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# The State and The Church

THE ENGLISH CITIZEN:

HIS RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES



# THE STATE

AND

# THE CHURCH

BY THE

HON. ARTHUR ELLIOT, M.P.

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### PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

It appears to me that in the great interest now attaching to the so-called Church Crisis, a new edition of a little book published by me seventeen years ago may prove both acceptable and useful to the public. The relation between the State and the Church is here treated from the point of view of the citizen as such, this volume forming one of a series whose object it is to present a general view of the rights and responsibilities of the English citizen, and explain the legal position and working of the great institutions which constitute our political system. Thus, Central Government, Local Government, The State in its Relation to Education, The State in Relation to Labour, The Land Laux, Foreign Relations, are the titles of separate volumes of the series.

A State Church is of necessity a politico-religious institution. In its religious character it will of course be differently regarded by its own members and by dissenters; and even within its own bounds, unless they are very narrowly drawn, a good deal of religious

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divergence will exist. With religious differences within or without the State Church we have nothing to do here. This book deals with politics, not with religion. What is the position of the State Churches of England and Scotland before the law? What is involved in the expression "Established Church"? These are the questions it is desired to answer. Since the Church of England and the Church of Scotland are State Churches, or National Churches, or Established Churches, their position is a matter of direct concern to the nation; and hence all citizens, to whatever religious communities they may belong, have a relation to them of a political character, as they have to other portions of the constitution.

In 1881 no special interest of an exceptional kind attached to questions of State and Church, and there was therefore little difficulty in approaching them in the impartial spirit of a lawyer. In 1899 the conditions of the time are altogether different. For the last year and a half a keen and ever-growing controversy has prevailed between different sections of the Church of England as to the merits and lawfulness of alleged "ritualistic" and "Romanising" practices by clergymen of the Church. It is not within the scope of this book to discuss matters such as these. The use of incense and of candles, the vestments of the clergy, the construction of the Articles, the practice of auricular confession, the correct reading of the "ornaments rubric," do not concern us here, and we willingly leave them to be considered and adjudicated upon by the constituted authorities of Church and State.

The controversy arising out of differences on some

of these questions has, however, widened out into a general discussion of principles of Church government and projects of Church reform with which the citizen is directly concerned. The constitutions of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland are fixed and determined by the statute law. They form part of the law of the land, and as such can be changed by Parliament alone, acting of course on behalf of the whole people of the United Kingdom. Now it is a long time since Parliament has entertained any proposals touching the fundamental constitutions of the two State Churches. It has on many occasions during the present reign legislated on the affairs of the Church of England, but as to subsidiary questions only, such as the facilitating of the maintenance of Church discipline, the removal or restriction of abuses connected with patronage, and with regard to certain modifications of the liturgical arrangements of the Prayer-Book. In Scotland also there have been changes, and in 1874, under the authority of Parliament, a considerable change of system was introduced, whereby the popular election of ministers to parish churches was substituted for the previously existing "patronage." Since the disestablishing of the Irish Church, however, Parliament has not been seriously invited to consider any projects greatly affecting the fundamental relations between State and Church in any part of the kingdom; and unless a considerable change has come or should come over the mind of the public, Parliament will certainly continue to show itself loth to undertake any general recasting of the existing systems. The so-called "Church Crisis" in England has as yet hardly ruffled the surface of Parliamentary politics; though enough has been said and done in both Houses to show that Parliamentary opinion, with something approaching to unanimity, will refuse to tolerate, indefinitely, deliberate breaches of the law on the plea that that law should be different from what it is.

Outside Parliament, also, it is probably the case that in England a largely preponderating body of public opinion would prefer to leave alone, if possible, all projects tampering with the constitution of the State Church. There is, of course, a strong and energetic minority in favour of a policy of "Disestablishment and Disendowment," of which policy no clear and authoritative exposition has yet been put before the public. Probably what is contemplated is a measure on the general lines of the Irish Disestablishment Act of 1869; and it is quite certain that if such a measure could be passed at all, it would only be after a very prolonged and bitter political struggle, which moderate men of both political parties certainly wish if possible to avoid. This policy in its thoroughness is naturally supported almost exclusively by Dissenters; but within the Church there has grown up in recent years a body of opinion, whose strength it is difficult to gauge, bent on acquiring for the Church herself an "independence" of the State such as is enjoyed by dissenting Churches, and by the disestablished Church According to these views, the National of Ireland. Church of England is to legislate and adjudicate for herself in her own Assemblies and her own Courts, and the State, as represented by Ministers of the Crown, by Courts of Law, and even by Parliament itself, is to cease from "meddling with" all affairs ecclesiastical for the future. It is not clear how far those who are in favour of complete "independence" of this kind are willing to modify in other respects the existing status of the National Church, or to pay any attention to the views of those who maintain that the Nation and the Church have proprietary rights which require adjustment before any such casting-off of national responsibility can be entertained. Roughly speaking, the aim of this section of opinion within the Church of England seems to be a measure on the general lines of the Irish Disestablishment Act, without, however, including in it those provisions (an essential part of the scheme of 1869) which affected the property of the Church. In short, something very like Disestablishment is contemplated, without Disendowment.

Now the great difficulty that stands in the way both of Disestablishers root and branch and of Disestablishers. of the milder type, lies in the National character which does, as a matter of fact, attach in men's eyes to the Church of England. Surely, then, the best and wisest friends of the Church, if they wish to continue the system of a National Church, will do their utmost, not to break, but to strengthen the many ties that unite her with the general body of English citizens. Church cannot be in a condition of very stable equilibrium if in her government an exclusive and denominational spirit prevails over the broader and more national counsels appropriate to her position; and even if a certain amount of "independence" could be achieved, it would be dearly purchased at the cost of a great increase in the general feeling of the invidiousness of one Church continuing in the enjoyment of privileges or

status not enjoyed by the other Christian Churches of the country.

The Churches of England and Scotland are equally, it is hardly necessary to say, subject to the law. In the South, the Prayer-Book, with the doctrines, articles, liturgy, ritual, and rubrics therein contained, is part of the statute law of England. In the North, the Westminster Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian system of Church government are prescribed by the statute law of Scotland. In neither country is it possible for either Church to exceed the bounds fixed by Act of Parliament. It would, for instance, be as impossible for the Church of Scotland to "episcopalianise" herself, in the face of the Scotch Act of Parliament of 1690, as it would be for the Church of England to waive aside the Reformation, and reconcile herself with Rome, in the face of English statutes, one of which actually incorporates with itself the whole of the Prayer-Book. No doubt it is true that the General Assembly and the judicatories of the Church of Scotland have a far wider jurisdiction under the law than have Convocation and the Ecclesiastical Courts in England: but, as regards the constitutional independence of the Church from the control of the State, there is little difference in the two cases. It is a waste of time, from the citizen point of view, to enter into elaborate arguments on this point, as to the effect of the "Royal Supremacy" in England, or of the "Headship" in Scotland. In each country an Act of Parliament is at all events supreme; and the only question of doctrine that affects the quantum of independence enjoyed in either case is a purely legal one -the doctrine, namely of ultra vires.

In order to retain the enjoyment of national privileges, the Church of England must retain, therefore, as far as possible in the eyes of "citizens," her national character; and any tendency towards "denominationalising" her institutions deserves, in the interest of the connection between Church and State, to be very carefully watched. For very similar reasons, wise friends of the Church anxiously desire that the interpretation of her prescribed formularies should be as wide as possible, so that the Church, far from being identified with any special school of Protestant Episcopalianism, should continue to comprehend within her fold "High Church," "Broad Church," and "Low Church," as heretofore. It is clear, from the language of the Prayer-Book itself, that a wide comprehension was the object of its framers, who were inspired rather by a spirit of compromise and moderation than by the wish to produce a perfectly logical and consistent system of belief and worship.

The extraordinary merits of the English Prayer-Book are testified to by the professed willingness of all parties within the Church to be bound by its authority. Assuredly no more successful compromise was ever accomplished. Since 1662 that book has remained practically untouched, and though, as time goes on, it may be found necessary some day to re-examine, and perhaps even to recast the work of the 16th and 17th centuries, there is certainly at present no general desire that anything of the kind should be attempted. The difficulties that arise are as to the *interpretation* of the existing prescribed standards to which all sections of the Church appeal. They do not spring from any dis-

satisfaction with the Church Code as laid down by the Prayer-Book and the law.

Now, as to the proper interpretation of the Prayer-Book a word must be said. The ultimate authority as to the true interpretation and meaning of the Prayer-Book is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. consisting usually of several of the most eminent judges in England assisted by certain of the bishops as Assessors. It is, I think, partly due to the fact that this court is composed of lay judges that, where questions of doctrine have been concerned, the tendency of the court has been towards a wide and liberal construction of the standards of the Church. The Privy Council in short. where there is doubt as to interpretation, prefers a construction which favours comprehension, as against one involving exclusion. It might reasonably be feared that, were the final Court of Appeal to consist, say of bishops only, and were a case involving doctrine, as happened in the Gorham and other cases, to come before it, the personal sympathies or even the prejudices of the court might weaken its capacity to perform adequately its proper and sole function of construing and interpreting the law of the Church, which, since that Church is Established, is also the law of the land.

There is, however, apparently amongst some people a confusion of mind as to the nature of the duty which the Judicial Committee has to perform. However eminent may be the judges of that Court, and the bishops who assist them, they are of course utterly unequal to the function of proclaiming doctrine and of declaring truth. The State and the Church, in their wisdom, have refrained from attempting to set up any authority

with functions so extensive; and it is hardly possible to imagine that State or Church, or both together, would ever in modern times entertain so wild a project. need scarcely be said that a Court composed of bishops or of clergymen would, amongst the Reformed Churches, in this regard stand hardly higher than a Court of lay judges. If the view is to be seriously pressed, that in all ecclesiastical courts and causes, and in the ultimate Court of Appeal, lay judges are to be replaced by clergymen, the question of the comparative competence of laymen and clergymen to perform the judicial work entrusted to them will deserve careful consideration. matter has to be decided on grounds of practical advantage and convenience. The question is simply as to the proper constitution of a court whose function it is to interpret; and of course arguments, appropriate enough if it were intended to establish a Church Council with final authority in matters of faith, can have here no place. The judges of the principal ecclesiastical courts have hitherto been laymen; yet these tribunals have not on that account been less truly "ecclesiastical courts." Advocates of Disestablishment, and an extreme section of opinion within the Church, united a few years ago in an attempt to discredit Lord Penzance's court as a mere "State court"; but so excellent a Churchman as the late Lord Selborne has vehemently repudiated this sophistry. "It is not true," he wrote in 1886, "that the Arches Court is now a State court, or its President (Lord Penzance) one of Her Majesty's judges, more than at any former time. All legal and coercive jurisdiction has always been derived from the Crown, and always must be; and every court having such jurisdiction must

in that sense be a State court, and its judge one of the Queen's judges, whatever ecclesiastical character it may also possess." 1 And he proceeded to point out that the Act of 1874 had not altered the character of the Arches Court by merely providing that the same person who was judge of that court should be also official principal of the Archbishop of York. "I have never been able to understand," to continue the quotation from Lord Selborne, "nor can I now persuade myself that, apart from certain passing controversies in the Church, it would have been suggested that such legislation did or could involve any principle which was not involved in, e.g. the laws of Edgar and Canute requiring the bishop as ecclesiastical judge to sit in the Hundred Court with the sheriff; or the law of William the Conqueror separating their jurisdictions; or the law of Henry the Eighth enabling married doctors of law to be ecclesiastical judges. Nor have I ever been able to see how any such Acts can reasonably be held to exceed the legitimate province of the Civil Legislature in an Established Church."

Another hardly less distinguished authority, the late Lord Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice of England, put very clearly before the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission of 1884 his view that the State cannot avoid concerning itself with matters ecclesiastical wherever an Established Church exists. In this paper <sup>2</sup> he expressed, moreover, the very strongest opinion that trained legal judges are the persons most competent to constitute courts whose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Not mentioned in the Report of the Royal Commissioners, but subsequently published in the Guardian and Church Intelligencer.

function it is to construe and interpret. The first proposition rests on the broad principle of Establishment, which he lays down as follows:—"When the State grants or permits public position or public privilege on the holding of property in mortmain to the members or the officers of any religious body, it follows that the State must have authority over the doctrines and practices of such bodies."

If interpretation is to remain, as it must do, the function of the ecclesiastical courts and of the ultimate Court of Appeal, we may go far before we find more competent judges than men like Sir Robert Phillimore and Lord Penzance, Lord Selborne and Lord Cairns. It is not easy to disagree with Lord Coleridge's view that the hearing of elaborate arguments by distinguished counsel on the proper construction of admitted documents is work which, on the whole, judges are generally better fitted to perform than the most distinguished dignitaries of the Church, men probably and properly chosen to fill an episcopal position in consequence of the admirable service they have done in the noble but very different work of parish priesthood.

Whatever may be thought of the extent to which interpretation" may be pressed by ecclesiastical and civil courts, it must be admitted that it is a humbler function than that of actual legislation; and it is therefore not a little curious to find that many of those who would deny to laymen any authority in interpreting the laws of the Church, are quite ready to allow laymen in Church Assemblies full authority to take part in legislation, even in matters spiritual. There is a very natural feeling amongst Churchmen that something more

than mere interpretation of ancient formulæ may be required, and that the attempt to stereotype for ever the expression of doctrine and the practices of ritual, according to the letter of the Prayer-Book, and of the Act of Uniformity of 1662, will ultimately prove a vain one. Even though the forms of words remain unchanged, the way in which they are understood changes from generation to generation, so that in course of time old words and old forms may cease to give accurate expression to the actual religious belief, and prevalent religious feelings of the day. Along with this view, it is also very naturally and rightly felt by that section of the Church which demands independence of State control, whilst rejecting complete disestablishment, that some new means must be found for giving weight within the Church to lay opinion, which at present has no direct voice in her Assemblies; for it is through Parliament. and through ministers of the Crown, that in the main the influence of the laity has hitherto made itself felt.

Thus it happens that the minds of many English Churchmen have turned of late to the Church of Scotland and the Episcopal Church of Ireland as examples of Churches whose constitutions, to a great extent at least, the Church of England might do well to imitate. Now, there is undoubtedly much to be said in favour of the participation of laymen with the clergy in all the functions of Church government; but it must be remembered that the first example is that of a Presbyterian Church; and that a system of equal authority of clergy and laity in Church government fits far less easily into the constitution of an Episcopalian

Church. And as to the second example, in many ways of course a far better analogy with their own case for English Churchmen to appeal to, it must be remembered that the Church of Ireland is now entirely a Voluntary Church, "Establishment" being entirely at an end, and it stands before the law on precisely the same footing of complete self-government as do the dissenting Churches of the United Kingdom. Whilst the Church remains in any sense "Established," it follows as a necessary consequence that her "freedom" must be limited by statute law, and her Church Councils can have only those liberties which an Act of Parliament may allow The Church of Scotland is limited in the same way to her standards of belief, and her system of Church government, approved by the Scottish Parliament on the final triumph of Presbyterianism, and fully secured to her by further legislation at the time of the Union. To me, at least, it certainly appears to be impossible for an Established Church to enjoy the absolute freedom and complete spiritual independence of which some devoted sons of the Church of England dream; but that is no reason why, if it is thought desirable, considerable independence in the matter of self-government should not be granted by the law to her Church Assemblies and her Church Courts. How wide the powers granted should be. Parliament of course would have to determine.

Let us glance at the Irish case, which is full of instruction. Formerly the Church of Ireland was an integral part of the State Church of England and Ireland. Both Churches bore allegiance to the same standards, and upheld the same theory of Church government. Now,

without any breach of continuity, or, indeed, any great internal difficulty, the Church of Ireland has given herself a constitution differing widely from anything that the Church of England has ever known. In the Church of Ireland to-day laymen have precisely the same authority as clergymen to discuss and decide matters of doctrine, and matters of every kind that affect their Church; and in some of the "Essays in Aid of Church Reform," lately published by representative men of the High Church school, the Irish precedent appears to be approved.

It is, however, by no means certain that what seems to have answered well in Ireland would be equally successful in England. For various reasons, opinion is much more uniform among Irish Episcopalians as to the matters now dividing English Churchmen than it is on this side of the Irish Channel. By means of the legislative independence now enjoyed by Irish Churchmen, new canons have been passed, the Prayer-Book has been revised, and various changes made, all with a view of protecting the "Protestantism" of the Church against what are there considered "ritualistic" or "Romanising" innovations. It is very doubtful whether a representative body of English Churchmen, chosen on similar principles, could legislate in this fashion for the Church of England without causing a large secession from the Church. Whatever may be the advantages of a system of Church government depending on General Assemblies, the history of the Scottish Churches shows that amongst them cannot be reckoned the avoidance of secession and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Essays in aid of the Reform of the Church. Edited by Charles Gore, M.A., D.D., London, 1898.

schism. If comprehension within the National Church of a Christianity wide enough to include considerable divergence of religious tendency is desirable, and this is the belief, undoubtedly, of most liberal-minded people at the present day, "citizens" may well pause before they hand over to mere majorities of Churchmen the power of recasting the Book of Common Prayer and remodelling the whole system of government in the Church of the nation.

To me it appears inevitable and almost beyond discussion that Parliament must remain supreme in the last resort over the Church of England so long as it remains Established. Arguments directed against Parliamentary supremacy are in fact arguments (though they may not be so intended) in favour of complete Disestablishment. If Parliament has shown itself in this respect unfit for its position, and if a completely free and self-governing Church is desired by the nation, the time for Disestablishment has come. I am speaking, of course, of Parliamentary supremacy, not of the Royal supremacy, which exists under statute, and which might constitutionally be surrendered to Church Assemblies. such a surrender would be wise or not is another matter. The royal supremacy forms one of the closest of the ties which unite the State and the Church in England; but it is not essential to Establishment, as such, and as regards the Established Church of Scotland there is no such supremacy. But the supremacy in the last resort of Parliament over State Churches is an essential and inevitable part of our Constitution. The existence of a State Church involves some connection between the State and the Church; and whilst this exists at all, nothing can

relieve the State, acting through its Parliament, of its responsibility for that connection, and for all which it entails.

The difficulty experienced at the present time in enforcing discipline over clergymen of the Church of England, and the dislike which is generally felt to compelling by penalty or expulsion (to say nothing of imprisonment), the obedience of conscientious and wellmeaning men, to laws of which they disapprove, have caused people to turn their attention much more seriously than formerly to "Disestablishment" as a relief to the State and a remedy for the troubles of the Church. Lord Kimberley, for instance, only a few weeks ago, is reported to have said at Birmingham that he had come to the conclusion that there was no real remedy for dissension in the Church of England short of making that Church completely free by a measure of Disestablishment. If our great object is to avoid dissension, is it not worth considering whether Disestablishment might not increase dissension and lead even to disruption? Is this what any one wants? And would the rise of one or more rival Anglican Secession Churches really tend to parochial peace? But what is meant by "Disestablishment"? The word "Establishment" requires a good deal of explanation, but after all its incidents are to be discovered in Acts of Parliament, and in the laws and customs of State and Church; but as for the word "Disestablishment" as indicating a policy—quot homines tot sententiae! It bears a different meaning in every man's mouth! Still, in whatever form a Disestablishment policy might be proposed, it would necessarily

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Birmingham Daily Post, May 11, 1899.

involve in the mere determination of the State, as such, no longer to concern itself with the religious affairs of the nation, a tremendous shock to the sentiments of a large number, very possibly of a large majority of the people. During the Irish Church debates Lord Selborne very truly stated in the House of Commons, and he has repeated the statement in his book in defence of the Church of England, that there might be "a severance of the political relations of the Church with the State, without any 'abnegation of National Christianity' or 'National Apostasy'; and that the religion of a nation is neither more nor less than the religion of the people who constitute the nation"; and it is needless to say that in England and Scotland very many are in favour of Disestablishment who earnestly desire the religious welfare of the nation. Still, the feeling on this point alone—the national recognition of religion—is so general and so strong, that Mr. Gladstone, were he still amongst us, might very possibly repeat his declaration in Edinburgh made fourteen or fifteen years ago, viz.:- "That the man does not breathe the air of England who is capable of disestablishing her Church."

If, however, the time comes when this preliminary objection weighs less than it now does in the public mind, the intrinsic difficulties in the way of carrying out a Disestablishing policy that should seem just and fair and wise in the eyes of ordinary citizens will be found to be very great indeed. It is no doubt quite possible that some day a party majority may be returned to the House of Commons whose leaders have inscribed the word "Disestablishment" on their banners.

But politicians have already learned that in the eyes of electors there is all the difference between a vague phrase capable of all sorts of interpretations, and an actual project of law which leaves nothing undefined. The Home Rule cry was killed by the Home Rule Bills; and the cause of Voluntaryism in Scotland undoubtedly suffered a sharp check from Mr. Dick Peddie's Disestablishment Bill. There is at present no political pressure on the part of any considerable section of the public for a Disestablishment which does not involve complete or partial Disendowment; and the few Churchmen who advocate the complete freedom of the Church from the State are most strongly opposed to the objects and principles of those whose numbers can alone make Disestablishment a question of practical politics. By Disendowment is meant the withdrawal from the Church of endowments not derived from voluntary or private sources. But private and national funds have been inextricably mixed for generations past in church building and church restoring, in endowing and increasing the endowments of incumbencies, and in many other ways; and it would be exceedingly difficult, with any regard to fair and equitable dealing, to separate the private from the national interest. On the other hand, it seems most improbable that British statesmen of any party and a majority of the House of Commons will be found willing to relinquish, on the part of the State, the authority derived from the royal supremacy and ultimate parliamentary control, and at the same time to make over to the Church as its private property the vast revenues and wealth which it is now popularly supposed to hold as in some sense the trustee of the nation. In short, Disestablishment of the Church of

England seems to me, in the existing temper of the public mind, to be equally impossible either with Disendowment or without it. And the impossibility will remain so long as general sentiment regards the Church as a National Church, and not merely as the Church of the largest number of members. In the extremely improbable event of the Church herself breaking the links which unite her with the State, disowning the royal supremacy, repudiating parliamentary control, and seriously asserting a right to disregard the law of the land, the popular conception as to the relation of Church and State would no doubt almost certainly undergo a rapid change. But until the Church of England denationalises herself, and so long as she makes it one of her great ends to comprehend within her fold all who wish to avail themselves of her ministrations and to attend her services, she has little to fear from any assaults which may be directed against her.

As I have been anxious in this book to maintain an uncontroversial tone, I have studiously avoided all mention of any of the protagonists in the present strife. I have not cited Sir William Harcourt and Mr. J. T. Tomlinson, or Lord Halifax and Canon Malcolm MacColl. Their speeches and writings have been read by every one who takes the slightest interest in these questions, and this reading must surely have done good in forcing many people to realise the full meaning of the contentions of the one side and the other, and where they lead. There has always been in the Church of England more or less of Puritanism and more or less of High Churchism, and the Church exists for both. So may it remain. The House of Commons in the late

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session has probably reflected the general sense of the people in its reluctance to enter upon theological controversy and in its almost unanimous declaration that however much men may differ amongst themselves they will all equally be held to their obedience to the law.

A. D. E.

August 1899.

#### PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

In the following pages, where it has been necessary to touch at all upon historical topics, I have endeavoured to confine myself to what is generally admitted, rather than to follow the lead of any controversial writer. In Reeves' History of English Law, and in the constitutional histories of Mr. Hallam and Mr. Stubbs, will be found, related or referred to, ample matter, it is believed, to support general statements of an historical character contained in this work.

As regards Ecclesiastical Law, Parish Law, and the more purely legal aspects of the subject included under "State and Church," I have had to examine the works of many legal writers. To Sir R. Phillimore's great work on Ecclesiastical Law are referred those readers who wish to study in detail this branch of the subject.

As regards Scottish history, I have in the main relied upon Burton's History of Scotland.

The existing position and circumstances of the Established Churches of Great Britain, favourite subjects with controversial writers, it is not easy to find impartially dealt with outside the contents of Blue-books and Par-

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liamentary returns. It is not the object of this work to accumulate full and precisely accurate statistics, and I have merely made use of such information as I think can be relied on to present a general picture of the two great religious institutions of the country sanctioned and supported by the State.

I must express my thanks to Mr. C. F. Jemmett, B.C.L., of Lincoln's Inn and the Inner Temple, for his great kindness in rendering me valuable assistance in revising the more legal portions of this work.

A. D. E.

May 1882.

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