one orthodox and infallible, the other heretical and deceiving. But these transmutations, like those of her fabled original, happen only when she finds herself in bonds, out of which she wishes to escape. Whenever it suits her purposes, the transformations are very different; for you will find her speaking her infallible oracles through the mouth of every priest, and claiming obedience from the *faithful*, under the cowl of every monk, "black, white, or grey."

§ 2. There is, however, one oracle, which English Protestants absolutely require, and must obtain, before Rome is allowed to range unrestrained in their cabinets and Parliament. She must tell them plainly, that she has no right to

interfere directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, with the existence and prosperity of their Church; and I cannot, indeed, conclude this point, without urging on every English Protestant, the necessity of adhering to the direction given in the case of the Pagan Proteus :—

“ Sed quanto ille magis formas se vertet in omnes
Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla,
Donec talis erit, mutato corpore, qualem
Videris, incepto tegeret cum lumina somno.”

“ But thou, the more he varies forms, beware
To strain his fetters with a stricter care,
Till, tiring all his arts, he turns agen
To his true shape, in which he first was seen.”

Let not go your hold; believe no definition of Rome, as long as she is transformed into English or Irish bishops, or barristers. She must give the oracle in the same shape which she had when she slept in security, the acknowledged queen of all other Churches. Let the Pope speak as he used to do, in his own person and original shape; in that shape by which he was known at the time when he doomed us to

perdition ; and do not allow his Irish prelates to bewilder you between their assertions and those of former popes and councils*.

* Of all the evasions, which ever were resorted to by cunning, none can equal one mentioned in a note of that most interesting work, *La Vie de Scipion de Ricci*. The fact is stated on the authority of a book, intitled “ *Sentimenti di Gian Vincenzo Bolgeni, bibliotecario del collegio romano, sul giuramento civico, prescritto dalla repubblica romana agli istruttori e funzionari pubblici.*” It is stated, with a proper reference, in these words, “ Pie VI consulté par un cardinal archevêque sur la prestation du serment de fidélité à la republique Cisalpine, assembla une congrégation de trois cardinaux et un prélat secrétaire, et d’après leur avis, répondit qu’il n’était pas permis de le prêter. L’auteur qui veut à toute force demeurer Catholique Romain et citoyen Romain, soutient que ce n’est point là un jugement *ex cathedra* (un jugement dogmatique). Le Pape avoit été interrogé officiellement par trente évêques françois, sur la canonicité du serment substitué par leur gouvernement à celui de la constitution civile du clergé, laquelle, dit Bolgeni, avoit été abrogée. Le Pape consulta la même congrégation, et ensuite il repondit que chacun devoit agir d’après les lumieres de sa conscience ; mais que, dans le doute si la chose étoit mauvaise, il falloir ne point jurer. Les évêques insistèrent et prétendirent que le Pape étoit obligé par le devoir de sa place, de declarer catégoriquement si le serment étoit licite ou non. Il con-

I trust, Sir, that I have now put it out of your power to shift the ground of debate in regard to the doctrine of Exclusive Salvation, as it is held in your Church. I hope I have made you to understand, that our fears of the practical consequences of that doctrine directing the votes of Roman Catholics in parliament, do not arise from the uncharitableness of your belief in respect to the final doom of individual heretics; but from the settled persuasion, which every one of you is bound to live in, that *heresy, in itself*, is the highest offence against Heaven. Your Irish bishops leave such as are seduced into, or have imbibed that greatest of crimes from their parents, “to the righteous judgment of a merciful God.” Every pious Christian leaves the most notorious offenders, who, unfortunately too often, are “se-

sulta de nouveau, et la réponse fut qu'on demeurait *in decretis* (qu'on s'en tenait au décret précédent) : l'obligation de décider, imposée au premier siege, étant réelle à la vérité, mais illimitée quant au temps; c'est à dire que le Pape tenu en conscience de repondre, pouvait, s'il le jugeoit à propos, ne repondre jamais.”—Vie de *Scipion de Ricci par de Potter*, tome II, p. 426.

duced" into vice, "and imbibe it from their parents," to the same merciful judgment; but does that charitable hope imply, that pious Christians conceive themselves free from all obligation to discountenance the existence and increase of such offenders, or that they could conscientiously engage to support an establishment to promote seduction; and to perpetuate an inheritance of iniquity and vice, from parents to children for ever? Who could listen to such a perversion of every moral principle? Yet, after trying to make us believe that your Church allows you a similar perversion of her most evident rules of faith and action, you have the courage to retort upon us, and endeavour to stain the Protestant Church with the black spot of persecution, which is indelibly stamped on your forehead!

VII.

"Such, then (say you), being the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church on this important point, may want of charity upon it be objected to her?"

It cannot be objected to her by a *Protestant of the Established Church of England*, as the Athanasian creed and its damnatory clause, form a part of her liturgy; — or by a *Protestant of the Established Church of Scotland*, as the Protestants of that Church, in their Profession of Faith of 1568, say, that out of the Church there is neither life nor everlasting happiness; or by a Protestant of the French Huguenot Church, as in their Catechism they profess, in their explanation of the tenth article of the creed, that out of the Church there is nothing but death and damnation*.”

As much, Sir, as you “love a strong argument,” so much do I detest an evasion, especially when not free from a spice of malice. An involved sophism gives exercise to my mind; an irrelevant answer, with an air of defiance, affords it only to my patience.

Ever since the Gospel was published, there has not been a Christian, who has not limited the *peculiar salvation* which that Gospel proclaims, to those, who by faith in its doctrines, belong to

* Vindication, p. xxxv and xxxvi. *

the Church of Christ. If this be intolerance, we all plead guilty to the charge. But there is only one Church, which has made belief, *upon her authority*, an essential part of the Christian Faith, without which, no man can be saved. The Church of England declares in the Athanasian creed, that such as do not believe rightly, either of the Trinity, or of the Incarnation, have not true Christian Faith; and are, consequently, excluded from the privileges of the Gospel. But yours professes, that if a man should cordially embrace every article of her creed, and yet reject that, which makes it necessary to believe them on *her authority*, and within the spiritual pale of the Pope; that man is excluded from the Gospel salvation. Do you perceive no difference between *your* uncharitableness and what you will have it to be *our* uncharitableness? Our uncharitableness, as you name it, cannot, after all, break out into persecution; yours *must*. Protestants do not pretend to possess a living and infallible oracle: and though the sincere among them most firmly believe in the doctrines propounded by their Churches from the Scriptures,

they admit the *possibility*, that they may be wrong in some points. How then could we conscientiously molest any man, for the sake of urging him into our particular Church, when in injuring him we should do that which cannot *possibly* be right, with an object which we do not believe to be indispensably necessary for his final happiness? Strongly persuaded as we are, that no system of Christianity has blended with the true doctrines of the Gospel so many or so dangerous errors as Popery; yet we can never fall into the lamentable mistake, that it is absolutely necessary for the supreme spiritual good of mankind, to harass or seduce you out of your Church. Compare the conduct of the Church of England with the acknowledged proceedings of your own, at this moment. Does our Church set her snares on the territories where yours prevails? Does the Church of England call Italy, or France, or Spain, her *mission*? Does she keep a numerous establishment of bishops and priests in any of those countries, as the congregation *de Propaganda* keeps among us? What, then, can be the cause of this remarkable difference of conduct?

Surely it is not heedlessness, on our part, as to the spiritual interests of our fellow-creatures; for Protestant England is as active in spreading Christianity among the heathen, as you are in spreading Popery among us. The different conduct of the two Churches, in regard to each other, arises from the deep-seated intolerance of yours, and the settled toleration of ours. Yours considers Protestant England in the light that we consider the countries where we send *missions*. We are *heathen* to her; you are deluded *Christians* to us. We certainly believe, that Roman Catholics have in their Church more obstacles to salvation through Christ, than any other denomination of Christians: but as we know that, nevertheless, you belong to Him, and we have no infallible living authority, which, embodying the passions and interests of a set of men in its oracles, may call upon us, as we hope for salvation, to destroy, or injure, or any way disturb you; the duty of Christian charity can never be made an instrument of persecution among us.

You assert that your duty with regard to us is

limited to *preaching* and *teaching*. You say it; your Church has never said so. But do not, Sir, lose sight, as I always find you disposed to do, of the subject in reference to which we are examining, what I call the *active intolerance* of your Church; that acknowledged duty of *preaching* and *teaching* among us, which I leave you to name as you please. We are considering the persecuting spirit of your Church, not in the abstract, but in relation to the object for which you invariably contend in your works — the aptitude of Roman Catholics to sit as legislators in a Protestant Parliament. You grant in your answer to my question, that the Pope may “command the assistance of the faithful in checking the progress of heresy, by preaching and teaching;” that Roman Catholics acknowledge, that he can issue such commands, in virtue of the divine authority which they believe to reside in him. Why, then, are they bound to obey those commands to check heresy, but because heresy is considered by themselves and their Church an evil; an evil which should be opposed by every method allowed by the Gospel? You observe,

that I am taking all your suppositions for granted. Now, Sir, I pray tell me, will the admission of Roman Catholics to the places from which they are excluded, operate *favourably* or *unfavourably* to Protestantism? If *favourably*, why do not you fulfil your duty of opposing the progress of heresy, by continuing your absence from both Houses? Surely you will not pretend to say, that the Gospel forbids that method of counter-acting a deadly error. I will leave the other member of my dilemma to you. You will certainly not take it in the affirmative; but if you do not grant, that the presence of Roman Catholics in Parliament will be *adverse* to the Protestant religion, there is but one means of escape left you. Will you say, that the presence of Roman Catholics in Parliament will tend neither way; that their votes will not have the weight of a feather on either of the scales where the fate of the two contending Churches is weighed? Do, Sir, say so to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland: show them the advantage of possessing such impassive legislators: enlarge on the fresh spirit that will be infused

into their Parliament, by a crowd of members endowed with a glorious indifference for one essential part of the constitution of England—her Protestant Church.

I hope I am approaching the end of a task, which I am executing with no small fatigue. But as I intend to leave none of your answers untouched, I must take those that still remain, without much attention to the flow and smoothness of transition. I entreat this indulgence with the greater confidence, as the topics of your notes on my book are desultory. Indeed, I well know, that your only chance lies in the perpetual shifting of the question.

VIII.

Whether instinctively, as nature operates in all cases of self-defence, or by a particular habit of mind acquired in your long practice of defending a bad cause; I have found you constantly flying off from the true question to the most irrelevant arguments. It is thus that you touch

again on the deposing power of the Pope; his claims to temporal sovereignty over other kingdoms—the *Inquisition*, and your personal detestation of that tribunal.—I have never contended, that the generality of your Roman Catholics, at this time of day, defend any of these points. If they did, the practical question in this country would be, not whether they should be admitted to seats in Parliament, but by what restrictions they should be kept from injuring and conspiring against the state. To what purpose then (unless it be to divert the mind of the public from the true question) is what you say about, “all Austrian, German, Hungarian, Bohemian, and French Roman Catholics, unimproved under Protestant government,” clinging in a modified manner to the Pope, and not one of those states having allowed the establishment of the *Inquisition* within it?—Does that prove that Roman Catholics are conscientiously friendly to Protestant establishments, and therefore safe legislators where the constitution is essentially Protestant? But, Sir, you might content yourself with dexterously avoiding what, if constantly kept in view,

must defeat your purpose, without proceeding to attribute to me what, if you had read my book with attention and candour, you would know not to be the fact. "Can we, therefore (such are your words), be said with justice to cling to the Pope, in the manner in which this expression is constantly used by Mr. Blanco White?"—Now, Sir, I call upon you to make good this charge. Where have I said that you cling to the Pope as a temporal sovereign, or as an authority which can depose Princes, or even, speaking of you in general, as supporters of the Inquisition*. Have I not said, but a few pages before that which you were examining, "I have hitherto ex-

* That some English Roman Catholics clung to the Pope a few years since, in the way last mentioned, I asserted in my "Poor Man's Preservative against Popery," on the authority of a most respectable Roman Catholic Priest, whose words I will here repeat. "During my residence in London, I heard some Roman Catholics say, that the Inquisition was useful in Spain for the preservation of the Catholic Faith; and that it would have been well for France if it had had a similar establishment." Llorente's History of the Spanish Inquisition, Paris, 1818, vol. i, page xxvii.

amined the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, not because I conceive it to have any practical effect in this country, &c.?" Believe me, Sir, my *Evidence* makes but a small volume, not for want of materials against Catholicism, considered both in regard to Politics and Christianity; but because I wished to contract the field of our warfare, and allow no room to your skirmishing.

§ 1. I have said, and I maintain, that you still "cling to the source of intolerance which has inundated Europe with blood;" but I never asserted that all of you *cling to the Pope*, in the manner which you, without any reason, insinuate to be my meaning*.

* The rapid manner, in which my ideas have succeeded each other during the week which I have employed in the composition of this letter, made me forget one, and only one topic, mentioned in Mr. Butler's notice of my work, till I had finished my manuscript. I mean the definition of the Pope's authority, given by the Council of Florence. The inaccuracy of Mr. Butler's translation of that decree I have made manifest at the end of the Preface to the second edition of my *Evidence against Catholicism*. But I must be allowed to dwell with satisfaction on the shifts to which Mr. Butler and his

That, in spite of all your protests against the Inquisition, you still cling to the authority which your friends are driven, when compared with the careless confidence which they themselves have made evident on my part. I once trusted a garbled copy of their Profession of Faith, because I could not at first entertain a suspicion that it had been curtailed to serve the Roman Catholic interest in this country. After that, when a writer in the Edinburgh Review had the impudence to charge me with the omission of a sentence in the definition of the Council of Florence, I took it for granted that such was the fact; and not having a copy of my book at hand, I contented myself with showing, that the clause in question had been artfully distorted in the English translation; that it did not at all help my adversary; and that (so far was I from thinking otherwise) I had already inserted the whole decree in my second edition, both in Greek and Latin. But, lo and behold!—Mr. Butler (without alluding to the false charge made against me,—that, indeed, would have been a miracle of candour) declares, that “I had *accurately* transcribed his version of the Canon of the 10th Session of the Council of Florence,” and upon turning to my book, I found that it is really so. Such is the difference between a man who feels habitually the wealth of truth, and those who seldom touch her gold: he casts up his account, in round sums, and never runs after poorer folks if they happen to take liberties with his shillings and pence. After all, the quibbling upon the Canon of the Council of Florence is pitiful. Let the reader observe how

sanctioned that tribunal, is a fact, to disprove which, you must convince the world that the Papal See never approved its establishment, or supported the enforcement of its laws of blood. That you cling to the source of the intolerance

many things the Canon must endure before it can answer Mr Butler's purpose. "Et ipsi (Romano Pontifici) in beato Petro pascendi, regendi ac gubernandi universalem ecclesiam a Domino nostro Jesu Christo *plenam* potestatem traditam esse; quemadmodum *etiam* in gestis Œcumenicorum conciliorum, et in sacris canonibus continetur." Any man, not blinded by the strong glare of a seat in Parliament, would understand that the decree refers itself to Councils and Canons, in confirmation of its contents. "We declare this, as the Councils and Canons have declared it before."—But that will not do: Mr. Butler must take no notice of the *etiam*; and his translation runs *as is declared*; not, as it is *also* declared in Councils and Canons. In the next place, his version must be allowed to constitute a limitation to the power of the Pope: and so the sense of the *inspired* Council will be, "we declare that the Pope has FULL power, LIMITED by the Councils!!" Lastly, Protestants must rest satisfied that the Councils and Canons have completely tied down the hands of the Pope, in regard to them, and that, upon this security, they may trust his spiritual subjects,—those whom he is to "feed, rule, and govern"—with the highest, and the only irresponsible power of the state, short of the throne!

which affords to infidels the most dangerous argument against Christianity, I will incessantly assert; for it is the Church, *as Roman*, which for nearly fifteen centuries has allowed no peace or safety to those who have dissented from it. Whether the persecution was carried on by means of exile, fine, and degradation, as it was the case at first; or whether by fire and sword, as in after times: the Christian world rung with praises bestowed on such measures by your Popes, Councils, and Fathers. Yes, Sir: I speak confidently and advisedly. I am acquainted with the passages from the Fathers, mentioned by Fleury and the other Jansenist writers, who would reduce persecution to what that celebrated author calls "*peines medicinales pour la conversion des heretiques*;" but those passages prove no more than that some good men, anterior to the eighth century, abhorred *the shedding of blood*. Chrysostom is, I believe, the only one, who, from the time when Popes and Patriarchs had the secular powers for their allies, rejects the principle itself of persecution. The rejection of that horrible principle was general in the Church of Christ,

only during the short period of that original purity of doctrine, which the Protestant Reformers aimed at, and restored. But persecution — that infernal seed of nominal Christianity and real infidelity — was fostered by the Church in proportion as the number of *Romanists* swelled: and from the fifth century — from the time when Saint Augustine recommended fine and other such penalties against the Donatists — to the age of the Council of Trent and Bellarmine, — that modern Father of your Church, who advised his brother Romanists to kill the heretics for the good of the heretics themselves; — the poisonous plant spread its deadly shade most rapidly over the world. I will not let pass this opportunity of recording, in the free and noble language of England, the humane principle urged by your Cardinal.

§ 2. “Finally (says Bellarmine), it is good for obstinate heretics that they be put to death; for the longer they live, the more errors they invent, the more people they seduce, and the greater damnation they lay up in store for themselves.”

Perhaps you will exert your ingenuity to make the public regard such maxims as obsolete, and

long buried in the ponderous folios where they originally appeared. That supposition, Sir, I am ready most flatly to contradict. The same maxim was prevalent and popular in Spain, and I myself imbibed it with the earliest religious instruction, which that most Roman Catholic Country instilled into my mind. I well recollect, that Bellarmine's maxim (not however as his, but as a doctrine incorporated with the common-sense of the country) was explained to me, on the occasion of the last execution of a heretic in my native town of Seville, when I was between seven and eight years old. The same doctrine was, long after, broached in my presence, by the celebrated Father Vega, of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, who had attended the unhappy victim—a blind old woman—to the stake. He spoke with great feeling (for your priests, Sir, were often bathed in tears on those occasions) of the fate of the poor woman, who was converted too late to save her life, and made her last confession to him on the scaffold. But he rejoiced that the hand of the executioner had put an end to her spiritual danger from heresy, to which he assured the

company (a numerous set of young men preparing for orders) that her mind had been naturally and almost irresistibly inclined. If you feel disposed to know more of Father Vega, give me leave to direct you to my *Letters from Spain*. I must, however, revert to Bellarmine, and give you, in his own words, the course of policy, which your Church has been following for some time, in regard to this and other Protestant kingdoms.

§ 3. "When we enter upon the particular question (says the great pillar of Popery) about heretics, or thieves, or other wicked persons, whether they should be extirpated; we must always consider, according to the reason given by our Lord, whether that can be done without detriment to the good; and if so, they should be extirpated without all doubt. But if not, either because they cannot well be known, and there is a danger of making the innocent suffer instead of the guilty; or when they are stronger than ourselves, and there is a danger, lest, if we attack them, there should be a greater loss on our than on their side; then we must be quiet."

Sir; Bellarmine, the man who taught these doctrines, received a cardinal's hat, as a reward and encouragement to his labours, from that Church, which you recognize as the *Mother and Mistress* of all Churches, and in the communion with which you make your own salvation depend. Think of this, when you next feel inclined to complain of me for saying, that *you cling to the source of persecution**.

* I will copy the original authorities on Persecution, which I have translated or alluded to, in the above portion of the text. For the sake of such of my readers as may not understand Greek and Latin, I will add translations of the rest.

The passage of Saint Chrysostom is:—*Ου δει αναρειν αιρετικον · επει ο πολεμος ασπονδος εις την οικουμενην εμελλει εισαγεσθαι.*—“ Heretics should not be destroyed; for this would introduce an endless war into the world.” Homil. xlvii, in Matt. ap. Mosheim de Pœnis Heret. p. 501. — It does not appear, however, that Chrysostom applied his principle to methods of persecution short of death.

The passage in Fleury. — Ainsi voyons-nous que le concile de Latran sous Alexandre III, reconnoit que l'église rejette les executions sanglantes, quoiqu'elle souffre d'être aidée par les loix des princes chrétiens pour réprimer les herétiques: la maxime a toujours été constante. Mais dans la pratique

IX.

But the moment, Sir, is arrived, when I must begin a remonstrance, which I cannot hope to

on ne l'a pas toujours suivie. (Fleury then proceeds to acknowledge the massacres commanded by the See of Rome, and continues thus) — Si l'on n'épargnoit pas la vie des hérétiques il ne faut pas s'étonner qu'on leur ôtât leurs biens. Aussi avez-vous vû que Gregoire VII offrit à Suenon roi de Danemark, une province très-riche occupée par de hérétiques, pour être le partage d'un de ses fils ; comme si l'hérésie étoit un titre légitime de conquête. Depuis, les canonistes ont établi en maxime, que les hérétiques n'ont droit de rien posséder, se fondant sur quelques passages de S. Augustin rapportés par Gratien. Mais ils ont étendu a tous les hérétiques et a tous leur biens ce que S. Augustin ne dit que des Donatistes, des amendes pécuniaires décernées contre eux, et des biens d'église qu'on les avoit obligés a rendre. Laissez les reflexions de Gratien, les sommaires et les gloses modernes, et lisez les textes originaux ; vous verrez qu'ils ne respirent que douceur et charité, et qu'il ne s'agit que des *restitutions justes, et des peines médicinales pour la conversion des hérétiques.* — Fleury, Disc. sur l'Hist. Ecclesiast. Disc. IV.

Passages from Bellarmine. — Denique hæreticis obstinatis beneficium est quod de vitâ tollantur : nam quo diutius vivunt,

conclude in a tone suited to that unruffled style, which, being often used in your writings as a veil to very bitter feelings, has hitherto given you an unfair advantage in this controversy. Clouds of doubt as to your candour and good-nature have, however, been fast settling of late over your name; and the most polite of your adversaries have been forced to conclude in strong terms the addresses which they began in the tone of respect and politeness. I, for one, am forced to declare, that though my notions of your candour towards me were not sanguine, I could not, some time ago, have believed that I should be

eo plures errores excogitant, plures pervertunt, et majorem sibi damnationem acquirunt. — *De Laicis*, Lib. III, c. xxii, p. 550, ap. Mosheim, de Pœnis heret. p. 490.

“Cum autem in particulari quæstio est vel de hæreticis, vel de furibus, vel de aliis malis, an sint extirpandi, semper considerandum est, juxta rationem Domini, an id possit fieri sine detrimento bonorum, et si quidem potest, sunt procul dubio extirpandi: si autem non possunt, quia vel non sunt satis noti, vel periculum est, ne plectantur innocentes pro nocentibus, vel sunt fortiores nobis, et periculum est, ne, si eos bello aggrediamur, plures ex nobis cadant quam ex illis, tunc quiescendam est.” — *Id. ib.* p. 510.

obliged to address you in the plain language which you see me already adopting. I trust, that, though labouring under a keen sense of wrong and insult, I should be able to moderate the tone of my remonstrance, if I thought that such an act of self-denial was demanded by the duty of Christian moderation: but I am convinced that, in the present case, I should injure the interests of my cause by subduing the bursts of indignation and pain, which alternately rise in my heart. I must show the number and nature of the wounds which I receive from my enemies, that my friends may learn the spirit which animates their councils, and directs their weapons. When it shall have appeared how much share you have in the wrongs of which I complain, the public will, I am sure, acquit me of want of moderation towards you.

I have lately referred to my knowledge of the state of Spain: and, in my *Evidence*, I made a considerable use of that knowledge to show the manner in which the principles and doctrines of your Church operate, when uncontrolled by neighbouring Protestantism. The information which

I brought forward, originates chiefly in some circumstances of my life; circumstances of which I gave a detail. One of the facts I related is closely connected with the deepest impressions of my heart. It relates, Sir, to my mother. The subject is too painful for me to repeat what I have stated in my book; and my narrative seems to have had some effect upon you. You say, speaking of me in relation to the trying circumstances in which my mother and myself were placed by the tyranny of a Church which threatened my life for dissent, and made that excellent woman's love of my soul, a means of leading me to imprisonment, dishonour, and, in case of final resistance, to death — that you “sincerely sympathise with me, and do not feel less indignation against the monstrous code of penal inflictions which occasioned this suffering” than myself. Sir, I really felt obliged to you, for that gleam of candour and kindness. But your habitual and evidently angry prejudices, soon making you resort to an evasion as little creditable to your logical powers as to the fairness of your mind, it was not long before I perceived that I could not

depend at all on your sympathy. You betrayed yourself in your next words. "But the penal codes of Elizabeth reduced many a mother, who would not inform, in certain cases, against her child, to similar woe*." Pity it is, indeed, that you could grow so angry at the sympathy I had obtained from you, as to assume so instantaneously the offensive, and return so random a blow. What, Sir, have the two cases in common, but the words mother, child, and informing? Do you imagine, that the mother, whose character I described, would have been distressed by her own danger, under a mere civil law which threatened her life in case she did not inform against her child? Are you a father, and can you so grossly misunderstand the case I laid before you? Sir, the incomparable woman, through whom I have my being, would have met a thousand deaths to save the life of any of her children. It was not the fear of consequences against herself, if she disobeyed the law, that produced her misery and my own danger: had

* Vindication, p. xxxii.

your Church nothing but the love of life, by which to induce her to inform against her son, she would have scorned the pitiful bribe. Say what you please of the penal laws of Elizabeth: neither myself, nor the Church in which I have found rest to my soul, have any concern with them. Inveigh, as long as you find words, against a law that could use a mother's fears of death as a means to bring her child to punishment; but reserve all the fire of your invective for that truly satanic law of your Church, which could array a mother's purest love, not of self, but of her child's soul, against his liberty, his honour, and his life. Your Church had taught my mother, in the name and by the pretended authority of the Saviour she adored, that, should she hear from me a heretical sentiment, it was her duty, in order to save my soul, to betray my person to the Inquisitors: your Church had taught her, that, in such a case, the only way to save me from eternal flames, was to terrify me into the Romish creed, by putting me into hands that could quench my life in those of the Holy Tribunal. Does not this prove what I said in

close connection with my melancholy narrative, that the Church of Rome, by her inherent and inseparable intolerance, that intolerance which directly flows from her *exclusiveness*, “ makes your very benevolence a curse*?” Sir, I will not appeal again to you, to conceive the horror of the situation in which my mother and myself were placed by that principle, which as long as you remain a true Roman Catholic, you must profess: your prejudices disturb the natural good feelings of your heart: it appears benumbed by a charm when your Church, and her political interests in this kingdom, stand between it and those delicate sympathies which you began to experience on hearing my case. I will refer that case to any one but a *true* son of your Church. From such, circumstanced as I am, I do not expect the common feelings of humanity.

The moment I had written the conclusion of the last paragraph, I was going to run my pen across it: and doubtless it would not have kept its place in this letter, had I not at that very

* Practical and Internal Evidence, p. 61, 1st edit.

moment cast my eyes on the lines which you wrote after that revulsion of feeling, which made you angry at the approach of something like kindness and candour, while engaged in this controversy. "It sickens me, you say, to return to this sad subject." What! do you experience a sickening from the mere recollection of Elizabeth's penal laws? What deadly faintness of heart must *I* feel, when I remember your Church and her tyranny? You recoil at the memory of sufferings long soothed by death: what bitterness of soul must seize *me*, who daily and hourly endure the painful consequences of having been born the spiritual slave of Rome! Think, then, how I must have felt, how I must feel at this moment, when reading the concluding words of the paragraph by which you have brought all the sufferings of my life to my mind, over-excited as it is, by following a representative and advocate of the Romish Church through a maze of evasions, and provoked by his underhand blows. "Why (such are the words which, since I began this letter, have been goading me into indignation), why should Mr. Blanco White

write a book, the evident tendency of which is to raise popular prejudice against us; to perpetuate the laws under which we suffer; and thus to eternize the depression of a large proportion of his brother men, of his brother Christians, of those with whom, not many years since, he walked in union in the house of God?"

Sir, I cannot answer such a cold-blooded insult without collecting myself, lest I should do it in terms unbecoming my character and my profession. The peculiar system of religion, of which you have endeavoured to conceal the deformities, as well as to defend or gloss over the crimes, deprived me of youthful happiness when I obeyed its dictates, and gave me up to the dreariness of disbelief, rather than permit me to be a Christian under any other guidance*. You, even you, have

* Many have noticed this system of the Church of Rome. Thus Burnett, *History of His Own Times*, anno 1661, vol. i, p. 324. "And now that the main principle of religion was struck at by Hobbes and his followers, the Papists acted upon this a very strange part. They went in so far, even into the argument for atheism, as to publish many books, in which they affirmed, that there was no certain proof of the Christian religion, unless

felt sympathy for my mother, whose life was made by that religion an uninterrupted course of heart-gnawing scruples and anxieties. Your religion deprived me of two sisters, whom it beguiled into convents, where they perished before the age of maturity, in consequence of zeal misguided by their Church. Your religion betrayed me into a state, which turned into vice the natural affections of a heart not formed for sensuality. The mental tyranny of your Church maddened my thinking powers, by forcing me to suppress their workings, till I believed they could not be better employed than in proving that religion was, to all mankind, what, under the control of Rome, I saw it to be to thousands of thousands of my countrymen—a plague and a curse! You knew all this, for I have stated it in my book with characters of truth which no thoroughly good heart can mistake. And yet we took it from the authority of the Church as infallible. This was such a delivering up of the cause to them, that it raised in all good men a very high indignation at Popery; that party showing, that they chose to make men, who would not turn Papists, become atheists, rather than believe Christianity upon any other ground than infallibility.”

you cannot tell why I should oppose your varnished representations of that religion? and you can assume the tone of remonstrance, and even quote Scripture, to make me odious as a man who disregards former ties, and cares not for the "improvement of his brother men," and "will eternize their depression!" Their depression! Turn, if you can, an impartial eye to your own Church, and there you will find the source of that depression. I could in no better manner help my brother men whom that Church degrades, than by exposing her errors; at least, such is my perfect conviction; and if you allow any weight to persuasion against policy, you should have refuted the reasons on which I have shown that persuasion to be founded, before you flung your invidious question. The seeds of that happiness (I might retort), which you have enjoyed through a long and prosperous life, among a large majority of your countrymen, who profess a religion which your Church endeavoured to drown in blood, were sown by men who checked the same ecclesiastical power which you, at present, obey so far and no more than it pleases you; but which, had it not been for the Reformation,

would oblige you to worship it, as it obliges millions of Spaniards and Italians, with a blessing in your lips and a curse in your heart. Were it not for the Protestant Constitution which protects you, you would tremble like a slave before that spiritual power which is now content to keep you on your own terms, and allows you to profess so much of its faith, and pay it just the portion of obedience, which suits your views. Had you been a Roman Catholic under the uncontrolled sway of your church, her enticements, and the inexperience of youth, would probably have combined to make you sacrifice your liberty and your natural rights, by becoming one of her clergy. The offspring of your stolen loves might be the living sin of a faithless wife—the object of struggling love and hatred to a suspecting husband. Your misery, your helpless slavery, might have left you without God in the world. This (remember, Sir, I repeat the assertion with unabated confidence), this is the case of thousands among your clergy: and the probability of its having been yours would have increased in proportion to the fervour of your early piety. In England, your treacherous Church has

few allurements for a young mind; and that is probably the reason that you could avoid the snares in which I was taken. You have met with kindness and encouragement among the most zealous members of the Established Church; and I have seen the identical place where—from feelings of gratitude, no doubt, but which your Church, had the act been performed within her own dominions, would have severely punished—you devoutly asked and obtained the blessing of a noble and most benevolent prelate for whom our Church has lately mourned. This happiness, and this freedom, within the pale of the proudest ecclesiastical tyranny, you owe to the prevalence in this kingdom of that form of Christianity which you have attacked more insidiously than is fit for a mind free from Roman Catholic bigotry, and less openly and directly than it might be expected from a sincere child of Rome. But who has ever asked, why “should Mr. Butler write book after book, the evident tendency of which is to make our people indifferent to the religion of the country, if not to raise prejudice against it; to perpetuate a degrading superstition among a large

portion of his fellow-countrymen ; to eternize the necessity of the laws which withhold from them the higher trusts of the state ; by keeping them in subjection to a spiritual power, which is the declared enemy of all we love best ? Why should he act thus towards men from whom he has received so much kindness, with whom he has so long lived in the daily intercourse of the most intimate friendship ?” Would you not feel indignant at such a question, and plead your conscientious belief as an unanswerable, a sacred reason, which no man had a right to canvass ?

Ah, Sir, *you* can demand that respect from Protestants, and have it paid you most readily and willingly. *I* knew too well the effects of your Church upon the heart and mind, to have for a moment expected a similar treatment at your hands. Yet I hoped you had not imbibed so much of the grosser spirit of intolerance, as hardly to allow me the treatment to which my birth, my education, my former rank in life, and my conduct entitle me. You publish a flat contradiction to my statement of a *matter of fact*, which the circumstances of my life enabled me to ascertain ;

and that upon the authority of persons, not only whose names you conceal, but whom you, incidentally and unwittingly, describe as perfectly disqualified to be witnesses on the subject in question. "In page 60 (you say), Mr. Blanco White informs us, that 'he knew very few Spanish priests, whose talents or acquirements were above contempt, who had not secretly renounced religion. I have (you continue) never been in Spain, and have known few Spanish priests; but I have conversed with many Spanish and Irish Catholics, intimately acquainted with the opinions, the manners, and the habits, of the inhabitants of Spain. All assure me, that there is not the slightest ground for this accusation."

I will not express my feelings as to the manner in which, after the positive and circumstantial assertion which I have made in my "Evidence," and in "Doblado's Letters," you still speak of there being *not the slightest ground* for what you are pleased to call my accusation. But I must not refrain from saying, that your method of contradicting my evidence is perfectly ludicrous in a lawyer. Suppose a person from the neighbour-

hood of Dover, who for many years had been dealing in contraband goods, said, that some of the inhabitants of that town, most respectable in every other point, had been concerned with him in the *free trade*: what would you think of the acuteness of him who should gravely answer, “I have never been at Dover; but I have known many friends and relations of the Custom-house officers, and those employed in the preventive service, who never knew any such persons: they all assure me, ‘*that there is not the slightest foundation for the accusation!*’” Do you imagine, that the Canons, and Prebendaries, and Vicars, of the Church of Spain, would be ready to tell your English and Irish *Roman Catholic* witnesses a secret, which might cost them liberty, life, and honour? How could such an absurdity enter your thoughts? Really, Sir, your understanding seems bewildered when you are hard pressed on these subjects. I fear, if you happen to read this in that hurried state, I shall find it difficult to fix your attention on the circumstances which enabled me to know what escaped the observation of your authorities. Recollect, I pray you, that I grew up

with a multitude of Spaniards who entered the Church; that I was myself a clergyman, not of the lower ranks, in the Church of Spain; that men of the first dignity in it, were my bosom friends; that I had the same misfortune in point of faith, which I attribute to others of my profession; and that the danger and oppression resulting from that state of mind being common, it was more natural that the victims of your Church should recognize and trust their secrets to each other, than that they should go with their sad and dangerous tale to your English and Irish Roman Catholic friends. Remember all this, Sir, and keep your witnesses to allay the smart which my declaration may have raised in the consciences of some good old nuns of your acquaintance.

But I wish you would tell the world where it was you met with the Spanish witnesses you oppose to me. I have, however, some information upon that point, which I will not withhold from the public. You must then know, Sir, that though among the Spaniards whom their own and their country's misfortunes have thrown on

these shores, there are some, who from political difference of opinion are far from liking me; there are others, who I am sure would save my life at the risk of their own. It is the effect of the good qualities of the nation, not of any remarkable services which they owe to me. One of these zealous friends of mine came to me a few days ago, to tell me that I must prepare myself to meet a fierce attack on the part of the Roman Catholics: for an emissary of a great man among them—a Mr. Butler, the nephew of the biographer of the saints—had been exceedingly active among the Spanish emigrants, speaking most violently against me, and begging to know whatever they might be disposed to tell, to strengthen the hands of his employer against me. So innocent was my excellent friend of every thing relating to you, Sir, previously to his meeting with your *collector* of materials for controversy, that he imagined your name had been unknown to me till he mentioned it. The result of your second-hand inquiries I do not pretend to know; but I strongly suspect that the report of my unfortunate countrymen would

do your Church little good. Believe me, Sir, they know her too well to love her.

My report of the state of a considerable part of the Clergy, differs no doubt from those which circulate throughout the nation; but it is in the caution with which I limit it, and the delicacy with which, from fear of betraying the confidence of friendship, I have worded it. Would you know how the popular opinion runs among a large portion of the nation? You may have it in the words of a Spaniard, who has very recently published a novel, descriptive of the manners and state of the country. I do not quote from the novel, but the Preface; nor do I mean to countenance the report I am going to copy, as to its details. I warrant it only as to its expressing the real opinion of a great part of Spain.

“With respect (says the writer) to the conduct of that grave personage of his tale, the monk, the author can assure his reader, that it is a faithful copy, taken from certain good prelates, who are now at the head of the Spanish Church. Every body in Spain, who takes the trouble of

looking at things with his own eyes, sees that the generality of them are downright Atheists. ‘*He believes in a God,*’ said a certain bishop to a friend of the author, alluding contemptuously to another clergyman, who passed for a man of talent and intrigue, ‘what great things can any one expect from him*!’”

Your emissary may, to your satisfaction, ascertain the fact that the author of this passage is really a Spaniard.

X.

But did that emissary, having failed in collecting facts to your liking, bring some other kind of stories for the British Catholic Association—some proper ammunition for the filth-engines which the two bodies of that name, both in this country and in Ireland, never fail to place in front of their lines? You, Sir, were present at the Speech, in which Mr. Eneas M'Donnell opened that kind of fire against me; for your name as a speaker appears before that noble piece of Hiberno-Roman

* Preface to Sandoval, or the Freemason, page vii.

eloquence, and I find you afterwards calling to order a poor honest man, who ventured to describe the whole of the proceedings of the meeting “a farce*.” You were present, Sir, and I can-

* “Mr. French said that it might be in the recollection of the meeting, that Sir Francis Burdett had expressed some years ago in Parliament his disgust and indignation at what he called the periodical return of the solemn farce. Circumstances had since occurred which induced that honourable baronet to alter his opinion: but as he (Mr. French) perfectly coincided with him then as to the solemnity of the farce, so he would state his own opinion to be unaltered from the very first exhibition of it, down to the present moment..... Yet he trusted that nothing short of general emancipation (*query*, what is the extent of an emancipation more *general* than that asked for in the “periodical farce?”) would ever be hailed by the Roman Catholics, or received by the general body of the *unprotesting believers in the Church of Rome*. Never let such an impious—such an unnatural triumph be paid to Cæsar!..... To struggle for emancipation was an idle waste of time, labour, and money (no! no! no!), &c. &c. — Mr. Butler rose to order, but Mr. French continued speaking. Mr. Butler at length succeeded in observing, that there was still much business before the meeting, and it was already four o’clock: he therefore trusted that the learned gentleman would speak to the question..... Mr. French, after apologizing, continued.—When the present objections are buried

not tell whether you joined in the rapturous cheers, with which the low reviling of my name and character was greeted. But whether you did or not, I must pause to consider you in your character of a member,—an active member too, of the *British Roman Catholic Association*.

This, Sir, is the more necessary, as when I ventured to enter the lists with you, I did not know the kind of auxiliaries which were ready to support you against me. Now that the late proceedings of the Body to which you belong have opened my eyes, I must be allowed to call the attention of the public to our relative positions, and implore their sense of justice against the unfairness with which I am met in this contest. I am a private individual, without any support but what I derive from the recollection, that even in the land of my

in oblivion, others will arise, and the Catholics will never be restored to their rights (Cries of “question!”). “Bring the Catholics in close contact with Government,” said Mr. Plunkett, and so says the Devil (a loud uproar), and so say even some of the Catholics themselves, for—(here we lost Mr. French’s voice in the surrounding discord.) The Catholic Miscellany for February and March, 1826, pages 101, 102.

voluntary exile I have some friends, who feel towards me as if nature had united us by the relation of birth. I have entered the lists of controversy under the disadvantage of using a language which I never cultivated in earnest till the age of five and thirty. The vulgar prejudice against a change of religion must always be alive against me, except where an intimate knowledge of my character and circumstances removes it. Time has not yet allowed me to stop the mouth of those who doubt the purity of my motives for advocating the cause in which I am engaged. Every thing but truth is against me; and truth, though an unfailing, is nevertheless a slow-paced protector. You, Sir, are in your own country; you are a practised writer in your own language; your prosperity has made you friends: the fortunate coincidence of your religious belief with that of the party among which you had your birth and education, gives to you the respectability of consistency, a quality which the world esteems, without much regard to whether it assists truth or error. Such, indeed, are your decided advantages, that had I not felt the unconquerable

strength of perfect conviction within me, I should have shrunk from the contest.

Yet, not content with so much vantage ground, I find that you come against me supported by the *Roman Catholic Association*; and that the abuse, the insult, the slander, from which you so carefully abstain in your remarks on my book, had been abundantly bestowed upon me by your allies and friends, a short time before those remarks were given to the public. Sir, do not claim henceforward that moderation of language on my part, which your courtly phrases demand. You must (by me at least) be considered a compound character, made up of what you do yourself, and what you let others do for you. It is preposterous to expect that I should address you as it is fitting for but one half of my antagonist: that I should have you always before my eyes as you appear when alone upon paper, and lose sight of you when you choose to mix with a riotous crowd. No, Sir; that must not be. You cannot expect a return for your personal moderation, in full: we must certainly deduct from it your share in the unbounded indig-

nation which your joint-stock company of insolence and libel, deserves.

As a member of an *Association* which musters its forces to fall upon me with all the rage of an infuriated mob, you could not escape the charge of trying to overpower me by means of your friends, even if you had been absent from the meeting. Your absence on that occasion would have all the appearance of Jesuitical caution. Nothing but a serious and indignant opposition to the conduct of your associates; nothing but a direct reprobation of the vile means which they employed in assisting you, could free you from the strong suspicion that they acted in concert with you. Yet, far from thus preventing the charge of gross unfairness which now lies against you, you, Sir, appear to have been present at the meeting, where filth and slander were heaped upon my name. On what principle of conduct you acted on that occasion I am not able to guess. From the idea, however, which your works have given me of your mental character, I have no doubt you acted with the utmost precision, according to some previously settled rule. I myself

am no good judge of such highly drilled minds. I was born under warmer skies, and do not pretend to such exquisite judgment, such a well trained set of obedient feelings. I know, that had *you* been treated in my presence, with half the indignity that fell to my lot in *yours*, I should have found it impossible not to protest against the treachery of insulting my opponent in his absence. I should have blushed at the idea of having afterwards to contend with a man whom I had allowed to be hustled, and pummelled, and mauled by a mob of my own party.

But judgment and coolness, though very enviable, may be carried too far. In the case of which I speak, one grain of mere feeling would have done you and your cause a most material service. Indeed, though the golden opportunity has irrevocably escaped you, I cannot help experiencing that kind of uneasiness which follows an escape from danger. A single remonstrance, a mere cry of "order" from *you*, when my name was bandied from mouth to mouth in scorn, would have brought more credit and weight to your bad cause, than it can expect from all your

knowledge and ingenuity. I have, Sir, to thank you for nothing but your *silence* on that occasion.

Had the speech in which I was calumniated and reviled, been made among that kind of rabble for which its style is fitted, I would never have condescended to take notice of it; but as it has your countenance, and the room abounded in doctors of the Sorbonne, and all manner of Romanist Ecclesiastics, it is my determination to rescue it out of a mere Magazine, and preserve it in a more permanent kind of volume, as a specimen of the taste and the spirit of your Association. You will, therefore, find it word for word, as far as it relates to me, at the bottom of these pages. I earnestly request you to refresh your recollection of its passages (as I entreat my readers not to proceed without perusing them), and beg your attention to the few words with which I am about to conclude this letter*.

* “ Nor is this all ; for our clerical opponents, not satisfied with their own labours, have set up a strange sort of gentleman, with two or three English names, and two or three Spanish names, to write against us. I allude to the Reverend Blanco, &c. White, &c. This man’s vile production has

X.

I do not know whether the Roman Catholics of England collectively are faithfully represented in
been circulated with most malignant zeal. I shall, with your permission, notice some of its peculiarities ; and first of all, let us see who and what the gentleman is and was. (Mr. Macdonnell here produced a small book). I shall take his story from his own book ; I will not diminish its influence by communicating to you any information that may have reached me from other quarters. 'Tis true, the story of his migration from Seville was not precisely the same as he gives us ; for I had heard, that so far from flying from his native city to avoid an enemy, he marched out, like a good recruit in a good cause, to the tune of "the Girl I left behind me" (laughter). The title of his book is—'The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery, addressed to the lower classes of Great Britain and Ireland.'—Oh, what a chance he has in Ireland ! (loud cheers and laughter.)—'By the *Rev.* Joseph Blanco White.' Now, before we go farther, I beg to know where he borrowed the title of Reverend ? As Popery is so hideous a thing, it surely could not confer such a title ; or if, on the contrary, the title was conferred by Popery, and is still held under that license, then it follows that Popery is not so hideous a thing after all. Let him tell the world by

their *British Catholic Association*. If they be, I confidently appeal to those, who, free from the whom he was ordained or dubbed a Reverend, and then we shall have one proof of the sincerity of his present opinions as to Popery. He says, that ‘the author makes no profit by this pamphlet;’ and I can assure you that neither will the reader (loud laughter). His modesty will not allow him to put forth all his titles on this occasion, but I find a small number of them appended to his venerable name in a similar production. As he announces his title and dignities as M. A. and B. B., I do not know exactly what B. B. means, unless, perhaps, Beautiful Blanco; but so it is — ‘Joseph Blanco White, M. A. and B. B. in the University of Seville; Licentiate of Divinity in the University of Osuna; formerly Chaplain Magistral Preacher to the King of Spain, in the Royal Chapel at Seville; Fellow, and once Rector, of the College of St. Mary *a Jesu*, of the same town; Synodal Examiner of the Diocese of Cadiz; Member of the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres of Seville.’ Verily, Sir, by his own account, my friend Blanco appears to have been the *Caleb Quotem* of all Spain, and *Paul Pry* of Seville (loud laughter). But let us hear his own story from himself, and his qualifications for the mission he has undertaken. He begins by informing us, that his family left Ireland. I should be glad to learn from him why they left Ireland? Oh, unhappy man, were they not banished from their native land by that infernal code which you now seek to perpetuate (hear, hear)? He says that he

religious and political feelings of that party, have read the fragment at the bottom of these pages,

had excellent parents : that is more than they can say for their son, even by his own account. At the age of fourteen, he pressed his parents to educate him for the priesthood, and they performed his desires with the most tender, diligent, and affectionately parental solicitude. He praises those poor parents as the best of creatures, and particularly his mother, as the most charitable of women. He was ordained a priest at the age of twenty-five. He enters upon the discharge of all the duties of the ministry : he got into the enjoyment of several offices in the church, of which we have already seen some specimens ; on each of those occasions he renewed, I believe upon oath, his vows of attachment to the Catholic religion ; and yet this man, who is to convert our poor people to Christianity, admits that, for ten years of the time, he was a false double-dealer and an infidel, and that he continued, from interested motives, to discharge the ministry of a religion which he believed to be a false religion ! These are his avowals ; perhaps they are intended for boastings ; but, after such declarations, the man deserves to be deceived who chooses thee, Blanco, for his religious director. He tells us, that when he ceased to be a Catholic, he became an infidel. This was quite according to precedent ; for when angels fell, they became devils. Well, Sir, he quits Seville, and finds his way to a vessel, and sets sail for England. Really, Sir, these Spanish friars, whom our roving missionaries

whether the spirit that actuated their ancestors round the Smithfield fires, is not still alive under

pick up, are strange fellows. I recollect reading, a year or two ago, an account of another Spanish friar, who had been decoyed to Gibraltar, and was shipped for England, consigned to Mr. Joseph Butterworth. The story was told in one of the speeches of a Bible meeting. This poor friar, on coming into your river, was annoyed by your foggy atmosphere. The fable is given just as if it were a Jamaica turtle, instead of a Spanish friar that was the subject. The poor animal was delivered over to his consignee, who, full of benevolence, sent him to one of the hospitals of your city, where he died in two days; and 'there was an end of the friar done over' (laughter). But to return to Blanco: he tells us a cock and bull story about his being converted by humming a hymn in some church in this city; and it happened most fortunately, but quite accidentally, of course, that the system of Protestantism which he preferred was that of the established church. Well, Sir, he goes forth, qualified, as he declares, for this Christian mission, in the extraordinary manner to which I have adverted. He afflicted both his parents, he broke his poor mother's heart, he violated all his vows of attachment to his religion — and this man, who is by himself represented to have been an infidel to his country, an infidel to his king, an infidel to his religion, an infidel to his parents, and an infidel to his God, now assumes the office of religious director of the "Lower classes of Great Britain and Ireland"

another form in their breasts? No: let no man whose unfortunate lot has been to be born within

(hear, hear). This Christian Crusader does not preach doctrines of charity among us; oh, no, — in the outset of his career he unfurls his blood-red banner of persecution, with his most Christian motto of — “hate one another,” inscribed upon its scroll. Oh, most amiable Christian missionary! most admirable guide for a Christian people! most admirably of a Christian hierarchy (hear, hear)! The most comical part of all is, that this man, who had been an infidel for so many years, now tenders himself to be examined upon oath — Blanco’s oath (laughter)! He charges us with a fixed belief in the infallibility of the pope. — Now, to that I answer, that I have sworn, as all of you have done, that I do not believe any such thing; and without claiming any extra measure of credit for myself, I think my oath is as good as Blanco’s (loud laughter). Next, he charges us with not keeping faith with persons of a different communion. That comes well from Blanco, who, by his own account, kept faith with neither God nor man for ten years of his life (hear!). Besides, who can tell whether he is not playing the same game with the established church of England, as he played with the established church of Spain? Who can tell what is Blanco’s religion this day; or, though you may be quite sure of it to-day, who can promise what it will be to-morrow? (hear, hear!) But, Sir, it is not to be endured, that these vile calumnies should be circulated against a portion of his ma-

their Church, and has left it; let not that man expect to find a spark of charity among them—

jesty's subjects, who have been distinguished for their good faith to their sovereign under the most trying circumstances, and to their fellow-subjects upon all occasions. The same may be said as to his observations upon our allegiance; for, surely, the field of Waterloo is a more safe evidence than the calumnious pages of Blanco upon this subject (loud cheers). 'Oh, but then,' quoth Blanco, 'your doctrine of exclusive salvation.' Upon that I shall only say, that, even if our doctrines were such as our enemies impute to us, still we should not be as bad as Blanco or his allies. For they do not even charge us with any thing more than entertaining an opinion as to what may be done in the next world, and not by ourselves either; whereas they, on the contrary, would exclude us from any enjoyments in this world or the next. They impute a doctrine or belief of exclusive right to us, but they enforce an actual practical exclusion against us (hear, hear). He complains next of the tyranny of popery. The tyranny of popery indeed! well said, Blanco: what a meek, benevolent, and social being you have become since you abandoned it? Does not your book now before me confound all such pretensions, when its whole object is to aid the maintenance of a most tyrannical system (cheers)? One of the specimens of religious tyranny may be collected from this book; but I should recommend him, if he means to hold his ground with the parsons, to exclude the passage from his

charity did I say?—no, not of common humanity. If they cannot feast their eyes upon his burning

next edition, as the practice which it suggests might be found not a little inconvenient. He tells us (page 2), “it is the custom in Spain, when certain places become vacant in cathedrals and other great churches, to invite as many clergymen as will allow themselves to be examined before the public, to stand candidates for the vacancy. After the trial of their learning, the judges, appointed by law, give the place to him whom they believe to be most competent.” Now, such a custom would never do for our “cathedrals or other great churches,” for certain reasons; and therefore I trust, that Blanco may not repeat the suggestion. But before he repeats the charge of tyranny against Catholics, I beg that he may obtain a return of the committals to Gaols and Bridewells in Great Britain and Ireland, for a month or a year, distinguishing those signed by the parsons, and he may then, perhaps, be induced to abstain from a repetition of this charge. He says that Popery sets parents as spies over their children, and dilates in enthusiastic hate upon the Inquisition. He cannot abhor the principle or practice of the Inquisition more than I do; but he must have known that the Pope has actually discountenanced it in Spain, and that it is retained merely as a political engine, if it be retained now at all. But, why should this prop and panegyrist of our penal code introduce this topic? Does not he know that more cruelties and persecutions have been inflicted by that code than by all the agents of the Inquisition all over the globe? that one of the

limbs ; if they cannot encourage the executioners with their yells, they still howl their cheers round

first objects of that code was to darken the national understanding, to make the wife the informer against the husband, and the child the plunderer of his parent?— If he wishes to search out the best and most operative system of persecution, it is not to the black diaries of the horrible Inquisition, but to the blacker pages of the more horrible statute law of England that he must turn his perverse attention (cheers). He next lectures us upon a subject which has very much occupied, of late, the cares of our Thaumaturguses of the press, from Devon to Durham. He is very diffuse upon the subject of auricular confession. It is not necessary for me to defend this great provision in this assembly, where all its blessings are so justly appreciated, and most of all by the parents who form a part of our meeting. * * * *
* * * * * Blanco, instead of taking the text of his instructions from the sacred volume, extracted it from the advice of his nearly namesake *Banquo*, who addresses *Macduff* thus :—

‘ Dear *Duff*, I pr’ythee *contradict thyself*,
And say it is not so.’”

I do not feel at liberty to insert the low buffoonery of the speaker against two other individuals whom he chose to associate with me ; and have accordingly made a break in the speech. I beg leave to add, that I had no knowledge of it till two days before I began this Letter.

some heartless man, whom they employ to torture their victim by the only means now left them—insult and calumny. Sir, in asserting this, I have not lost sight of you. You were one of the crowd who assembled at your *British Auto da Fè*, to be present at the concerted murder of my reputation and character. If that character can (and it must) survive the impotent efforts of the *Associated Catholics*, it is not owing to any limits or measure which *they* have set to their malice.

There is, Sir, but one assertion, in the vile libel which you sanctioned with your presence, which is pretended to have been derived from any other authority than my own statements: and as the speaker did scarcely trouble himself to distort and pervert my narrative, but referred to my works when he was asserting the very reverse of what is therein stated, I will not degrade myself by answering falsehoods which are already contradicted.

I must, however, submit to the necessity, humiliating though it is, of noticing the charge which he pretends to have derived from other sources.

Monstrous, indeed, and unheard-of, must be the

profligacy which would oblige a Spanish clergyman to fly. You cannot, Sir, be ignorant—no one acquainted with the Roman Catholic priesthood, especially abroad, is ignorant—that the celibacy of the clergy is kept up by a tacit compromise between individuals and the Church. They are to give her the credit of their professed purity; she is not to molest them for their evasions of her monstrous law. Hardly any appearances are required to be kept. I assert this positively, and defy your ingenuity to disprove it. Would to Heaven your Church were determined in earnest to enforce purity among her clergy. The necessity of constant exposure, would soon show the wickedness of the law which produces such an enormous mass of vice. That I have not lived innocent towards my God, I have confessed before the world. But my life, if judged even by the strictest rules of that world's most strict law, has been, Sir, without spot or stain. I left Seville the day before the French entered it, and I left it with three of my near relations. One of them was an ecclesiastic, whose advanced age and well-known attachment to his Church—for he was a member

of the Inquisition—at once show the improbability of his accompanying me in my supposed flight for a love affair.

Father Joseph White, the Dominican, commonly known in Spain by the name of *Padre Blanco*, may still be remembered in this country; for once he showed me a list of, I believe, two hundred—I may say one hundred with certainty—English Protestants whom he had made proselytes to his Church. That zealous missionary of your faith was, I am pretty sure, personally known to a gentleman nearly related to you; and so were, to my certain knowledge, the other members of my family who fled from the French with me. I had to wait near a month at Cadiz before I sailed for this country, and frequented, as usual, the table and society of the first people of that town, including the house of Mr. (afterwards) Sir James Duff, the British Consul, an old friend of my family, whose certificate, as to the circumstances which make me a British subject by law, I have in my possession. But why do I prolong this humiliating defence, when I can at once give the lie to the impudent calumny of my

having quitted Spain for any other cause but that which I have stated. You, Sir, and *your Associates*, must know that my office in the Royal Chapel at Seville was kept open for me till the latter end of 1815, five years after I quitted Spain. I was on the point of stating this fact in the account of myself which I have presented to the public; but a reluctance to say too much in my own favour, made me omit it, with several other circumstances of the same kind. Since you listened, Sir, to the slander, have the goodness to attend to the details of the fact which at once disproves it.

The Statutes of the Royal Chapter to which I belonged, ordain, that if any of its members should absent himself without the king's leave, his stall shall be kept open for him three years, without however his deriving any emolument from it. The French having entered Seville the day after I left that town, dispossessed all public functionaries, and all beneficed clergymen, who did not return to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte within a certain period. My name was accordingly in the Gazette, as having forfeited my stall.

Caring nothing about it, I allowed things to take their course.

During my longest residence at Oxford, on the 8th of July, 1815, I received a letter from my father, dated 10th of the preceding June, by which I was informed, that the *Capellan Mayor*, or Dean, had requested him to ask for my *resignation*, lest, if the chaplaincy lapsed, the crown should appoint to it without the usual trial of the candidates, and subsequent presentation by the chapter. I was now surprised at finding myself still a chaplain to the King of Spain; for being extremely anxious not to mention to my father, in the correspondence which I constantly carried on with him till his death, any thing relating to my Spanish preferment, I took it for granted that a successor had been given me at the Royal Chapel. I learnt, however, that when the French were driven out of Spain, all those who had been ejected by Joseph had been reinstated in their places. From that moment the three years began to be reckoned by my Chapter, who considered the preceding absence as forced, and occasioned by the occupation of a hostile army and an intrusive government. All this took

place unknown to me, as I derived no emolument at all in consequence of my restoration. Three days, however, after having received my father's letter (I chose that day because it was my fortieth birthday), I sent by the post a letter of resignation, which I had drawn up the day before, in such terms, as, without disclosing my religious feelings to my father, might at a future period be explained by the circumstance of my adherence to the English Church, into a solemn protest against Popery, and an assertion made to those who knew me best, that Popery alone had moved me to quit my country, and every thing I loved in it*. Sir, I have proved that for five years I had it in my power to resume the honourable place I had occupied in Spain:—if such a fact does not convince you, and yours of the *Association*, of the freedom, disinterestedness, and sincerity, of my choice, you must be acquainted with depths of hypocrisy and duplicity, which, though I have lived so long among the instruments of Romish tyranny, it has never been my chance to fathom.

* The Spanish letter, and an English translation, will be found at the end of this volume.

I was on the point of giving some select names, out of the numerous individuals of high rank and respectability, both English and Spanish, who, from their own knowledge, and the general esteem in which they found me held in Spain, are ready to contradict the infamous slander propagated by your Association, concerning the cause of my exile. I had asked their leave for that purpose, and the letters I have received in answer I will preserve with gratitude and pride. But having already given an unanswerable contradiction to the calumny of your Association (not, however, for their sakes, but out of respect to such of my English readers as may know nothing more of me but what I have said in my book), I will not descend so low as to give references for character*.

* There is *one* reference which I am bound in duty and gratitude to give, because, highly honourable as that reference is to me, my being entitled to give it is not less honourable to the truly amiable, liberal, and benevolent mind of the nobleman, who, notwithstanding the tendency of my late works against a political measure to which he has sacrificed his personal interests through life; is still ready to

Of the inoffensiveness of my conduct in England, especially since I began to prepare myself, show himself, what he has been for many years, my affectionate friend. The Right Honourable Lord Holland knew me during his last visit to Spain in 1809; and from that period till the present moment, I have received uninterrupted and increasing proofs of his esteem. His house was one of the first I visited, when, in 1810, I arrived in London; and for sixteen years I have been either a frequent visitor, or an inmate in it. For two years I was tutor to the Honourable Henry Fox, a charge with which his noble father honoured me of his own accord, and in spite of the fears I expressed, that my growing ill health might disqualify me for its important duties. Lord Holland's rank entitled him to be my *Patron*; but he chose to be my *friend*; indeed, the letter he has written to me from Paris, upon hearing that my character had been slandered, would show the name of *friend* too weak, and require some other, little short of a *brother*, to explain the feelings it expresses. Great, indeed, must be the candour, and almost singular the goodness of heart, from which I receive such ample justice: but tried also (I thank God) must be the purity of intention, which so effectually has screened me from every suspicion, which might have lowered me, if not in the respect, in the affection of my noble friend. To me there is scarcely a stronger proof of my sincerity than the pain I have endured, from the moment when I began to fear, that in the discharge of a paramount duty, I might disturb the course of that long-

by prayer and study, to become a member of her Church, I thank God I have a witness in every person that knows me, and I have not lived in obscurity.

As this, Sir, is a fact which the utmost malice of your *Associates* cannot even obscure, their efforts to represent my conduct in Spain as odious and highly immoral, must recoil upon that Church of Rome, which they are trying to defend by such infamous means. It is sufficiently glorious to the Church of England to have been the instrument which restored Christian faith and hope to my soul. Your friends, Sir, should be more cautious, not to acknowledge in the English Church a power which she does not claim for herself: they should not attribute to her the *miracle*, of having converted a monster, such as you heard me described, into a Christian, who has now lived in her bosom so many years, “touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless.”

To have been *consenting*, like Saul, to the moral murder of one of your fellow Christian and most highly-valued affection. But I did not know the full extent of Lord Holland's candour and benevolence.

tians, is a stain in your hitherto fair character for humanity and benevolence, which you will find it difficult to wipe away. But to behold, in silent approbation, that brother Christian tortured with a brutality, which exceeds that of the barbarians, who delight in dissecting alive the victims on whose limbs they are prepared to feast, is beyond what I could have conceived possible in a man of your reputation. Sir, there are spots in the human heart, so sensitive and tender, that, like the pupil of the eye, no degree of criminality can justify their being fixed upon to inflict pain as a punishment. Those recesses of the breast, which have been consecrated by filial and parental love, should not, in any case, be subjected to the knife of the moral executioner. He, whom the *British Catholic Association* employed to wreak their vengeance upon me, selected, Sir, those very spots to make me writhe with pain. Yes, Sir, I will yield him that triumph : he has, indeed, maddened my soul with agony, by charging me with having "broken my mother's heart." She is no more, Sir ; and fifty years have past since my head rested first

upon her bosom. But God witnesses the tears which stream from my eyes at this moment, when I am forced to appeal to her blessed spirit, for the falsehood of the charge, which your associates have brought against me. Even when her mind was under the influence of those errors which she imbibed from your Church, she would have indignantly flung the brutal falsehood on the man who uttered it against her child. Her misery on my account was owing to the wicked tyranny of a religious system, which by oaths, as well as by threats of death and infamy, too sure to be put into execution by a court of her priests, secures the external obedience of her members; leaving their minds to the chance of believing or rejecting her tenets. That Church, which should be the guide, is made, by her impious ambition, the most fatal snare to her children. She it is, that tenders an oath, which not only attests present belief, but, no less wickedly than absurdly, binds her slaves to keep her faith (whether they should in future find it true or false), “by God’s grace unto their lives’ end.” It is your Church which thus places thousands of her unfortunate followers between

contending duties, if that can be called a duty, which implies that God is the supporter of what we conscientiously believe to be false, and contrary to his revealed word. I was, Sir, one of those victims; and awful, indeed, was the struggle between my love for my parents, and my natural abhorrence of dissimulation. Had there been the least grain of hypocrisy in my composition, I might, like many others, have indulged my passions without the necessity of much concealment, have lived in the enjoyment of my mother's happiness; and should, most probably, be at this moment holding the highest honours of the Church of Spain, with no more conformity with her tenets than the external, which has at all times sufficed to many of her dignitaries and bishops. But I abhorred deception; yet could not fly from the theatre of imposture, in which I was a forced actor in chains. Had those chains been of no stronger materials than worldly interest, or even fear of being brought back to the Inquisitorial dungeons from my flight, I should have snapt them like withs; but they were rivetted on my parents' hearts, and I could not break them without making

those hearts bleed. My mother was a woman of the most extraordinary quickness and sensibility; and notwithstanding the caution which my tenderness for her demanded, as a paramount duty; the struggle of my mind could not escape her piercing eye. I sacrificed ten years of suffering to what I conceived the first, the clearest of my contending duties: I did not quit Spain (as all my bosom friends knew that I was determined to do, whenever I could accomplish it without "breaking my parents' heart"), till the approach of a hostile army put it in my power. My regard for the feelings of my parents was such, that in qualifying myself as a clergyman of the Church of England, I avoided every circumstance which might convey my change to their ear. No, no; guilty of many a sin, I confess myself before Heaven; but unfeelingness towards those who gave me my being, was never, to my knowledge, recorded before HIM, at whose tribunal both you and I must, ere long, stand.

J. B. W.

APPENDIX.

*Copy and Translation of the Resignation of his Office
in the Spanish Church, tendered by the Author
in 1815.*

AL

ILUSTRISIMO SEÑOR CAPELLAN MAYOR,
Y CABILDO DE CAPELLANES DE LA REAL CAPILLA DE
SAN FERNANDO, DE SEVILLA.

ILUSTRISIMO SEÑOR;

Mucho tiempo ha que hubiera dirigido a V. S. Illma. mi desestimiento de la Capellania Magistral que he tenido el honor de poseer en esa Real Capilla, a no haber sido por la consideracion de que, estando ausente sin licencia, y no disfrutando de ningun emolumento que pudiese comprometer mi delicadeza sobre este punto, podia retardar este paso hasta la conclusion de los tres años que los Estatutos conceden; dexando asi que el tiempo reconciliase a mi familia con la separacion perpétua que mi renuncia debe anunciarles. Pero estando el término para concluirse, y entendiendo yo que V. S. Illma. tiene la bondad de esperar a saber mi determinacion para publicar las Oposiciones a mi vacante, dirijo esta carta para que la tenga V. S. Illma. como documento de la renuncia formal y absoluta que hago de la Capellania Magistral que obtuve y he disfrutado en esa Real Capilla.

En medio del inevitable dolor que la memoria de quanto me es y ha sido caro en mi ciudad nativa me causa en este mo-

mento, no puedo olvidarme de los buenos oficios y amistoso trato que debo a ese Ilustre Cuerpo. Al paso pues que doy a V. S. Illma. mis mas sinceras gracias por todo, pido al Cielo que libre a mi patria de los males en que, segun mis principios, la considero envuelta, y que son la unica causa de la separacion dolorosa e irrevocable que en este instante confirmo.

Dios guarde a V. S. Illma. muchos años.

B. L. M. de V. S. Illma. su atento Servidor,

J. BLANCO WHITE.

Oxford, 10 de Julio, 1815.

Translation.

TO

THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS THE HEAD CHAPLAIN,
AND CHAPTER OF CHAPLAINS OF THE ROYAL CHAPEL
OF ST. FERDINAND, OF SEVILLE.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR;

I would long since have addressed to you * my resignation of the *Magistral* Chaplaincy, which I have had the honour to have held in that Royal Chapel, had I not considered, that being absent without leave, and receiving no emolument, which might make my delicacy on such matters at all questionable, I might put off that measure to the conclusion of the three years, which are granted by the Statutes;

* The repetition of the usual title of such bodies in Spain is omitted in the translation.

so that, by this means, time might reconcile my family to the perpetual separation which my resignation must intimate to them. But the term being on the point of expiring, and hearing that you have the goodness to wait for my resolution before you publicly announce the *competition** to fill up my vacancy, I forward this Letter, which you may regard as a document of the formal and absolute resignation, which I thereby make of the Magistral Chaplaincy, which I obtained and have enjoyed in that Royal Chapel.

Notwithstanding the inevitable pain, which the recollection of every thing which has been and is still dear to me in my native town is giving me at this moment, I cannot forget the kindness and friendliness which I have experienced in that illustrious body. In making, therefore, my most sincere acknowledgments to you for all, *I pray Heaven may deliver my country from the evils † in which, according to my principles, I believe she is involved; those evils which are exclusively the cause of the painful and irrevocable separation which I seal at this moment.*

God preserve you, &c.

* The vacancy of such stalls as are called *official*, is published by circulars, inviting Graduates to appear at the public competition, called *Oposiciones*, which precedes the appointment.

† In the original sketch of this Letter, which I still preserve, I find, that instead of the general word *evils*, I had written *Religious Intolerance*. I altered the expression for the sake of my father, through whose hands the Letter was forwarded.

NOTE TO PAGE 12.

When the preceding sheets had nearly gone through the press, I was favoured with a Letter from the Rev. Richard Garnett, of Blackburn, from which I take leave to transcribe the words of the Original Chronicle, out of which, subsequent historians have taken that remarkable fact of the divine worship paid to Pope Martin IV, by the Sicilian Legates. After this, few, I trust, will deny, that any point in history is better authenticated than that which shows, who is “the man of sin—the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God*.”

“In questo tempo, parendo à quelli di Palermo havere male fatto, é sentendo l'apparecchiamento grande che lo Re Carlo faceva, per venire sopra di loro, mandarono per loro ambasciadori frati religiosi à Papa Martino, domandandoli misericordia, proponendo in loro ambasciata solamente, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem*: él Papa in pieno concestoro fece loro questa risposta, senza altre parole, le quali parole sono scritte nel *Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi*, dicendo cosi brevemente, *Ave Rex Judeorum, et dabant ei alapam: Ave Rex Judeorum, et dabant ei alapam: Ave Rex Judeorum, et dabant ei alapam*. Onde gli ambasciadori si partirono molto confusi.” Giov. Villani, *Historie Fiorentine*, b. vii, c. lxxiii, p. 206, ed. Venet. 1559.

My truly learned friend adds: “The above-mentioned embassy took place in 1282, and John Villani began to write his History in 1300, only eighteen years after.”

* 2 Thess. ii, 3, 4.

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