

**The Press and General Review.****THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.**

MEETING AT IPSWICH.

(Abridged from the Suffolk Chronicle.)

On Thursday evening, a numerous and respectable meeting was held, at the New Corn Exchange, for the purpose of promoting the objects of the Anti-State-Church Association. There were nearly 900 persons in attendance, and it was certainly the strongest demonstration ever made upon the question in this town or county. Mr E. Miall, the editor of the *Non-conformist*, and Mr Kingsley, attended as the deputation.

On the motion of Mr Grimwade, Mr Neve, of Tuddenham, having been called to the chair, opened the proceedings in an appropriate address, explanatory of the object they were met to serve.

The Rev. I. Lord moved the first resolution:

That this meeting looks upon the union of the Church and the State as the source of many and great evils, the removal of which can only be expected from the withdrawal of all State revenues and endowments from all religious parties and purposes.

He concluded a suitable speech in support of the motion as follows:

He took upon Christ as the only head of the Church, as holding in his hands the sceptre, as having the Church under his control, as possessing the supreme right to determine its laws, institutions, rites, and ceremonies, in all ages of the world. Now, when a government stepped in and determined what would be the rites of the Church, he held that it was an infringement of this peculiar prerogative of Christ. Therefore, as a Christian man, he was bound to go forth, and say to the parties who interferred with these matters, "No, you have no right to meddle with these things; they belong, exclusively and peculiarly, to Christ as head of the Church, and my allegiance to him demands that you let these matters alone." Not that he would pull down the Church or alter her forms and ceremonies. Nothing of the kind. She might have her creeds and services; he only wished her to be altogether free from payment by the State, and pay for her forms and ceremonies, and all her religious services, out of her own pocket, on the principle that Dissenters themselves adopted (hear, hear)—namely, that a man should be at liberty to pay for that religion which he liked best, the same as he was at liberty to go and buy his bread of that baker, or employ that physician, whom he preferred (applause).

Mr Kingsley, one of the deputation, seconded the resolution, and took occasion to point out the evil effects of a State Church upon mental and spiritual independence. He passed in review the history of the Church, to show that, notwithstanding the efforts made to secure uniformity of thinking and teaching, great diversity of opinion had always existed within the bosom of the Establishment:—

Whence all this agitation now? Why did we find the Church divided into two great factions? Simply because the State denied to the Church the power of enacting its own laws.—The controversy between these parties might be determined if there was a central power in the Church to which their differences might be referred. But to whom was it referred? To the Privy Council; and what did the Privy Council say? "Gentlemen, you are both right; there may be differences among you, but there is no necessity for separating; live in harmony and keep the peace." The State, whenever there was any commotion of the kind, looking at it as a Church militant, gave the word of command, "Stand at ease!" "As you were!" (laughter). But these contentions would go on so long as the Church continued in alliance with the State. The clergy said they wished to be free. Well, they could be free; the Anti-state-church Association did not wish to interfere with them. They might have all their officers, archbishops, bishops, deans, canons, residentiaries, precentors, and sacristans, and have them in abundance, but pay for them, and keep their hands out of other people's pockets. If they would consent to do that, then all controversy with them, so far as the Anti-state-church Association was concerned, was at an end. To bring about the consummation all they had to do was to create public opinion by holding such meetings as that, and giving expression to the sentiments which they had uttered (applause).

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr Miall then came forward, amidst considerable cheering, to move the following resolution:—

That this meeting rejoices in the growing recognition by all parties, especially by Churchmen, of the dangers consequent upon the union of Church and State, and pledges itself to increased effort to promote the object which the Anti-state-church Association seeks to attain.

In commencing his address he said:

Ipswich, I believe, is peculiarly blessed with churches (laughter). I don't know precisely how many you have; but I believe you have—

A Voice: Thirteen (laughter).

Mr Miall:—and they stand pretty thick in proportion to the population. Here I see before me a vast assemblage of people, gathered from all quarters of the town, for the purpose of hearing the most pernicious and malignant sentiments that can be uttered by men (laughter)

—sentiments that are utterly subversive of all the institutions of the land, and if they could only be carried out by the hot-headed people that are preaching them from town to town, would most assuredly result, first in the destruction of all religion, and then in the overturning of the throne and the constitution (laughter). We have, I suppose, in this town, at the least, thirteen paid teachers of the state, paid for protecting religion; paid for conserving the institutions of the country; and not one of them is here (laughter). They will allow us to come here and put all manner of false notions into your head about the Establishment, and they don't come to defend their own theory, and put us down as easily as they could (laughter)—We are but sophists, we can neither prove our point from the Bible nor from reason, and very few words would suffice to blow all our arguments into the air, and they don't come here to give us the few words (laughter). They will allow all this vast congregation to go away filled with sentiments that are subversive of the peace of society, and make no effort to put it down. Now, I don't understand that. If the men were right, if they knew their position was a strong one, and that ours was an unreasonable one; if they felt that they had good ground to stand upon, and that we were gaining strength in popular affections and popular sympathies; and if it were but only necessary that they should state their arguments in order to convince you, don't you think they would have been present this evening? (hear, hear). Would not the thirteen clergymen of this town have been sitting on these benches just to controvert any false statement of facts, or meet any false argument or inference that we might base upon those facts? And yet, somehow or other, it happens that we go about from place to place, and we look for our opponents in vain. I look into almost every book that I can look into, in order to see what is the argument by which the Establishment principle is maintained, and I never see any argument at all.—It is a thing taken for granted; it is an axiom never to be questioned. Bishops propound it in the House of Lords as though it had never been discussed by human intellect. Members of Parliament go upon the hustings and say they really don't understand what you mean, when you ask them whether they are for the separation of Church and State; they cannot conceive how religion could possibly exist if it were not for the connexion between Church and State. And all these clergymen tell you from time to time that the Bible, and reason, and experience, and history, all go to convince a man, without any long argumentation upon the subject, that there must be a connexion between Church and State. Now, I won't argue this question as they won't (hear, hear, and laughter). I will suppose that the thirteen gentlemen—the clergymen of this town—are present. And I will, first of all, suppose that these gentlemen want to know what I am driving at. Here you are speaking to a large audience, like the present—what is it you want?—what is it you want? Why do you attack us? Why are you constantly levelling your arguments against us? Well, I should say, that which I want is simply this; that you, gentlemen, get paid for your religious services by those who like them. That's all—(loud cheers)—nothing else—that's all I want (continued cheering). That you should not have the power of the law to force us to pay for what we derive no instruction from, or even if we were capable of deriving instruction from, we would be rather left to pay for according to our own will. Well, is that very unreasonable? (hear, hear). These gentlemen say, "Oh, but the state of the case is such that it is absolutely necessary for the extension and maintenance of religion throughout the country that the Church should be maintained by the State." Now, don't be deceived by terms. Just strip the matter of all its mystery, of all its generality, and it comes to this, that the thirteen gentlemen who preach the gospel in Ipswich, mean to say by that, that it is absolutely necessary for the sustentation of religion in Ipswich that they should be paid, whether you like it or not (hear, hear, hear). That's the real common-sense view of the question; that's the whole argument of the connexion of the Church and State: that is to say there are certain men who came to us with what they call their Divine teaching, and they tell us that it is absolutely necessary for the welfare of our fellow-countrymen, that they should give us their teaching it is quite necessary they should take the money (hear, hear, and laughter). If they don't give to us their teaching it is quite necessary they should take the money (laughter). We may be saved if we will; we may run to schism shops if we please; we may connect ourselves with "Programs" (laughter)—we may do almost any amount of spiritual mischief; but we can't escape the pay (much laughter).—Well, now, what is the objection to this? Is there any objection? I should say to these gentlemen, in the first place, "Gentlemen, who are you? (loud laughter). Where do you come from? (renewed laughter). Whence do you derive your authority? (hear, hear). When other men come, either with articles of merchandise or with the product of their minds, in order that they may transfer these things to us for a consideration, these men always pay some defence to our will, and ask us, 'Are you willing to exchange so much property which you hold

in order that you may have such and such advantages which we can give?' But you come and take our property first, and then say, 'Receive my instruction,' and you justify the taking of property because you are going to give us spiritual instruction. Now, I ask, where do you come from (laughter) that you should presume thus to deal with us? Whence do you derive your authority, and what is your charter, that you should set yourselves up above the whole community, and presume to put your hands into their pockets, saying, 'We have a right to take your money for our instruction, though the instruction may be utterly unsuited to your taste or case?' They tell us they are descended from the apostles (derisive laughter)—yes, descended from the apostles by a direct line of succession, continued from the time of the apostle Peter, unbroken through the Roman Catholic Church, down to the present time (shouts of derisive laughter)—that it is impossible any man can be surely regenerated except he receive the sacrament given him at the hand of the authorized priest; and that the Church of England, meaning thereby the thirteen gentlemen who officiate in this town, and the 10,000 or 12,000 gentlemen who officiate in other towns, that the Church of England is the only church on earth that has a right to be quite sure that it has the body and blood of Christ to give to the people. Well, I say to these gentlemen, take your stuff where your stuff may be accepted. This is the nineteenth century; persons may wear black clothing and white neckcloths; they may have had a university education, and have passed examination in classics and mathematics; but don't treat us as fools; don't attempt to palm upon us tales that 150 years ago our forefathers snapped their fingers at (applause)—don't bring down such childish and puerile nonsense to us, and pretend—impudently pretend too—that this is the gospel of salvation sent down to us from heaven (hear, hear). If this is what you mean you are impostors (hear, hear). You are pretending to teach for that which is heavenly and saving that which is nothing of the kind, and which, if you use your common sense, you know can be nothing of the kind. Therefore, we say to these gentlemen, whatever may be your assumptions let them be reasonable assumptions before you expect us to accede to them.

What a pretty sort of religion that must be in the land, supposing it to be dependent upon this condition! Three hundred years these clergymen, from the number of ten to fifteen thousand, well paid, educated at the Universities, superintended by bishops, having their duties prescribed for them by State authority—three hundred years have these clergymen been at work, religiously and spiritually, to educate the people of these realms; and they have done it so effectually that they say, unless the stipends of the ministers who preach this religion be seized by force out of the pockets of the subjects, all religion will die out of the land. (Hear, hear, hear, and loud and long continued applause) A pretty sort of religion they must have taught the people, to have taken no deeper root than that. It means this, "We have taught the people for three hundred years, and we dare not trust the people a single year for any of our temporal wants." Why, if I were a Churchman, I should be heartily ashamed of such an argument. I never would go about, up and down the streets, especially in a place where I am known, and say, "My religion has no power unless it be maintained by the argument of the stick; I cannot convince people, I cannot persuade people, I cannot take hold of people's sympathies, I cannot cast myself confidently upon human nature, or endeavor to entice the affections; I cannot trust in anything of that kind; the religion I preach is of a character that I must have the magistrate behind me to enforce the payment of the clergyman, or the clergyman will never be paid at all." Now, we Dissenters, who get more kicks than half-pence (laughter), and are told that we are a despicable set, teaching false doctrines; yet despicable as we are, and teaching false doctrines as we do, we manage to get support without having recourse to the constable's staff (loud applause). Really, for men to say that religion will die out of the land, is to confess that they have no religion at all. I would meet them in this way: If your religion is not strong enough to stand up alone, if it cannot go in the strength of its own heaven-born vitality among men, and not only keep itself there, but so exert itself that it will bring men into subjection to it, and make them entirely conformable to its precepts—if it be not such a religion as that and cannot do that—it had better go out of the world altogether (hear, hear). What does it come here for, unless as a great babe to be fed (laughter). If it can do no work it never was intended by God to come into this work-a-day world. Religion is here to purify men; religion is here to set men on their way to heaven, and to pass them through that spiritual discipline which will prepare them for a future and eternal state of existence. According to your theory religion is here only to be fed, to be nursed, to be dandled, to be protected by the State; cannot walk alone; cannot do anything of itself; must have the sword of the magistrate in order to accomplish any of its purposes. And, after all, what is the result? According to your own confession you have an ignorant populace; you have an un-

godly people; you have the land filled with dissent, you are constantly at trouble within yourselves, you are fighting to the very face, and almost to the death, the different parties within the pale of the Establishment; one uttering anathemas against another; this one saying, you are preaching deadly heresy; that one saying, you are unfit for the communion of the Church and saints, and this is the result that comes out of your beautiful system of making all men pay for religion whether they will or not (hear, hear, and applause). Now, I should say to these thirteen gentlemen, if they were present, suppose you try another system (laughter).—That's all we want you to do. Walk alone; it may be a little awkward at first (laughter)—you have not been accustomed to these things. Poor mother Church! she's been dealt with hardly by the powers of the world; her legs wrapped up in flannel (laughter)—seated on an arm chair; never allowed to have the slightest breath of heaven upon her—scarcely to see the light of the noon-day sun; fed with a spoon by the State (laughter) and prescribed almost every action she could perform. The poor decrepit creature does not understand the power or force of working for her own living; does not believe in it; regards it as a mere piece of romance that anybody should be able to get up and walk straight out of the room; never did stand erect in her life (roars of laughter)—never expects to do it; but tells every one that comes near her that if she's ever made to stand upon her own feet, depend upon it the result will be that she will fall down in convulsion and die (loud laughter and applause). This is their own confession; this is not my complaint against them; it is their own. They say they cannot stand alone; they say religion would die out if they did not obtain their support by compulsory means. Now we say, just try. Try. Tell the old lady to get up and support herself as well as she can (laughter)—take away those flannels; wheel her out into the air; let her breathe pure atmosphere; let her see the light of day; tell her to stand up, and if she should find her legs weak for want of exercise, tell her to try, and she will find exercise develop her strength in a short time, and she will become as vigorous and healthy as those round about her; and instead of complaint of the "Church in Danger," and the constant cry that there is nothing that can save religion but the arm of the magistrate, there will be a vigorous religion, going forth throughout the length and breadth of the country, in order to accomplish the salvation of souls (hear, hear, hear).

The Rev. Mr Brown, of Debenham seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

A vote of thanks was then passed to the chair and the meeting separated.

In commenting on this meeting, the *Suffolk Chronicle* says:—"The meeting held in our county town, on Thursday, demonstrates the healthy tone which pervades the minds of the inhabitants on this vital question. The largest room to be obtained was crammed, and the enthusiasm with which the sentiments of the speakers were hailed, marks the progress of enlightenment. As a church, that of England loses half its efficiency by its greedy hankering after the loaves and fishes. Its example is pernicious, for, owing to its laxity of principle, by fomenting wars, by supporting a corrupt system of government, by refusing political rights unless accompanied by a property qualification, and by carrying into practice precepts at direct variance with those taught by the Founder of Christianity, it has become one of the foulest blots that deface the social character at home and abroad. There is no other hope for its regeneration than by disconnecting it from the State, and those are its best friends, in a religious point of view, who dare to stand forth as its assailants."

**THE WORKING OF THE CURSE.**

America has bound the curse of slavery upon her brow, and already it begins to burn into her brain. By the Fugitive Slave Law of the last legislative session, the United States have renewed the unrighteous compact to which they timorously consented at the establishment of their independence and confederation. The penalty which attends upon the addition of actual to what is called original sin—the free act of the individual, in harmony with the disposition unfortunately transmitted to him—the development and mal- activity of what might have remained latent, and have been subdued, if not eradicated—follows close, in this instance, upon the commission of the voluntary offence. The present generation inherited slavery—that was their great misfortune; that they did not at once repudiate it, was a matter more of regret than of reproach. They seemed rapidly awakening to a sense of its guilt and mischief—they have suddenly consented to recognize and enforce the principle in its most odious form, and by the severest means. They have yielded, in this instance, to a great temptation—a temptation that appealed not alone to cupidity, but also to patriotism and imagination; to the dazzling advantages of Association with California, and to a love of national unity. They are already feeling the working of the curse, the heated ferocity of the spirit to which they have succumbed. In an evil hour, they sacrificed justice and humanity to peace—and they are rewarded with threats of intestine war.

TO BE CONTINUED.