

holder of such an annuity would have a civil and patrimonial interest, which hinged on the question, whether we would admit or not admit him to the table of the Lord? Who does not see, that though this is clearly a temporal question, yet it would be an overstepping of their proper domain, on the part of any secular judicature, to attempt to overbear our judgment, or to visit us with pains and penalties because we came to an adverse decision. In like manner, to take a supposition nearer to the question at issue, the Church never gave up the command which she had from the first over her office-bearers, because they were taken into the service of the State, and in return for the endowments conferred upon them, she undertook, through these office-bearers, to deal out through all her districts and parishes the lessons of religious education among all the families of the land. The State did not, in conferring these temporal good things upon our functionaries, arm and invest them with the privilege of the right of resisting that ecclesiastical authority from which their ecclesiastical status derives its very continuance and being. As the Church admits or discontinues in its communion on its own principles, and whatever immunities may be conferred on that privilege *ab extra*, it will continue to manage that business on the same principles as it did before; so the Church will admit or discontinue its office-bearers on its own principles; and whatever temporalities may be conferred on them *ab extra*, she will continue to manage her business of admitting or excluding them on the same principles as she did before. Whatever be the circumstances, in which we are placed, we can never be entitled to remit that lawful authority which every Christian Church exercises over her sons and servants. If an individual party were to take offence at our procedure, he can withdraw his liberality; or if he please, he may continue to bestow it either upon those whom we have rejected, or on those whom we have ejected—he may think unrighteously. So may the State, either in individual parishes, or with the Church at large, withdraw her endowments from us, and confer them upon our vetoed presentees and our deposed clergymen; but her legitimate power ceases at this point. (Hear, hear.) We may be well excused, after the interdicts of two years, if we are jealous of any bill which would expose us to a repetition of those insults on the part of the State, or of the agents and subordinates of the State on any such pretence that ours is a National Church, which would inflict a deathblow on those principles that as a Christian Church independently belong to us, which would either lift against us the hand of violence from without, or by practising on the allegiance of our own children, would stir up anarchy and insubordination within. (Hear.) Now, looking at this part of the case, keeping a steadfast eye on the question of the spiritual

independence of the church, and putting out of view for the present, the question of non-intrusion, there are many, very many, I trust, who have various opinions respecting the law of patronage, but who would harmonize and enter into one conjoined and firm phalanx to vindicate the Church's outraged liberties; and if ever there was a crisis in her history,—if ever there was a period in the manifold and sore temptations in which, from her very infancy, the Church has been cradled, in which courage and consistency were called for, it is in the days on which we have fallen, when the poison of a false and hollow principle is undermining her strength, and when thousands of her deadliest enemies stand on the tiptoe of expectancy to witness her fall. (Hear, hear.) The leading principle of Presbyterianism is, that there is a distinct government in the Church, and which the State must have approved of ere she conferred on her the temporalities, and we must be as uncontrolled by the State in the management of our own proper affairs, as if we did not receive a farthing from the National Treasury. (Hear, hear.) Acting as becomes a National Establishment, we, in the brief and emphatic deliverance of my friend Mr. Gray—we gave our services to the State, but not our liberties. (Hear.) We get from her hands the maintenance of our clergymen, and we engage in return to direct the Christian education of the people. If the State is not satisfied with this bargain, she can at any time give it up. In these things we have another Master, to whom, and to whom alone, we are responsible; and we utterly repudiate it as an accursed thing, should it be offered as a bribe to tempt us from our allegiance to Him; for that in these things he is our sole and only Master, is a fundamental principle of the Church of Scotland; and to give up this principle, would be to loosen the corner-stone, or the key-stone on which the whole fabric would tumble into ruins. (Hear, hear.) I take this principle to be the peculiar glory of the Church of Scotland. We contended for it during the struggles and persecutions of more than a hundred years, and the principle has cost us so much, that we are not willing to let it go—(hear, hear),—and if the State should require us to give up this principle, or to forego our endowments, we are willing to try the same experiments, and to adopt the same course over again. (Hear.) This principle has not been forgotten, though it has remained dormant—though it has faded from the recollections and the feelings of general society. Like some old charter that has slumbered in its repository, while its articles were unbroken, but which the rude hand of violence has called from its oblivion, quickened it anew into vigor and vitality, and causes it to assume all its former interest in the eyes of the people; so this grand fundamental principle of the church of Scotland, the principle of the exclusive jurisdiction of the