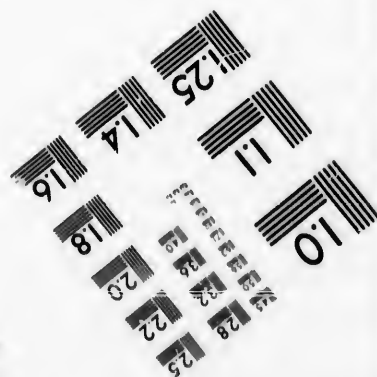
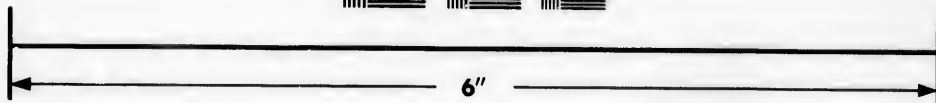
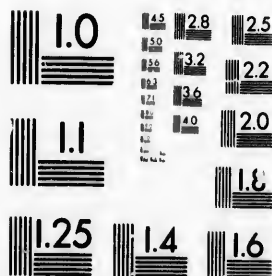


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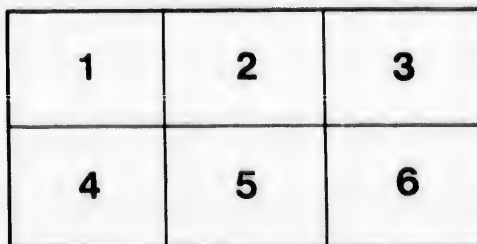
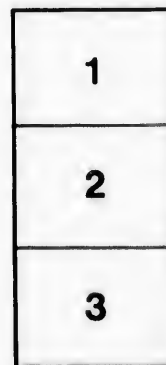
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CONSIDERATIONS

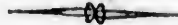
ON THE

PROPOSED RE-UNION

OF

THE CANADIAN AND ENGLISH

WESLEYAN CONFERENCES.



PICTON, C. W.  
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1847.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CANADA CONFERENCE.

RESPECTED BRETHREN,

In presenting to you our views upon the proposed re-union with the British Conference we have no interests to serve different from your own. An injurious measure is being agitated, the arguments in favour of which have been freely and industriously urged through the columns of the Guardian, and by the Chairmen of Districts, while no expression of opposite opinions has found its way to the public. We have adopted this method of communicating with you, because the columns of the official organ of the Conference would not be open for this purpose, and at present, because the time at the Conference will be insufficient to give the various matters contained in the proposed Articles that careful and thorough investigation which subjects of so much importance demand. Also, we desire to correct the misunderstanding entertained in some quarters, that we are opposed to any connection with the English brethren. We here submit for your consideration, some objections which have occurred to us against the proposed measure.

DAVID WRIGHT, Markham,  
CYRUS R. ALLISON, Sidney,  
GEORGE F. PLAYTER, Belleville,  
ASAHEL HURLBURT, Picton,  
*Ministers of the Canada Conference.*

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CONSIDERATIONS  
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PROPOSED RE-UNION  
OF  
THE CANADIAN AND ENGLISH WESLEYAN CONFERENCES.

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The first Union of the Canadian and English Wesleyan Conferences took place in the year 1833.

The Canadian body entered into a treaty of union with the other party, in order to prevent "the evils which might arise from collision."—(*Minutes of 1832.*)

The English body was induced by "patriotic as well as religious considerations," to co-operate with the body in Upper Canada. (*Rev. R. Alder's Letter to Lord John Russell, Ap'l, 1840.*) A prominent religious motive was, to save the Indian missions from being "utterly ruined." The principal political motive was, to support the "continued connection of the Province with the Mother Country. [*Report of the Eng. Conf. Committee, 1840.*]

The Union continued until 1840, and was then dissolved, by the English Conference separating from the other party. While the English Conference complained of the Provincial body, the latter also complained of the proceedings of "the Missionary Secretaries and other members of the English Conference." It was asserted, on "indubitable evidence," that they had "from the commencement of the negotiations of the Union, ulterior objects in contemplation." "They were continually and insidiously aiming at the gradual extinction of every sort of influence as identified with the Canada Conference—the transfer of that influence into other channels and into other hands—and the absolute supremacy of the Committee and Conference in England over all the departments and institutions in Canada." (*Messrs. W. and E. Ryerson's Pamphlet, 1840.*)

A consequence of the dissolution of the Union was, the English Conference commencing independent operations in U. Canada, and forming separate congregations and societies within the boundaries of the Canada Conference.

At a special Conference, the latter body protested against these proceedings, and deprecated the "ruin to souls, the injury to Methodism and to religion," resulting from "setting up altar against altar, dividing families, societies, and neighbourhoods,—and creating contentions, schisms, and divisions in the church of Christ." But the English Conference cared nothing for the protest or deprecation, and pursued the work which had been resolved on and commenced.

In 1841, the Canada Conference proposed to "submit the matter at issue" "to the decision of any tribunal which may be equally selected by committees of the English and Canada Conferences." But the English Conference passed by the proposition unnoticed.

In 1842, the proposition of referring the case to a third party was renewed. The Bishops, or the U. S. General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church were mentioned. But the English Conference declined the proposal, saying however, that they would "gladly take into consideration any proposition" for a re-union that would give that Conference "efficient direction" of Canadian affairs.

In 1843, the same proposition was again made. To the offer of the English Conference to take "efficient direction" of the Colonial Conference and Church, no response was given. The English Conference again declined referring the differences to any third party, but "to effect a satisfactory and final arrangement between the two Conferences," appointed a committee with full powers.

In 1845, the Canada Conference also appointed a committee "with full power to decide on all matters of difference" with the English Conference. The committee asked for a proposal from the English Conference, as no proposal to it had been accepted. In reply the English Conference proposed to receive all the U. Canada preachers into its body, taking the entire responsibility of the Canadian work, and giving the preachers the same rights and privileges as the English preachers.

In 1846, the Canada Conference entirely objected to the English proposal; a motion was however made to send delegates to England, to urge another proposition, viz. to form one confederacy of the Wesleyan Societies in British America, each Province to have a separate Conference, and a General Conference to be formed of members of the different Provincial Conferences. It was understood that influential members of the British Conference were in favour of the plan.

The Delegates proceeded to England, and a Committee of the English Conference was appointed to confer with them. But, it appears, that the last proposal of the Canada Conference, though urged by advocates appointed for the purpose, met with no more

success than the first ; and that the Delegation of 1846 was as sad and complete a failure as the Delegation of 1840. No North American confederation could be formed. The plan was premature. The English Conference was not prepared to give independence to their societies, nor were the societies prepared to receive it.

However, another proposal was made to the Canadian delegates : or, rather, the proposal of 1842 was repeated, viz. the establishment of a new Union, not on the former basis, giving the English Conference but an inefficient control,—but on a foundation which would allow this Conference the entire command and “efficient direction” of the Wesleyan preachers and members in Upper Canada. The one Conference could have nothing to do with, unless it have the “efficient direction” of, the other. The Canadian body must submit to the absolute rule, or to the powerful rivalry, of the English Conference. “Choose which alternative you please”, said (in effect, if not really) the English Committee to the Canadian Delegates ; “Have what you have had, our strong opposition ; or have what you have not had, our absolute control.” “Blessed are the peacemakers,” doubtless thought the Delegates, “and we have been deputed on a *Mission of Peace*.” “Peace is better than power,” said perhaps one to the other. So the Committee was informed that, if nothing else would do, the Canadian representatives would give up power to obtain peace. The foundation for a plan being agreed to, a plan was readily constructed. The plan received the approbation of the Delegates as readily as the foundation of it was afforded.—It will be seen that the superstructure exactly suits the basis, and the basis admirably supports the superstructure.

A question may arise, “*Had the Canadian Delegates authority to consent to, or acquiesce in, the mode of settling our difficulties by a re-union with the English Conference, especially on the basis peremptorily required?*” As individual members of the Conference they could express their *opinion* of the measure, but as representatives they had no authority whatever to *sanction* it. The Conference had not authorized them to propose, or to receive, the plan of a re-union on any basis. Then the sanction given, is unofficially given ; and the Conference is not bound by that sanction, but is entirely free to act in the matter.

The dissolution of the Union was not concurred in by the Delegates of 1840, on the ground that they had no “authority” to do so. (*Messrs. Ryerson's Letter to Dr. Hannah, Aug. 25th, 1840.*) So the proposition of a new Union ought not to have been received, much less assented to, without notice to and authority from the Conference. Strange, that the repetition of “a well-intended but ill-advised measure,” as Dr. Bunting characterized the first Union, should have been proposed by one party

or received by the other! Some brethren have been passing votes of thanks to the Delegates. But for what? For failing in the objects of their commission? or for overstepping the boundary of their authority?

On the return of the Delegates, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Conference was called to consider the new and unexpected measure of re-union. The Committee not only considered and readily sanctioned what the delegates had done; but went farther, taking the unprecedented step of referring the measure to the Quarterly Meetings before it had been referred to the Conference. The power to sanction or annul the doings of the Delegation was in another committee appointed at the St. Catherine's Conference, and to which the measure should have been referred. (*See Minutes of 1845.*) Besides, a mere *Executive* Committee has nothing to do with legislation for the church, and, in taking the initiative steps of sanctioning and appealing to the Quarterly Meetings, has manifestly exceeded the limits of its department, and stepped beyond the code of its duty. Had the Delegates succeeded in their mission, and the measure of a North American Wesleyan Confederacy been acceded to, the Executive Committee might have taken steps towards its going into operation,—the principle and details of the measure having been already sanctioned by the Conference; but, for the Committee, with the Delegates, to take the initiative steps in legislating on a new and important measure, the principle of which had not even been considered by the Conference, is a strange and unwarrantable seizure and exercise of power. An Executive Committee is not a Legislative body, but is merely to execute what has already been legislated for. As well might the Executive Council of the Province pass measures for the country without the Parliament, as for the Executive Committee to sanction measures for the Wesleyan body without the Conference. It may be said, "that the Conference is yet to legislate in the matter." If so of what service was the assembling of the Executive Committee? "It was in order to lay the measure before the Quarterly Meetings." But the Committee had no right to appeal to the laity before the ministers had considered the measure. Besides, the Conference is the body to appeal to the people, and not a small Committee. The Quarterly Meetings could have refused to consider the measure on the ground that it came not from the authorized and usual quarter. The Discipline provides that "the CONFERENCE" (and not a *Committee* of it) shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our own church." And it is the CONFERENCE, which is to place any "new rule or regulation respecting our temporal economy" before the Quarterly Meetings, and not a mere Committee. The Executive committee was not instituted for the purposes of legislation, nor was any special resolution passed empowering it to legislate in this particular case. The

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Committee then is in the same situation as the Delegates, in overstepping the boundary of prescribed and lawful authority. Consequently all that has been done towards a re-union with the English Conference is illegal, and therefore null and void. The Conference is not bound by the illegal act of its Committee, nor by the action of the Quarterly Meetings proceeding from that illegal act, and can without bar or bias deliberate on the measure, and reject or sanction it according to its own intrinsic merits.

Let no one misunderstand the purport of the preceding remarks. It is not the abstract proposition of a re-union with the English Conference that is condemned, but the *manner* in which the proposition has thus far, on the Canadian side, been carried out. To a union with so influential, respectable, and excellent a body as the English Conference, we have no objection, but rather an inclination, on account of the course pursued by some among ourselves, and for other reasons.

But will the *sort* of union contemplated remedy that course? We are afraid not. It rather provides for a continuation and aggravation of the disease, and the increase of the difficulty of a cure. Let the articles of the projected Union be considered.—The Canadian version or synopsis, as presented to the members, will be given. It is understood that the English articles are more full, comprehensive, and forcible, than those laid before the Quarterly Meetings. The plan of re-union, giving the English Conference “efficient direction” is professedly “based” on the following preamble:—

I. That at a period when Evangelical Denominations are exemplifying a pervading and earnest desire to manifest their oneness in Christ, and thus roll away the reproach which for so many ages has attached to the divisions and mutual acrimony of the Protestant Churches, it is extremely desirable that the unseemly differences which for some time have unhappily existed between the two branches of the W. Methodists in W. Canada, who agree in doctrine and substantially in matters of discipline, shall terminate; and that a plan be adopted for securing their cordial ecclesiastical oneness and the concentration of their associated efforts in spreading the common salvation in Upper Canada.

On the preamble, it may be remarked: 1. That the Evangelical Alliance plan had no influence on the one party in promoting a desire for the removal of “divisions” in Western Canada. The Canadian Conference has for six years, even since the “divisions” began, thought it “extremely desirable that the unseemly differences” should “terminate.” 2. That the “unseemly” conduct of “setting up altar against altar,” and “dividing families, societies, and neighbourhoods,” has not been pursued by the Canadian body, as apparently implied. 3. That Mr. Richey’s former statement, viz. that there “was no *chemical affinity*” whatever between the two bodies, does not warrant the idea that they are now “substantially” the same in “matters of discipline”, practice and spirit. If the two bodies had strong

antipathies during the first union, surely these antipathies have not been weakened by the course pursued since the dissolution.

II. That with a view to the accomplishment of these momentous objects, the future relations of the English and Canadian Conferences be the same, as nearly as local and other circumstances will admit, as that which exists between the English and Irish Conferences, but that chapel and other property now held in trust for the W. M. Church in Canada remain exclusively under the control of the Conference known in law as the "Conference of the W. M. Church in Canada," and that in respect to those chapels in W. Canada, the deeds of which require that the pulpits should be supplied by the British Conference, the appointment to them by the Canada Conference be subject to the sanction of the British Conference.

The object of an "efficient direction" is to be obtained professedly, on the model of the English and Irish Conferences. When the first Union was negotiating, the same model was before the two parties. It was thought that a union "analogous to that which exists between the English and Irish Conferences" would be "extensively instrumental in advancing the work of God." (*Proceedings of Canadian Mission Board, June 1st, 1832.*)— Yet, the model was not copied, and a very different Union was effected. Again the model of the Irish Union comes before the same parties, and they agree to copy it in the new Canadian Union. The limitation "as nearly as local and other circumstances will admit" is so great, however, that the second Union must be regarded rather as a new creation than a copy of any existing model. The advantage then of following a well-trying plan is defeated by the large limitation inserted, and the disadvantage of a new and untried theory is designed for the Wesleyans of Canada West. The model of the Irish Union need not to have been mentioned, on account of the limitation in the article, and on account of the different positions of the Irish and Canadian Conferences: the former was never an independent body, whereas the latter has been so since the year 1828.

While the article professes to follow the Irish plan, three important differences are provided for.

1. In Ireland the English Conference have no chapels distinct from the Irish body. But, in Canada, after the projected Union, separate chapels are to remain as now. The English chapel property is to be kept and used. The English Missionary Report of 1845 states that there are 25 chapels in Canada West, viz., Toronto circuit 3, Guelph 3, Kingston 2, Brantford 2, Chingua-cousy 2, St. Clair 2, and one in each of the following places: Hamilton, London, Goderich, Amherstburgh, Barrie, Peterborough, Belleville, Brock, Whitby, Alderville, Rice Lake. A chapel is also in Bytown. These chapels are necessary for a distinctive body, but why necessary on the plan of a "cordial ecclesiastical oneness?"

2. In Ireland the English Conference have no societies and congregations separate from the Irish body. But, in Canada, the two bodies will still have distinct congregations and societies.

No amalgamation of the two bodies seems to be contemplated, as no such object is provided for by the articles. The English chapels will, of course, be used by the same attendants as at present. If separate societies and congregations are to be kept up in the chapels, so doubtless in the school houses and other places of worship. The preservation of the English distinctiveness in Canada West makes the present Union much less agreeable and perfect than the first.

3. In Ireland the English Conference have no preachers with interests different from the Irish body. But in Canada, separate ministers, are to be employed. The English Missionaries are still to remain. The separate chapels, of course, will be supplied by these separate ministers connected with the English Conference. It is true that the power of *nominating* preachers to the twenty-six chapels is given to the Canada Conference; but the final *sanction* of the British Conference cannot be dispensed with, and therefore the real appointment is with the latter body.

Thus a distinct class of preachers will be kept up,—a distinct body of people, with the English modes of worship and discipline will be preserved,—and a large number of chapels will shew, by their distinct appellations and their different proprietorship, that no amalgamation of the Wesleyans has taken place, but merely some slight conjunction (styled "Union") has been effected. The second article appears framed with the Dissolution of the second Union even in view. As the English Conference gives up nothing, so at the next Dissolution they can easily fall back upon the present platform, marshal the forces ready and near, and resume their distinctive and independent operations with increased vigour and success. Whoever expects that this part of the plan will aid in securing a "cordial ecclesiastical oneness" and assist in terminating the "unseemly differences" between the two Wesleyan bodies, expects from separate religious bodies more than ecclesiastical history will allow, and from distinct Methodist communities more than past experience warrants. Whoever anticipates religious "oneness" to come from carefully negotiated distinctiveness, expects

"What ne'er was, nor is,  
Nor e'er shall be."

An important omission occurs in the article. Not only are the chapels of the English Conference to be preserved, but there is no clause to prevent their *increase*. New chapels may be built and deeded to the English Conference, even while the so-called "Union" shall continue. As the Missionary chapels will have an advantage over the Canadian chapels, in regard to special care in the selection of preachers, an inducement to deed chapels to the English conference will continually exist, and emigrants from the United Kingdom, especially, will doubtless

take advantage of the liberty. Indeed, the Missionaries at their late meeting in Toronto require, that over all church property now in the possession of the Canadian body the English Conference shall be allowed some control, and that all property in future shall be deeded to that Conference. So that an increase of separate chapels may be confidently expected.

III. That (according to former articles of Union) the British Conference shall appoint one of their members as President of the Canadian Conference, and. (as in Ireland) a Co-Delegate, who shall be associated as a member of the Stationing Committee, and who may be either an English or Canadian Minister in full connection with either Conference, as may from time to time be most convenient. If the appointed President cannot remain in Canada during the whole year of his Presidency, his associate shall for the remainder of the year, take his place in Canada, and superintend the work of God there.

1. The Rev. Dr. Beaumont is reported to have said: "There is just as much reason in the Canadian Conference sending Presidents to us (the English Conference) as for us to send Presidents to them; and they are just as competent to manage their own affairs as we are to manage our affairs." "The Rev. Dr. Bunting said that he thought so too. The Union had been wrong from the beginning. He believed it had been a great evil to the Canadian Conference, and no good to the British Conference." [*Rev. Messrs. W. and E. Ryerson's Report of their mission to England in 1840.*] Yet Presidents from the English Conference are to come, by the articles of the second Union as the first.

The Irish model is professedly copied. But the Irish President is first President of the English Conference. Why not copy this part of the Irish plan? If the Canadian Conference must have English preachers for its Presidents, why not select those who have already been Presidents? This provision would always warrant the Canadian Conference in expecting efficient and experienced ministers, and make the present rule less objectionable and distasteful.

There are two especial evils connected with a foreign Presidentship. 1. The minister is a stranger, and therefore unacquainted with the Canadian preachers and people, and the peculiarities of the work in the Province. 2. He, as a stranger, is liable to be biassed by and for a party. The interest of a party he may more cultivate than the good of the whole Conference and church.

In the former Union, the same President could not continue in office but a year, unless at the request of the Conference. This regulation was a useful check on the chief officer; but, no such regulation is in the present articles. Nor is there any provision in case the English President should not arrive in time for the Conference.

2. A Co-Delegate is to assist the President in the government of the Conference. The necessity for this new officer is not

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apparent, except it be to strengthen the English power in the Conference. In the former Union, no such officer was necessary; and because such an officer exists in the Irish Conference is no reason for such in the Canadian body. He may be a Canadian preacher; but it cannot be expected that he will oppose the power which elected him. He is to be a member of the Stationing Committee. He may be a standing officer of the body; for no provision is made for a change. If such an officer be necessary, then let the Canadian Conference have the privilege of choosing him, that he may represent their wishes and assert their rights.

IV. That the Minutes of the Canadian Conference shall be transmitted annually to the English Conference, and be recognized in the same way that the printed Minutes of the Irish Conference have always been, according to the Deed of Settlement proposed by Mr. Wesley between the English and Irish Conferences.

1. The fourth article is the most important of the whole. Other articles take from the Canadian Conference its independent executive power; this article shuts up all right to free, separate, and independent legislation.

2. It has been said, that "*the transmission of our Minutes of Conference to be recognized by the English Conference will be but a mere formality, and that no objection has ever been made to what the Irish Conference has sanctioned.*" To this plea we remark,

(1.) That if the transmission of the Canadian Minutes will be but a formality, then why make a solemn provision for a mere form? If the article be of no use to the English Conference, let them consent to erase it from the series, and settle the "unseemly differences" without it. "Erase any other article than this," would the English body say, to this request.

(2.) That though no objection to the Irish Minutes may have been taken by the English Conference since Mr. Wesley's death, and the recognition of the Irish Conference work is a piece of mere formality, it may not be so with the Minutes of the Canadian Conference. The Irish Conference is a very different body to the Canadian, and the Irish Wesleyan economy is already a transcript of the English. There is therefore no necessity of new legislation, and little or no disposition to legislate exists. The Irish preachers and people, by long connection with the English body, have acquired an easy and tractable spirit, and have learned to manifest a dutiful and subordinate conduct. But the Canadian Conference is a body long accustomed to freedom and independence, and knows but little of subordination and submission. And the Canadian membership has very much of the same spirit as the ministry. Besides, the necessity for "improvements and amendments" (see art. V.) is greater here than in Ireland. The passing of the Canadian Minutes is likely to be something more than an easy and indifferent annual formality.

(3.) That whether the recognition of the Minutes be a mere

formality or not will depend, not on the English, but on the Canadian Conference itself. If the Canadian preachers quickly learn the lesson of dutifulness and submission, acquire a gentle and ductile temper, and exhibit a ready and perfect obedience to the power which is to have the "efficient direction" of them, the recognition and sanction of the Minutes will be a quiet and easy affair to the English Conference. But if the Provincial preachers manifest the unfettered and independant spirit of 1839-40-1, and produce such strong tempered and vigorously worded resolutions and addresses as passed the Conference in those years by overwhelming majorities, soon will it be found that the fourth article is a noose to hold tight those who have been caught by the plea of "formality," a bridle to curb the rash and headstrong spirits, and a chain to fetter uneasy and struggling dependants.

3. The fourth article doubtless contains the power of *vetoing*, and bestows it on the English Conference. If any doubt whether the word "recognized" is comprehensive enough to include the *veto* power, let it be understood that the English version of the article is more energetic, and reads thus: "*That all and every the acts, expulsions, admissions, &c. &c., of the Canada Conference shall be transmitted annually to the British Conference for their approval, and shall when confirmed by them, become legal.*" In the face of this article thus strongly expressed, who will assert that the English Conference is not to have the *veto* power? or who will declare that the Canada Conference is longer an independant legislative and executive body? Not an "act" can "become legal" without the "approval" and confirmation of the English Conference! As the President of the United States and the Queen of Great Britain, can arrest and bar the progress of legislation, however desired by the Parliament or the people, by the constitution of those respective countries,—so the English Conference by this article can stop and render inefficient every "act," whether executive or legislative; of the Canada Conference, however desired by the preachers and however necessary to the people.

4. This article makes the principal difference between the former and present Union. Formerly, no transmission of our Minutes for "approval" and confirmation was necessary.—Legality was stamped on the actions of the Conference as soon as they were completed. No other and higher power was asked to approve and sanction them. Had the English version been presented to the Quarterly Meetings it is very doubtful whether so many would have concurred in the article. The first Union gave the English Conference power in the executive; the second grants all possessed before, and adds thereto strong power in the legislative department.

5. The power in the legislative department of the church is the highest which the one Conference could receive, or the other

confer. No other grant received could so enrich the English body, and no other gift conferred could so impoverish the Canadian church. If no other condition were required, in order to settle "the unseemly differences," this would surely be enough on the one part; for it fully and manifestly takes away the independence of the body, and makes it dependent on another. If the English Conference took no share of the executive power, and had no hand in the appointment of the President, Co-Delegate, and other officers of the Conference,—if they gave up all influence in the stationing of the preachers,—if they used not a finger in taking and expending the funds of the body,—if they left the Missionary department entirely to Colonial superintendance,—if they relinquished all intention to use and even to receive power in the executive department of the Provincial body, and merely asked, as a condition of settling the "differences" between the two connexions, the power of making their "approval" and "confirmation" necessary to the *legality* of the Conference "acts,"—yet this power alone as effectually annihilates our independence and independent action, as if it were accompanied by the fullest and most absolute power in the executive. The executive power is of an inferior and subordinate kind; the legislative, is the superior and highest sort. The British crown has the strongest hold of the colonies and dependencies of the Empire, not in the appointing of the governors and other officers, but in the provision that no acts of the Provincial Legislature can become legal without the "approval" and "confirmation" of the British throne. But the articles of re-Union between the two Conferences make provision for the English Conference having a strong hand in both departments of the Church. The English brethren are determined, with the sanction of the Delegates and Executive Committee, to assist us to *will*, and to aid us to *do*; and without their conjoint *willing* and *doing*, all our separate resolutions and acts are unlawful and void.

V. That the existing Book of Discipline shall remain in force, with the exception of such clause or clauses as may be affected by these proposals; but subject to any improvements or amendments which may hereafter from time to time be mutually agreed upon by the English and Canadian Conferences.

The fifth article provides for certain changes in the Book of Discipline, made necessary by the articles of Union. It provides also for further changes, termed "improvements or amendments." How much of the "existing book of discipline" will remain after the present and future changes are effected? Another provision in the article is, the recognition of the English power. Whatever is done must be "*mutually agreed upon by the English and Canadian Conferences.*" Though the Delegates and the English Conference have agreed to let the "existing book of discipline" stand, with the allowance of various additions and subtractions, yet the "Missionaries of the Parent Soci-

ety in Canada West" recommend the laying aside the Canadian book altogether, it being considered imperfect, and immediately taking the English discipline as a substitute.

VI. That (as in former articles of Union) the British Conference shall appoint a General Superintendent of missions and mission schools in Upper Canada, who shall be *ex-officio*, a member of the Stationing Committee as well as of the Canadian Conference.

The article, by appointing a General Superintendent of Missions, appears to abolish the present duty of Chairmen superintending the mission work. This may be advantageous in saving the £300 now paid to Chairmen for superintending the missions.

If, however, the Chairmen are to perform their present work, and receive the present remuneration, what is the office of a General Superintendent for? What is he to do? Is he to superintend the Chairmen? Must the £300 given to Chairmen be increased by another large expense for more superintendency?

If the Chairmen are to superintend the missions, what need of the General Superintendent on the Stationing Committee, as the missions can be represented by the Chairmen? It must be to strengthen the English interest in that most important and responsible Committee. "Efficient direction" is fully provided for the English Conference in the Stationing Committee.

VII. That, (as heretofore) the Missionaries amongst the Indian tribes and new settlers, which are now, or may be hereafter established in Canada West shall be regarded as Missionaries of the English Wesleyan Missionary Society under the following regulations:—

(1st.) That the Parent Committee in London shall determine the amount to be annually applied to the support and extension of the Missions: and the sum granted shall be distributed by a Committee consisting of the President of the Canadian Conference, the Co-Delegate, Superintendent of Missions, the Chairmen of Districts, and seven other persons to be appointed by the Canadian Conference. A Standing Board or Committee, consisting of an equal number of Ministers and laymen, shall be appointed at every Conference as heretofore, which, during the year, shall have authority, in concurrence with the General Superintendent of Missions, to apply any means granted by the Parent Committee and not distributed by the Conference in the establishment of any new mission work.

(2nd.) That the Methodist Missionary Society in U. Canada be auxiliary to the W. Missionary Society, and that all sums contributed to its funds shall be accounted for to the Treasurer of the Parent Society, which provides for the support of the missions.

(3rd.) That all Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society now in Canada West shall be stationed by the Canada Conference in the same way as other preachers of the Canadian Conference.

(4th.) That the trial of any Missionary sent from England to Canada, in full connection with the British Conference, who may be accused at any time, of misconduct, or of any deviation from the doctrines and discipline of the Methodist Connexion shall be left with the District Meeting to which said Missionary may belong, and subsequently to the Canadian Conference; but such Missionary (if he have been in full connection with the British Conference at the time of his leaving England) shall have the right of appeal to the British Conference.

The third branch of the supreme power which the English Conference will have in the Colonial Wesleyan body is, the possession and control of all the missions, mission schools, and mission property. The first branch of power is, the supplying of the executive department with such men as they may exclusively

deem meet ; the second is, to suffer only such *legislation* as they will approve of ; and the third is to have the entire *mission* department under their exclusive direction. The power which the English Conference will have in the missionary work will appear in the provisions of the several regulations.

#### 1st Regulation.

1. The *amount* to be expended is to be determined by the Missionary Committee in London. The concession of the principle of amount involves the concession of another principle, viz. the right of limiting or extending the mission field. The present field of missionary labour may be enlarged, just occupied as at present, or contracted, not at the option of the labourers in the field, but according as a Committee three thousand miles distant shall decide. Now, the Provincial ministry decide the amount to be expended, and the extent of the field of operations. But the right is to be relinquished, and to be given to a body which cannot be so conversant or interested in the matter as the parties in the country.

2. After the general amount is awarded, the executive officers of the Conference and seven others are to have the humble office of distributing it.

3. Another provision is, that a Provincial Committee shall be appointed of preachers and laymen,—not to decide the general amount, nor to distribute it,—but to “apply any means granted by the Parent Committee and not distributed,” in case any new mission should be commenced in the interim of the Conferences. However, no such contingency is to be expected ; and the Committee will very seldom be called on to perform the appointed duty. The annual appointment of the Committee is not warranted by any necessity. Besides, the yearly publication of the names of respectable lay members as officers of the Missionary Board may incline the public to believe that such persons are the responsible expenders of the missionary funds, whereas they have nothing to do in the matter.

#### 2nd Regulation.

This regulation takes away the independence of the principal Missionary Society in Upper Canada, and makes it merely an auxiliary to another Society.

#### 3rd Regulation.

Article I. requires that separate chapels be continued. The third regulation of article VII. makes provision for the supply of the chapels. The arrangement for the *stationing* of the “Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society now in Canada West,” implies their *remaining* in Canada West. Though nominally to be connected with the Canadian Conference, they will retain their present relationship to, and have still all the rights

and privileges of other members of, the English Conference. A distinct class of preachers from the Provincial ministry is to be preserved; and from this class, of course, the distinct chapels will be supplied. A complete English organization will be kept up, as now, within the boundaries of the Canada connexion; and two classes of preachers with different interests, two bodies of Wesleyans with different usages; and two sorts of chapels with deeds to separate Conferences, will continually shew that the Union is more formal than real, more in letter than in spirit, and more in theory than practice. The provision that the "Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society" shall be stationed by the Canadian Conference is no concession on the part of the English Conference, as it appears; for it is not the 'Canadian Conference' which stations the preachers, but the Stationing Committee; and the treaty provides that all the members of that committee shall be directly or indirectly appointed by the English Conference. Therefore, the stationing of the "Missionaries" will still be in the power of the English Conference, and no concession whatever is made to the Provincial body.

If the Canadian and English preachers are to co-operate harmoniously, the *incomes* of both classes ought to be alike. At present, the English preachers receive much more than the Canadian. We are informed that the former preachers average an annual income of £200; whereas the latter scarcely average £100. It cannot be expected that the "Missionaries" will acquiesce in so large a reduction of salary; nor can it be expected that the English Missionary Committee will deprive them of just and understood claims and privileges; nor is there any provision for such a reduction in the articles of union; and, therefore the fair inference is, that the incomes of the "Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Societies" will remain as at present. In two important particulars then will the "Missionaries" differ from the Canadian preachers, viz: their estimates will be *larger* and their incomes will be *sure*. Can two classes of men thus differently circumstanced work harmoniously together? Who can expect it?

In the former Union, an important provision was made, so that the English Conference could not *increase* their Missionaries here without being "requested" to do so by the Canada Conference. But no such provision is made in the articles for the new Union. A door is therefore opened for as many "Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society," from England, as the funds of the Society will allow, or the temper of the Canadian preachers may make expedient. A consequence of this increase of the English "Missionaries" will be, that able and pious young men of the Province will be disregarded, and Colonial talent will be in no request. An English, and not a Colonial, ministry may fill the Wesleyan pulpits of Canada West. Another consequence

which may follow is, that the membership of the Canadian Conference may be so changed that the very identity of the present body may be entirely lost. All that is necessary is, that the vacancies by death or otherwise, be supplied by "Missionaries from the Parent Missionary Society," which supply, in the course of time, will so change and supplant the proper membership of the body, that instead of having a *Canadian* Conference, it will be an *English* Conference in Canada. The Colonial identity of the Conference will be lost, and the members of the British Conference will be in fact and form the Canadian Conference itself.

#### 4th Regulation.

That it is intended to send preachers from England to Canada is clearly implied in the regulation for their trial. After trial by the Canada Conference, members of the English Conference may appeal from the decisions to their own body. The right of appeal is another weakness in the proposed Union, being a provision for collisions between the two bodies.

VIII. The foregoing Articles constituting the basis of a settlement, the following is the means proposed by the Parent Missionary Committee to aid in the promotion of the work in Western Canada:—That work is of a twofold character. 1st. It embraces purely Missionary ground among the Aborigines and others. 2nd. Circuits which contain within their limits new and destitute settlements. With a view of assisting these different classes it is proposed. 1st. That in addition to the sum raised in Canada West by the Auxiliary Missionary Society, the Parent Society make an annual grant of £1000 for Missionary purposes in Canada West. The year to commence May 1847. 2nd. That as a great number of circuits include within their limits new and destitute settlements inhabited chiefly by emigrants and of so poor a class as to be unable to pay their ministers, the sum of £600 be annually granted for carrying on the work of God in these sections of the country:—the sum to be added to the contingent fund collection in Canada and distributed by the Committee of the contingent fund consisting of ministers and laymen.

The financial provisions of the Union are for the Canada Conference to relinquish all claim on the Government grant of £700 per annum, with the accumulations of it for the last six years, and to pay all contributions for Missionary purposes into the hands of the General Treasurer of the English Wesleyan Missionary Society; and for the English Conference to pay £1000 annually for Canadian Missions, and £600 into the Contingent Fund of the Canada Conference. The two last provisions are thought to be advantages to accrue to the Canada Conference through the Union, and are used as arguments to secure the passing of the measure.

#### MISSIONARY GRANT.

The appropriation of £1000 for Missionary operations is considered a liberal, disinterested, and noble gift, (see the Address of the Executive Committee to the Quarterly Meetings,) on the part of the English Conference. But which party will derive a great financial benefit from the Union, and which party will be

advantaged not at all, will soon appear from some suitable considerations.

1. The English Conference now spends in Western Canada about £2400 per year on their Missions and Schools. By the proposed Union only £1600 will be spent, viz. £1000 for Missions and £600 for the Contingent Fund. The Union will be sure to save the English party £800 per annum.

2. The Canadian Conference must however relinquish its entire claim on the Government grant of £700 per year. The Conference has hitherto claimed the whole of the grant, and would consent to no partition except in proportion to the numbers of the two bodies; and which proportion would give the Conference nearly the entire grant. The Conference relinquishing its claim is, in fact, a gift to the English Conference of £700 a year. Is there nothing "liberal" and "disinterested" in this gift? Of the £1000 to be spent after the Union, £700 are to come from the Canadian Government, and £900 from the English Conference funds. Instead of paying out £2400 as now, the English Conference will actually expend hereafter, but £900, and thus they will acquire a saving to their funds of £1500 per annum.— Who now gains by the Union financially? The English party gains as much *money* as *power* by the treaty which the Canadian Delegates have entered into.

3. Nor is the entire financial benefit stated. It will be recollected that the Government Grant has not been paid for about six years, and perhaps would not be paid at all unless both parties entered into some agreement on the subject. The agreement being entered into, the back grants amounting to £4200 and interest, will now be paid. Who is to receive the six years' accumulations? No stipulation has been made for the Canada Conference to receive any part of it. Notwithstanding the losses to the Centenary Fund, and the losses sustained in the preachers salaries, through the abrupt dissolution of the former Union, no effort seems to have been made to repair either of the losses from these accumulations of the grant; but the whole is proposed to be quietly surrendered to the English Conference, and all the former protestations and efforts of the Provincial Conference are rendered supererogatory and ineffectual. The Canada Conference then saves the English expenditure £1500 per annum, reduces that expenditure to £900, and puts into the hands of the English brethren about £5000 as an encouragement to unite with the brethren they cast off. All that the English Conference required is given up, and they begin the new Union with money enough in hand to prevent their spending an additional shilling for the next five years! Surely the Canadian Delegates became advocates of the body they were sent to rather than the body they were sent by. A treaty of more unequal advantages can scarcely be conceived.



4. But the financial part of the negotiation is not yet dismissed. It is provided that what money is contributed here shall be spent here, with the addition of £1000, *i. e.* £700 from the Government and £300 from the English Missionary fund. The Canadian body raised last year about £2,800; and the English about £800, making a total of £3,600. To the English contribution of £800, the English Missionary Society have now to add about £1600,—thus their total expenditure of £2,400 is made up. The sums yearly contributed by both bodies is as follows:

To the Canadian Conference Missions,	£2,800
To the Eng. Conf. Missions in Canada West,	2,400
	<hr/>
	£5,200

Thus a contribution for Missions of £5,200 was obtained from the various quarters. After the Union, will the same sum be spent as now in forwarding the work of God? Of the amount contributed £4,400 are spent, *i. e.* £2,000 by the Canadian, and £2,400 by the English Conference. Of course, as no amalgamation is to take place, as large a sum will be required by the both bodies after as before the Union. But will the contributions be so great? Can it be expected that a Union giving dissatisfaction so both parties will do any thing but lessen the contributions to the General Missionary fund? The "Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society" stated their deliberate conviction, at their late District Meeting, that the contributions of both bodies will certainly and greatly diminish. We are of the same opinion. We do not believe that the Canadian body will raise £2,800, nor the English body £800, if the present treaty of union go into operation. If the contributions lessen, will the English Conference make up the deficiency? There is no obligation to give more than £1000. If the deficiency be not supplied, the missionaries employed must have their salaries contracted: or else some missions must be given up, and the work of God hindered. These and other unfavorable effects are likely to result from this hasty Union.

5. Another thought on the financial subject. The English Missionary Society professes to give the Canadian Conference £1000, but in truth the contributions of the Canadian body will have to assist the English work in Canada West. The missions of the Canadian body are already sufficiently supported, and need no help from any quarter. But the English work is not self-supported, and requires a large foreign help. The work requires about £2400 to support it. The work after the Union may possibly contribute £600 (now contributing £800,) and the English Conference will give £1000, *i. e.* to *its own work*, leaving a balance of £800 to be made up. Where is this balance to come from? Of course from the balance which the Canadian

work contributes *over* its expenditure; and last year there was a balance of more than £1000. Instead of the Missionary grant going to the Canadian work, as some imagine, the entire sum will be spent on the English missions, and instead of the English Conference assisting the Provincial Conference work, the latter Conference must support the English work by its yearly balance!!

The Union then is not for the benefit of the Provincial Missions, which already are well supported, but for the advantage of the English work. Whoever regards the Missionary grant of £1000 as an advantage to the Canadian Conference, is in great error, and very much deceived. The English party win in every part of the negotiating contest, acquiring peaceable and *everlasting* possession of the Government grant, the entire accumulated grants of the last six years, a great reduction in its annual expenditure, and the free use of the balance coming from the Canadian body. Excellent negotiators were the individuals composing the Committee of the English Conference! Dr. Bunting is noted for his financial scheming. The Union treaty must be his masterpiece. But probably the Canadian Delegates were no match for such a renowned financier. It is now time to consider the

#### CONTINGENT FUND GRANT.

The English Conference proposes to give £600 to the contingent fund of the Canadian Conference. Whether the grant is to proceed from the English contingent fund, as does the Irish grant of £650 per annum, or from the missionary fund, does not appear from the articles. The grant seems to be a decided advantage to the Provincial preachers, and a sort of compensation for the Government Grant with the accumulations. Our incomes are deficient yearly from £800 to £1000, or above: a large sum for so small a body of ministers to lose! The grant with our collections, may nearly make up the sum deficient. The preachers would then be placed in easy and comfortable circumstances.

That the circumstances of the preachers will be made better by the grant, is however, very uncertain. The preachers themselves may hinder the accomplishment of the object, by partial neglect of the circuits' for them. So large a sum in the contingent fund may conduce to less carefulness, expecting that all deficiencies will be met at the Conference.

Or circuits may be rendered neglectful, considering that if they do not make up the full income of the preachers, the contingent fund will be able to do so. Class-leaders and stewards may be wrongly influenced by this grant. Carelessness on the part of preachers or circuits would soon cause the £600 to be swallowed up. There are six districts in our conference field, and the grant allows but £100 to each. If the circuits of a district should average £8 or £10 of a larger deficiency than at

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present, the entire amount to the district would be lost, and the preachers not a shilling advantaged by the grant. Every preacher knows that it is exceedingly easy for a circuit to loose £8 or £10 in its finances. If each district should add to its ordinary deficiency £100, on account of the influence of the grant, it will be of no advantage whatever to the preachers. The grant will certainly not cause the claims on the contingent fund to be smaller; and that it will cause the claims to be much larger is extremely probable.

Again, the deficiencies of the preachers' salaries may be rendered nothing less, by making the contingent fund assist the missionary fund, instead of making the latter fund assist the former, as at present. The General Superintendent of Missions may be pleased hereafter to cast off some "new and destitute settlements" within circuits from the mission fund, in order that they may be assisted from the contingent fund. The wording of the 2nd clause of article VII. allows the inference that this may lawfully be done. Thus the £600 to the contingent fund may ease the mission fund to the same amount, and the deficiencies of the conference may be just as large as when no foreign aid was given.

It is not unlikely too, that the English preachers, being members of the Canadian Conference, as well as "Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society", may come with some of their deficiencies to the Committee of the contingent fund. Thus the claims of the fund will increase, and the assistance expected by the Canadian preachers will diminish.

If the purposed Union go into operation, not the present encouraging support of the preachers will continue, but a large deficiency may be confidently anticipated. A general acquiescence in the Union cannot be expected. A consequence of dissatisfaction and distrust will necessarily be a diminishing of the finances of the circuits. Will the £600 supply the loss? Will the Eng. Conference make up the deficiency? No such provision is in the articles.

In these various ways, the advantage of the grant may be partially or entirely lost. The Canadian preachers voting for the Union on the expectation that in future all their deficient salaries will be met, may very soon find that, in relinquishing the principle of entire support from the people, and adopting the principle of partial dependance on another body, they have been imitating the dog in the fable who lost the substance in the attempt to catch at the shadow. To make the grant really advantageous to the Canadian preachers, there must be no larger claims on the contingent fund, and no smaller collections for it. Then the £600 added to our own collections would make the fund a source of great relief and advantage to the Conference.

Before such grant can be applied to the "making up" of the

allowances of the preachers", it seems that the Quarterly Meetings should be expressly consulted concerning the "new regulation." (See Discipline book, sect. ii., restriction 6th.) Were the late consultations of the Quarterly Meetings legal, the particular "regulation" was not specified. But it is argued that the Executive Committee did not address the Quarterly Meetings, but merely meetings of the members. If so, then the "regulation" has not even apparently been laid before the proper boards.

The grant of £600 to the contingent fund is regarded as compensation for the gift of our share of the Government Grant of £700 to the English Conference. If so, then the Canadian Conference will indirectly receive the Government Grant "for their own pecuniary support", whereas in 1837 they avowed "their determination not to receive or apply any legislative aid" for that purpose. (See Minutes of 1837.) Is not this inconsistency? If the English Conference grant be not received in the light of a compensation, then the Government grant is surrendered without any equivalent whatever. Is not this folly? Are we so rich that we need no help for connexional purposes?

There is however no necessity of involving the conference in inconsistency, or rushing into an unprepared Union with another body, for the sake of having the incomes of the preachers fully made up. If the preachers desire this reasonable and proper practices, let them immediately adopt the firm and settled principle, viz. that no preacher shall go without his full disciplinary allowance. If £600 are necessary, the sum could be immediately raised. The half yearly collections for the contingent fund, if more carefully attended to, and the subject more zealously urged, might doubtless yield £100 more than at present. The circuits of the six districts might certainly lessen their claims on the fund by £100, by increasing the quarterage of the preachers to that amount. We might receive £200 per annum from the Book Room, by a very small change. If the Editor have the office of Book Steward, (and the two offices could very conveniently be united in one person,) the Editor's rent of £35 would be saved, as well as the Book Steward's salary of £150; and £15 to these sums would make the £200 to pass into the contingent fund. Thus £400 are already provided. If £200 or £300 more are necessary to carry out the principle, the Missionary Society might contribute the sum. The principle of this Society assisting the contingent fund has already been admitted and acted on. A further extension of the rule would meet with as little objection from the contributors as the first admission of it did. In this simple and easy way all the incomes of the preachers could be fully made up, and all the necessity of entering into a union with another body obviated. We have now finished the remarks on the particular articles, but in concluding shall offer some other observations.

## CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

## 1.

There is a strange omission in the articles of re-Union concerning *political discussion*. Yet politics are not entirely forgot by the English party; for the *London Watchman*, in lately recommending the projected Union, stated that one great result would be, the strengthening the connexion of the Province with the Mother Country; for doubtful loyalty would be united with undoubted by the ecclesiastical bond. The English Conference thought the former Union would have the same happy political tendency. The dissolution of the Union doubtless gave "the connexion of the Province with the Mother Country" a great shock. It is well that the "connexion" has not been entirely broken by the long separation of the two ecclesiastical bodies. One of the causes of the dissolution was, says the English Conference,

The decidedly and prominent political character of the "*Christian Guardian*," in violation of pledges given to us and to the Upper Canada Conference from 1833 to 1839.

Yet no provision is made in the articles of re-Union for the paper again becoming "decidedly and prominently political," or for the violation of "solemn, reiterated, and recorded pledges" by the same party. The Canada Conference may interfere in the secular politics of the country, or may suffer some member of its body so to do, of which the instances are not unfrequent, and the English Conference will not apparently complain. Is the omission by design? Then the former complainings of the English Conference do not show greater aversion to politics than the other body possesses. Is it by neglect? Then the treaty is but an ill-considered plan. Or does the English Conference confide in the resolutions concerning the paper? Prohibitory resolutions existed under the former Union, and they were violated. Under the new Union, members of the English Conference may have again to say,—

"We feel, we confess, humiliated, and almost shudder to reflect how soon,—how recklessly,—how remorsefully,—and how incessantly,—a resolution, recorded in the journals of the Conference, and by its direction published to the world, was subsequently violated from week to week, and from month to month."—(Messrs. Stinson and Richey's pamphlet on the dissolution of the Union.)

Surely the new Union ought to be strongly guarded especially in the place where the old Union was so vulnerable. The omission of all provision concerning political discussion and interference is a great imperfection in the treaty, and warrants the inference that the new Union will probably be of very short duration.

## 2.

Another cause of the dissolution was, that the Canadian Conference refused to adopt the following requirement concerning the *Christian Guardian*:—

That such Official Organ admit and maintain all the acknowledged principles of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion; and that, in seeking for a right understanding on this point, the Committee have especial reference to that principle of our Body, which asserts it to be the duty of Civil Governments to employ their influence, and a portion of their resources, for the support of the Christian religion.

Is the Canada Conference ready in 1847 to "admit and maintain" what in 1840 they refused to do, even with the dissolution of the Union, and all the unhappy consequence of it, clearly before their eyes? Or, is the English Conference now totally indifferent on a subject which was vitally important to the body only six years ago? One inference or other is to be deduced from the omission of the subject in the articles of the re-Union. May the *Christian Guardian* now discuss politics as Mr. Harvard wished in 1837, and broach the most ultra voluntarism, without offending the English Conference? The paper is not likely to be annihilated, although our English brethren in Toronto require it as a condition of their uniting with the Canadian body, and may probably be what it has already been, viz: a partially political and a purely voluntary paper. If so, will the new Union be weakened or destroyed? Or, will it be no matter what the paper shall hereafter say? The omission of all reference to "the support of the Christian religion" as "the duty of Civil Government" is another great imperfection in the articles. The rock on which the former Union split should be well beaconsed, or a similar disaster may happen to the second Union.

## 3.

A third cause of the dissolution was the refusal on the part of the Canada Conference to warrant the payment of the Government grant from the Clergy Reserve Fund, and to request its regular payment at a time when it was suspended. The requirement it is well to examine:—

That the continuation of the Government Grant to the Wesleyan Missionary Society be cordially assented to and supported by our Upper Canadian brethren, even if its payment should be ultimately transferred, as proposed in the "Clergy Reserve Bill," lately passed by the Imperial Parliament, from the Casual and Territorial Revenue, on which it is now placed, to the Clergy Reserve Fund in that Province; and that, as it appears that the payment of the Grant has actually been again suspended, and is at present withheld, to the great inconvenience and embarrassment of our Missions in Upper Canada, the Rev. Egerton Ryerson shall address a letter to Lord John Russell, disclaiming any intention or wish to deprive the Wesleyan Missionary Society of the Grant of £700 per annum, secured to that Society as a fixed charge for Missionary purposes in Upper Canada—requesting that its regular payment may be continued—and assuring his Lordship that any other construction which may have been put upon his letter to the Governor-in-Chief, was founded in a misapprehension of his meaning.

"The requisition", say Messrs. Stinson and Richey, "was met by an indignant and indomitable refusal." This "refusal" was the primary and immediate cause of the dissolution. Had the grant been continued, the Union would not have been broken. This unfortunate money grant from the Government is the parent

of much of the troubles which have distressed the Wesleyan bodies in Upper Canada. We have lost by it far more than we have ever gained. But look at the inconsistency of the Conference, if the grant be now surrendered as was required in 1840. The Delegates and Executive Committee have given it up; but whether subject to the final act of the Conference does not appear. If right to surrender it now, it was right to surrender it before. If wrong then, it must be wrong now. To hold our rights we have waded through a sea of troubles; and now we have reached the shore, we are about giving up the object for which we ventured. It may be said, that the grant is but partially surrendered, £600 of it being returned to our contingent fund. If so, we come abreast of our resolution of 1837, which requires us not to receive legislative aid for "pecuniary support". If no pecuniary or other compromise is to be understood, then the unconditional surrender of the grant to the English Conference may shew that the grant was,—as asserted by Messrs. Richey, Stinson, Harvard, and others,—"the public property of that body;" and that the endeavour to transfer it from the English to the Canadian Conference was, as has been asserted, an "underhand" and "clandestine" act. (Mr. Harvard's "Facts," p. 27.) If no equivalent be given for the surrender of the grant, even if it be charged on the Clergy Reserve Fund, what foolish "indomitableness" to refuse its surrender in 1840, even with the certainty of the separation of the English Conference in prospect! and what foolish pliability to sanction its surrender in 1847, when there is no danger in view, but rather a prospect of obtaining the advantage for which we risked the breaking up of the Union, and have submitted to all the consequences since! But the spirit of the new treaty is, to give whatever is asked, and to offer whatever is desired. We cannot blame our English brethren for taking what is given. But doubtless they wonder, as we wonder, to see money and power put into their hands so readily by the Canadian Delegates,—commodities which could not be obtained at any price in 1840.

## 4.

If the re-Union, giving the English Conference the right and power of an "official influence" and "efficient direction" over the public proceedings of the Canada Conference take place, a striking inconsistency will appear in the acts of the latter body. That the English body will have this absolute right and power is evident, not only from the nature of the pending articles, but from the following declaration of this body in 1840:

The British Conference cannot safely be identified in views and responsibility with any Body, however respected, over whose public proceedings it is denied the right and power of exerting any *official influence*, so as to secure a reasonable and necessary co-ordinate but *efficient direction*, during the continuance of the Union.

When the English Conference asked for this "official influence" and "efficient direction" in 1840, the Canada Conference flatly refused the demand, declaring that it was not only "repugnant to the express provisions of the articles of Union," but "*inconsistent with the obligations and responsibilities of this Conference to the societies and work providentially committed to its pastoral oversight.*" What was sternly refused then is to be readily acceded to now. Notwithstanding the "obligations and responsibilities" of the Conference to the twenty thousand members, and to the work of God in the country,—requiring says the Conference, "the efficient direction" to remain in the pastorate which, under God, collected the membership from the world;—another body is to have the absolute power over, and control of the entire "societies," ministry, and work, in the Province. If the Canada Conference did right in refusing the demand in 1840, it must do wrong in yielding to it in 1847. And how can the charge of flagrant inconsistency be obviated?

## 5.

While the articles give the English Conference the "efficient control" they do not require that body to assume the efficient support, of the ministry and work. Supposing the £600 to the contingent fund were given, and no equivalent returned, to the English Missionary work here, yet it would be preposterous to argue that such a trifle was supporting the work. The articles provide for *English control* and *Canadian support* of the ministry and institutions of the church. Arguments were produced in 1840 against giving power without the receiver bearing responsibility. It was contended that if the English Conference "demanded an efficient direction over the public proceedings of the Canada Conference generally, they ought to assume the responsibility of supporting the institutions generally of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada." "But no claim upon the funds of the Eng. Conference was a written article of agreement." "If the Canada connexion was responsible and entirely dependant upon its own proceedings for the support of its institutions, it must be the judge and director of those proceedings. The contrary principle is an absurdity in all civil and religious and social relations of life. Not even a father claims an efficient direction over the proceedings of his children when they are thrown upon their own resources for their own support; much less ought one community to claim such a direction over another self-sustained and self-supported community on an opposite side of the Atlantic." (Messrs. Ryersons' Report of their mission to England.) The efficient direction required to continue the Union would "reduce the Wesleyan body in Canada to an ecclesiastical nonentity—a mere agency to accomplish English purposes—yet to support its own preachers, travelling and superannuated, and

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all its own institutions." "No other ecclesiastical body in Great Britain has claimed a control over a religious body in Canada, without being responsible for its support." (Letter from Messrs. Ryerson to Dr. Hannah.) These and other considerations had their proper effect on the Canadian preachers, and they refused to surrender the power over themselves and people, when the party desiring it would not take the proper and entire responsibility of support. Whether the same preachers will act the same wise part in 1847 as they did in 1840 will soon be seen.

## 6.

It may be said that the English Conference bringing their interest in Canada West to unite with the Canadian interest, gives them a right of power and control. It should be recollected, however, that the English interest, though formally united to the other interest, will really be distinct from it; and that the English Conference will still have the "efficient direction" of their own body here, the Canadian Conference having hereafter scarcely ought more to do with it than now. No exchange of power, or reciprocity of interest, is at all provided for by the articles. Besides, the comparative strength of the two Provincial bodies does not warrant "efficient direction" being given to the English Conference, and is nearly as follows:—

*Canadian Wesleyan Body*: 150 preachers, 21,000 members, about 200 chapels, and £2,800 missionary contributions.

*English Wesleyan Body*: Preachers 17, members 3,000, chapels 26, missionary contributions, £800.

Instead of the larger body having the controlling influence of the smaller, it is the smaller having the controlling power of the larger, that is provided for by the articles. Whether this is right, judge ye!

## 7.

It may be further said, that the English Conference has the efficient direction of the Irish body, and the present Union is based on the Irish plan. We reply, that the present treaty of Union is like the Irish plan but in very few particulars. It is true that the English Conference have as much power in the Irish as they will in the Canadian Conference, if the Union take place. But the Irish Conference has also some power in the English. Representatives are yearly sent to England from Ireland. Also, in the original "Deed of Declaration" (as to who should form the legal Conference) Mr. Wesley included the "chapels with messuages and dwelling houses" in Ireland as well as in Great Britain, and inserted in the first "legal hundred" the names of eight persons living in Ireland. But no representation or incorporation is provided for the members of the Canadian Conference. While the English Conference exercises a power

in Ireland, the Irish Conference, having members in the legal hundred, exercises some power in England. But while the English Conference will have all power in the Provincial Conference, the latter will have no power whatever in the former body. A strange treaty in which every vestige of power is on one side, and nothing as an equivalent from the other!

## 8.

The present Canadian system relative to Chairmen of Districts is likely to be a great bar to the working of the Union plan if it should go into operation. It is found to be very irksome and burdensome to a large number of the preachers and members of the Canadian body; and surely it cannot be less distasteful to the English body in Canada West when they come to be placed under its operations. It is a system which allows free scope to arbitrary power and the tyrannous exercise of lawful authority. It is a system of superintendency burdensome to the finances of the church, and of little use in promoting the welfare of the ministry or people. It is of American origin, and suits the Episcopal form of church government; but was not provided for by Mr. Wesley, and is anomalous in a body with an annual presidency. If Chairmen were always eminently prudent, humble, disinterested, able, holy, devoted ministers, such complaint of the system might not occur; but where an eminency of virtue and piety is not seen, the evils of the system quickly and prominently appear. Yet, like every other strong custom, it is more easy to exhibit evils, than to remove the cause. The mode of election prevents responsibility to the Conference. Chairmen are chosen, not by the preachers, but by the President. Thus Dr. Alder informed a Committee of the English Conference, that "although the articles of the first Union might at first sight appear not to give the English Conference much power, yet it would appear otherwise when they came to examine into the powers of the President, who was to be appointed by the English Conference. *He had power to appoint all the Chairmen of Districts*, and in connection with them to station all the preachers." (Rev. E. Ryerson's speech, 1840.) To have Chairmen itinerating from circuit to circuit is fraught with various evils. The harmonious working of a Union with the present system is not to be expected. Yet the system will be additionally fortified by a Union with the English Conference, and the difficulty of supplanting the system will greatly increase. Canadian preachers want the English system of electing and stationing Chairmen, but the English Conference will under the second Union as the first be a hinderance to the adoption of its own system. The Union will not make the dissatisfaction less but more, and will not prevent efforts to reform but increase them. Approvers of the present system may vote for the re-Union, but those dissatisfied with it should refrain. Had the articles provided for a change in the system, the Union would be far less distasteful. But there is reason to believe that the Union is specially desired by some Canadian preachers, in order to assist them in fastening the irksome and burdensome system on the preachers and the people.

## 9.

The measure of re-Union will probably cause us to lose the friendship of that part of the community which has assisted us, since the time of our disconnection with another body. Many have contributed to our funds, knowing that we had no dependance but the people among whom we

laboured. Their assistance we cannot reasonably expect, after the proposed measure is finally consummated.

## 10.

Not only will we lose assistance to our funds, but probably many will be disposed to secede from the church, and some from the ministry. Both people and preachers are tired of the changes which some principal members of the Conference have been and are agitating. Why did they enter into union with the English Conference? After the connection was formed, why did they resolve on breaking it? And after the unity between the two bodies was dissolved, why do they not allow us to remain separate? why agitate a second Union, when no compelling necessity whatever exists? In a few years, it is likely the same parties will be striving for another dissolution; and then, it may be, for another conjunction. What man of sense in the ministry or societies can submit to follow men so given to change? We may be told that none of our rights or privileges are injured. We reply that it is our privilege and our right to keep our present position, and to change not. If no other change occurred, this deprives us of the right of tranquillity and steadfastness, and ought not to be suffered.

The present agitation of re-Union will very probably issue in a new seceding body, or in the strengthening of seceding bodies already in existence. Nor can secession from such changeable and irresolute leaders at all be blamed. However the measure is not effected, and we trust that in its present shape it never will.

## 11.

The articles give the English Conference immense power in the executive, legislative, missionary, and financial departments of the church.

*Executive.*—The President, Co-Delegate, Superintendent of Missions, are appointed by them. The Chairmen are appointed by the President. These form the Stationing Committee. Not a single member in that Committee is responsible to or elected by the Canadian preachers.

*Legislative.*—Not an act of the Canadian Conference can be legal without the approval and confirmation of the other Conference.

*Missionary.*—The amount to be spent is to be decided by them. All the missions are to be given to their control.

*Financial.*—The funds will be mostly under the control of the English executive officers.

Further, by the articles the English Conference retains its chapels, societies and preachers; gives the right of appeal to Missionaries; obtains the power of quietly receiving the Government grant, and the accumulations; effects a saving in its annual expenses of £1500; keeps the right of appointment to its own chapels; gives no advantage up which they now possess, and can strengthen their distinctive position all the time the Union may continue. The English Conference will hold all they have, and acquire a vast additional influence from the Canada Conference.

As the Provincial Conference gives up so much, what are they to have in return? What are the ostensible benefits which are to induce the

preachers easily to relinquish what they have so strongly and tenaciously held? The apparent benefits to result from the Union are three:—

1. The Missionary grant of £1000 is one apparent benefit. But the Missions of the English Conference will more than require this sum.— Therefore the Canadian preachers will not be advantaged a shilling by this sum, but may rather expect to be givers than receivers, as has been shewn.

2. The Contingent Fund grant of £600 is another apparent benefit.— But the probable effects of the grant may make it a real injury to the Contingent and no benefit whatever. Besides the Contingent could raise the same sum, and need not resort to another Union for the sake of supplying the deficiencies.

3. Peace may be produced and unity cemented between the two bodies of Wesleyans. The restoration of peace is the only benefit which the Canadian body is likely to receive by the Union. All our vast concessions then are for one advantage! But the other party makes no concession for peace. Why should the one body be more anxious for peace than the other? Peace, as any other good commodity, may be purchased too dear. The articles however seem rather provisions for a convenient armistice than for a solid and lasting peace. The trumpet blows for a truce, and not for the final termination of the war. The articles of Union do, in effect, cry to the Missionaries of the Parent Missionary Society, *Halt!* If the Canadian body agree to the treaty of armistice, the English forces will ground arms, cease hostilities, and halt on their advanced ground. But no advantage gained in the contest, or a foot of the acquired territory, is to be surrendered. Let the articles be explained and glossed as they may, and made to appear so eminently generous and disinterested as to raise admiration and wonder (according to the writer of the Executive Committee Address to the Quarterly Meetings), yet a candid and close observer of their nature and future effects will confess that the only true, certain, and absolute advantages resulting to the Canadian body will be,—*the halting of the English preachers on their advanced ground!* Instead of carrying the contest into other parts of the field, and further molesting the Canadian preachers in their peaceful work, the English preachers agree (if we give them the absolute control of us) to stop where they are, and hold fast what they have obtained. Admirable disinterestedness! Wonderful generosity! Besides, the truce will allow the Missionaries to strengthen their position, and thus to prepare for future aggressive operations. Excellent treaty for the one party, but a miserable negotiation for the other!

## 12.

In presenting these our candid views, we wish not to be misunderstood by our English or Canadian brethren. We then distinctly and solemnly declare that we are not opposed to a connection with our venerable fathers and beloved brethren of the English Conference. A connection between the two bodies upon fair, equitable and generous principles, would doubtless be a great and lasting blessing to Wesleyan Methodism in Canada West.— It is not the *Union* which we object to, but the *articles* by which a connection is to be formed. From our knowledge of the contracting parties, and from the recollection of what has already taken place, we are fully convinced that these articles will not promote the “cordial ecclesiastical oneness” which is desirable, but merely allow the trial of an experiment,

to end in a new disruption and the renewing of the scenes of 1840—1. Instead of the plan as it is, we suggest,

(1)

That some important *alterations* be made in it. We suggest the following as very desirable and necessary :

First,—Let the Government grant be subject to an annual order of the Conference, so that if charged on the Clergy Reserve Fund, or the withdrawing of the English body from the Union, it may not be irrecoverably lost, to the Canadian church.

Second,—Let the restricting note concerning sending preachers from England be inserted in the articles, making the *request* of the Conference necessary.

Third,—Let the *veto* article be blotted out. Self-support and foreign dependance are inconsistent.

Fourth,—Let the English plan of electing and stationing Chairmen be allowed, to prevent the abuse of power and to save the large expence of the Canadian superintendency.

With these alterations, and the consent of our people in general, we are ready to drop opposition to and acquiesce in the present plan. Other alterations some might insist on, (and certainly large power still remains in the executive and legislative departments for the English brethren,) but to lessen the English influence too much is not our desire; on the contrary, we would give our brethren a just and liberal share of the power and responsibility. If the distinctiveness of the English position could be altered, with the above changes, the Union might work harmoniously and efficiently at least for some years.

(2.)

We consent to receive the articles not as they *are*, but as they *ought to be*. However should our suggestions not be received, and the alterations rejected, and still the articles are insisted on, we submit another proposition, viz. *That the Canadian body remain a separate and independent church*, cultivate a close intimacy and friendship with the Wesleyan body in Canada and England, rely upon its own exertions, not on foreign aid, for the efficient and satisfactory working of its own system, enlarge its borders by entering every door that may be opened, and devote itself anew to God and the work of the gospel. To us, it appears, that no proposition *would* (or *ought to*) meet with more approbation from our brethren in the ministry, the official members of the circuits, or our beloved and respected people in general. If the suffrages of the whole church were to be obtained, and the question of *continuing* or *changing* faithfully presented, we doubt not but seven-eighths of the whole would be in favour of steadfastness in the position which has met with favour from God and man, and for changing not. The late decisions of Quarterly meetings for the articles, form no argument against the conclusion,—inasmuch as the matter was not considered enough to be properly understood; decisions were pressed against the wish of brethren, the passing of the measure was rather by sufferance than affirmation; the open and fearless objectors holding up hands *against* the measure with the brethren who did not hold up hands *for it*, are doubtless the majority of the officers of the entire church.

(3.)

Finally : If we are not permitted to remain a separate and independent church, through pressure from within and without, and must change our position to some other, and the present articles are still submitted for official decision and imprudently urged, without any bland and mitigating qualifications being allowed, then we propose,—as a dernier resort and instead of the present kind of Union,—that the Conference accept of the English Conference proposals of 1845, and that the Canadian body prepare to merge into, and become a part of the British Wesleyan connexion. A bold and final measure is better than one timid, unjust, and temporary.—Amalgamation with the English body is our strong and final proposition. It will be best for the preachers, for the people, and for the gospel. Venerable age, unsullied honour, fervent piety, and fatherly affection, will then have the supreme power over, and the efficient direction of us. No more changes shall we pass through. Steadfastness and not inconstancy will mark our character. Internal confidence will return, and brotherly affection will increase. A generous sufficiency will comfort the weary itinerant in his toilsome day, and assist him in his evening's repose ; and while an open hand will present itself for the reception of the liberality of the people, no hand of heavy pressure will demand their necessary and reasonable withholdings, then “ Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.” But “ Behold how good and how pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity ! ” will express the emotion of admiration within and the exclamation of approbation without. The proposed articles make us in reality a dependant body without the appearance, and also without the benefit. To merge into the English body will make us no more dependant, but only make us in form what we will be in fact, and will bestow all the advantages resulting from identification with a body, the Parent of all the Methodism in the world. Besides, the present articles originate a connexion which cannot possibly be aught but temporary. Another change must take place. Struggling farther with the English body will necessarily and certainly end in the extinction even of our form of independence ; and as surely as the Powers of Europe have swallowed up the kingdom of Poland, so surely will the stronger ecclesiastical body blot out the name of one of the separate and independent churches of the land, and but one legitimate body of Wesleyans will exist and rule in the vast extent of British America and the British Empire. We propose the important question to every sensible and far-seeing man in the Canadian body : Is it not better to have the *whole* measure than the *half way plan* ? Is it not wisest to do *now* quietly what will be done (probably with great commotion) in months or years to come ? We say without scruple or hesitation, in the fear of God and with a view of consequences, that if remaining in our present position, is out of the question, we prefer the entire to the half measure, a thorough and cordial amalgamation to a partial and discordant Union, and a bold and final change to a timid and destructive procrastination.

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