From the London Saturday Review.

It is impossible to follow the course of the resent measure by which the Irish Church s to be swept away as a State Church and to be stripped of property given it by the State, without feeling an interest revived in the State, without feeling an interest revived in the history of its predecessor six-and-thirty years ago. The Irish Church Temporalities act of 1833 was a very small piece of legislation compared with Mr. Gladstone's bill, but it paved the way for what has now come to pass, and many of the passions it westers in the state of the many of the passions it excited, and of the arguments by which it was attacked and de-fended, are being resuscitated and repeated at the present moment. A sketch, therefore, of its nature and history may not be without interest; and if it is safe to assume anything as to the general knowledge of the past, it is safe to assume that no portion of history is so little known as that which lies just beyond the memory of each generation. The day will come when examination papers will be set in the history of William IV's reign; but until that day comes, probably no part of English history will be so universally un-

known. Then, as now, it was at the outset of the proceedings of a newly-reformed Parliament, when there was in power a Liberal Ministry with a large majority in the Commons, that the Irish Church bill was brought in. Parlia-ment was opened on the 29th of January, 1833, and on the 5th of February the King made his speech, in which, after stating that the atten-tion of Parliament would be directed to the better distribution of the property of the Church, the King went on to say that, "although the Established Church of Ireland is by law permanently united with that of England, the peculiarities of their respective circumstances will require a separate consideration." He also referred to the disturbances then going in Ireland, which had greatly increased since the end of the preceding session:

—"A spirit of insubordination and violence has risen to the most fearful height, rendering life and property insecure, defying the autho-rity of the law, and threatening the most fatal consequences if not promptly and effectually repressed." So closely does history some-times repeat itself; and we might almost think was the present Queen describing the brutal outrages of the last few weeks, and the appeals of released rebels at a Mayor's dinner-table to the "logic of the The address of course echoed the speech, and elicited a warm discussion. Mr. O'Connell at once characterized it as a bloody and brutal address in answer to a brutal and bloody speech. This was, in fact, the beginning of O'Connell's long and violent hatred of the Whige, and he was at once answered by his own special antagonist, Mr. Stanley (Lord Derby), who laid down the proposition that "a government, to be loved, must first be feared." On the 12th of February the bill for the reform of the Church of Ireland was introduced by Lord Althorp, who began by explaining that it was because the bill was one to which the Government attached great importance that he, as leader of the House, and not as Mr. Stanley, the Irish Secretary, had been charged with its introduction. Lord Althorp said that although, looking at the proportion of the population attached to the Protestant Church, the people certainly had occasion to complain of the greatness of the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, yet the amount of those revenues had been greatly exaggerated. The House, he thought, would be surprised to hear that the net revenue of the Irish bishops was only £130,000 a year; for, although vast tracts of lands belonged to the bishops, five-sixths of the yearly value went to the temants. The annual income of the Church did not exceed importance that he, as leader of the House, appual income of the Church did not exceed fices on a scale which, starting with an exemption of all benefices of £200 a year or under, rose in an increasing ratio according to the value of the benefices, and was estimated to produce, on the whole, an income of £42,000. The bishops were to be taxed on a scale something similar, and this new taxation was to begin at once, without regard to vested interests. A Board of Commissioners was to be appointed to administer the fund. and as Church rates were to be forthwith abolished entirely, the fund was to be applied to those purposes to which Church rates were applicable. Further, by reducing the incomes of some archbishops and bishops, by abolish-ing all sinecure seats in cathedrals, additional funds were to be placed at the disposal of the Commissioners. Out of twenty-two bishopries, ten were to be swept away, and two archbishopries out of four; so that, out of the £130,000 a year previously belonging to the Irish Episcopate, £60,000 a year would be at the disposal of Parliament in the sense that Parliament was to hand this sum over to the Commissioners, for church purposes, and especially for the augmentation of small livings. But the next proposal stood on a very different footing. The bishops had large landed estates, but they could only grant leases for twenty-one years; yet the leases were in practice annually renewed, and

keep it for itself. This was the essence of the ministerial measure of 1833. It did not profess to apply any of the revenues of the Church to secular purposes. The Government most carefully guarded itself against doing anything of the sort. It left to the disposal of Parliament, for any purposes that Parliament might think fit, any purposes that Parliament might think fit, no Church property at all. The theory of the ministry was that by a clever stroke of legislation the State invented a new piece of property, which did not belong to the Church in any sense, for it did not exist, and it was only the State that could make it exist. It was a sort of treasure-trove, a fortuitous accession of wealth, which Parliament might it was supposed, apply to secular purposes because it never had belonged to the Church. It was, as it were, a new thing belonging by right of occupancy to its maker and inventor, the State. Thus the whole character of the bill of 1893 was different from that of the bill of 1899. It rearranged the that of the bill of 1869. It rearranged the revenues of the Church so as to admit of the abolition of church rates, and to augment the incomes of the poorer incumbents. It sup-pressed ten bishoprics without in any way consulting the Church as to its wish to dispense with this amount of spiritual supervision, and it proposed to leave Parliament to apply to any purposes, secular or not, but in no way specified, a fund which was not, and never has been, ecclesiastical property. The bill of the present year is totally different. It allows the Church to regulate its own lar property because created by the State

if the tenant made the property more valuable

by improvements, was only twelve and a half years' purchase. The Government proposed that any tenant who chose to tender a sum

equal to six years' purchase might have a

lease in perpetuity at a fixed corn rent. The sum thus gained was, it was said, a mere cre-ation of the Legislature, and therefore be-

longed to the State. By passing an act of

Parliament the State instantly gave a value of

six years' purchase to the land, and the State,

which created this value, might reasonably

THE IRISH CHURCH BILL OF 1833. spiritual affairs, but it takes away a vast amount of ecclesiastical property and applies it to secular purposes—purposes that have, indeed, a sort of tinge or halo of religiousness about them, but the effect of which is to reduce the amount of county rates paid by frish tenants.

Mr. O'Connell followed Lord Althorp, and expressed his warm approval of the bill, which he considered "contained within itself the seeds of future amelioration." The bill, though not going so far as he could wish, was founded on a valuable principle, since it recognized the right of Government to look into the state of ecclesiastical property hereafter. "They had in Ireland fever hospitals, receptacles for the insane, and institutions where individuals afflicted with various maladies are received. These institutions might be supported by a portion of that ecclesiastical pro-It would, he thought, be found hereafter that, by a due appropriation of part of those Church revenues, the country might be relieved from the Grand Jury Cess. It thus appears that the destination of the ultimate surplus of the Irish Church was anticipated by O'Connell. Mr. Gladstone is adoping word for word the suggestion which O'Connell then made; but in so far as O'Connell spoke broadly of applying ecclesiastical property to the purposes he recommended, he was de-parting from the proposal of the Ministry of the day. He might choose to think that their bill would afterwards lead to applying ecclesiastical property to secular purposes, but this was something different from what they proposed. They were secular funds, secular because invented and called into existence by the State, that the Government of Earl Grey proposed that Parliament should, if it thought fit, apply to secular purposes. At a later period of the evening Mr. Stanley owned that the Cabinet were, as had been hinted by a previous speaker, not agreed on the abstract point whether the State had a right to touch Church property, but he said that the pro-posal submitted to the House did not raise the question, because the Church had no claim to a property which it had never possessed; and although Mr. Stanley did not in the course of his speech refer to the particular suggestions of O'Counell, or express approval or disapproval of them, he contended that the difference between the former value and the increased value of the episcopal lands might be applied to secular purposes, or to any purposes that the State might direct. On the other hand, as Mr. Stanley is now the Earl of Derby, it ought to be recorded that he at the same time stated that he would never consent to any measure which he thought in his conscience and judgment would destroy or injure the Protestant Church in Ireland, or would interfere with the extension of the Protestant religion.

The Opposition was led by Sir Robert Inglis and Sir Robert Peel. The former urged that, if the King were to pass the bill, he would violate his coronation oath, and that the members of the Legislature were equally bound by the oath they had taken not to support it. He also thought the bill an infraction of the Act of Union, and contrary to the preamble of the Catholic Emancipation act. He also thought that, when Lord Althorp said that the revenues of the Irish Church were excessive, he forgot the "expansive force of Protestantism." Further, if so many Irish bishops were sup-pressed, how would there be enough to attend in the House of Lords? And he ended by dwelling on the merits of the Irish clergy, and the danger to the Church of Eng-land if the Church of Ireland were in-jured. Nothing could be more different, or more curiously mark the difference between the habits of thought and the intellectual capacity of the two men, than the objections of Sir Robert Peel. His first objection was £800,000. The first proposal of the Government was to do away with the whole system matters of religion, ought to have been of First-Fruits, and, in lieu of it, to tax bene- brought forward in a committee of the whole House. He admitted that the time was come when the whole state of the Church of Ireland must undergo an enlarged and comprehensive consideration. He approved of redistributing the revenues of the Church so as to make it better able to propagate and extend the blessings of the Protestant faith; and he thought that church-rates ought in some way to be abolished. He could not say whether twenty-two bishops were or were not too many for Ireland, but Sir Robert Peel in no way questioned the perfect right of Parliament to suppress bishoprics, if it could be shown that there were too many. He had no scruple in interfering with the spiritual organization of the Church. With regard to the proposed application of the improved value of the land, Sir Robert Peel acknowledged that the Government had offered their proposal as one that did not raise the question whether ecclesiastical property could properly be applied to secular uses; but he urged that it was calculated to mislead, and that, as a matter of fact, it had misled the House, and had been taken, and would be taken, as a declaration that the Government were prepared to secularize Church property. There can be no doubt that Sir Robert Peel was right. The House welcomed the measure for this reason, which was very popular in the House. It was thought to be, and it was imthe fine, together with the rent, formed the revenue of the bishop. The value of such leases, lessened as it was by the uncertainty whether the bishop would renew the lease, and by the chance of the fine being augmented mediately treated by O'Connell as being, an indication of the determination of the Government to establish this principle. Lord Althorp and Mr. Stanley did what they could to make this misunderstanding impossible; but they were misunderstood, and much of the disappointment and irritation caused by the bill was owing to this misunderstanding. Even to this day traces of this misunderstanding remain; and there are persons who confidently assert that Lord Derby in 1833 himself proposed that the property of the Church should be applied to such secular purposes as were then sug-

gested by O'Connell, and are now suggested by Mr. Gladstone. The progress of the measure was delayed by the passing of the bill, introduced in accordance with the King's speech, for the suppression of disturbances in Ireland. This bill was commenced in the Lords, and was read for a third time there on February 22. The first reading of the bill was moved in the Commons on February 27, and the third reading was carried on March 29. Thus a whole month was consumed in discussing this bill, and nothing could exceed the fierceness and animosity with which it was opposed. On March 12, however, a motion had been made for the second reading of the Irish Church Temporalities bill, and then objections were taken, under the auspices of Sir Robert Peel, to the effect that it was a tax bill, for it taxed the incomes of incumbents, and therefore ought to be brought forward in a committee of the whole House. A committee was ap-pointed to search for precedents, and the committee supported the objection. Accordingly, on April 1, the House went into committee, and resolutions were passed for the regulation of the temporalities of the Church. The next day the House agreed to all the resolutions passed. Nothing more, however, was done that month, but the bill, which was now founded on the resolutions, was read for the second time on May 6, the ayes being 317, and the noes 78. In the little band of dissentients is recorded the name of W. E. Gladstone, the member for Newark. Sir Robert Peel of course led the Opposition, and his arguments against the ministerial scheme of treating the improved value of the episcopal lands as seon-

act creating it, was expressly devised in the interest of the Church, that the property of the Church might not be wasted. That the State should relax these restraints, and then claim the benefit accruing from this relaxation for itself, was neither legical nor just. To all which Lord Althorp replied, as might have been done this very week by his then silent opponent, the member for Newark, that "he could not admit that there was any analogy between Church property and that of cor-porations, and still less was there any between it and the property of individuals which came to them by inheritance."

On May 13 the House went into committee on the bill, and Lord Althorp then formally signified that the King had placed his interest in the temporalities at the disposal of Parliament. Sir Robert Bateson, who was supposed to be a good authority on the subject, informed the Government that this measure must lead to the destruction of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and had alienated from the Ministry the affections of the Protestants of Ireland. Mr. Stanley, who was by this time Secretary for the Colonies, did not contribute much to the debate, except by informing the House that, whereas he had on a former occasion stated that he had discussed the bill with the Primate, who had said that the least objectionable mode of obtaining reform was to reduce the number of bishops, he now wished to let the House know that it was he himself, and not the Primate, who had made that dashing remark. On the 20th May a Mr. Dillon proposed an amendment which anticipated the bill of 1869. It was that the revenues of the Irish Church should be applied to purposes of general utility after the demise of the present incumbents. Only sixteen members, and of these only sixteen members, and of these only six English members, voted for the amendment, among whom was Mr. Roebuck, whose political testament, if he had tried to make it then, would have been very different probably from what it was when he made it last week. The bill for some time made little progress, because the House was busy with the Ministerial proposition for the abolition of slavery; but it was taken up in a desultory way on June 17, when Mr. Lefroy defended the large number of Irish bishops, on the curious ground that Irish bishops were really only like archdeacons, so that their number might be expected to be large. The months of English archdeacons must have watered when they heard that in Ireland archdeacous were of so glorified a nature that the Minis ry held it a great credit to themselves that they ventured to propose to reduce the income of one of them—the Bishop of Derry—to £8000 a year. On the 11th an amendment was proposed, but had to be withdrawn without a division, to the effect that Irish bishops should, after a certain date, cease to sit in the House of Lords; but, oddly enough, the ardent reformer who proposed this was willing that Irish archbishops should continue to sit forever. On June 19 the committee got so far as the 108th clause, and then, two days later, came a memorable day, the day that finally separated O'Connell his party, and in the end separated Lord Derby from the Whigs. Mr. Stanley announced that the Government pro-posed to withdraw the 147th clause, by which the surplus was to be appropriated to such pur-poses as Parliament might think fit. He yielded to the strong feeling that prevailed in the House and in the country against any alienation of church property, and he candidly owned that, although the Ministers had been able to convince themselves and their own circle, they had been unable to convince any one else that the surplus created by the State was secular in its inception. It is worth remarking that Scotland and the Scottish members were violently opposed to anything like disestablishment or disendowment; and this may warrant the belief that the success of Mr. Gladstone's present bill will be due to the Free Church movement in Scotland more than to any other single cause. The necessity or wisdom of modifying the bill to get it through the Lords also weighed of course very strongly with the Government, although they could scarcely aver that they were guided by this considera-tion. But, directly Mr. Stanley sat down, he and his colleagues were bitterly taunted with their base fear of the upper house; member after member declared that he had been de-ceived, and had been induced to vote for the Irish Coercion bill on the false pretense that he was to have an opportunity of conciliating Ireland by voting for the 147th clause; and O'Connell not only denounced the ministry as faithless to Ireland, but declared, and carried ont his threat, that he would vote against the bill going any further. Nevertheless, the ministry had a majority of 131, and the bill passed through the Commons in the shape which the Ministry recommended. It must be observed that the effect of the Government proposal was, that no declaration should be made as to the appropriation of the surplus. and it was left as an apple of discord for fu-

The bill was read for the third time and passed on July 8, after Mr. Sheil had meffeetually proposed to insert in the preamble an express declaration of the right of the Legislature to make such appropriation of the property of Cthe hurch as should most conduce to public utility. To us in this day the only feature of interest in the last debate of the Commons on the third reading is that Mr. Gladstone took that opportunity of uttering his sentiments on the subject. He was prepared to defend the Irish Church, although he admitted it had slumbered. But what Protestant Church had not slumbered? As for the future, it was of the ntmost importance to have a body capable of spreading and extending the Protestant doctrines. The theory now upheld by Sir Statford Northcote, it may be observed, was not invented then; a perfectly stationary Church still seemed rather ignoble, and the defenders of the Irish Church believed that it had an "expansive force," and that the business of the Irish clergy was to extend Protestantism. On July 9 the bill was read for the first time in the Lords, the Duke of Newcastle entreating the Bishops to vote against it on principle, regardless of consequences, and the Bishop of London replying that he thought it was always unwise to be indifferent to the consequences of a vote. The debate on the second reading took place on July 17, and no speech made on that occasion is more pleasing to read now than that of the Marquis of Westmeath, who said that he objected to the amalgamation of the diocese of Kilmore with that of Elphin, because the then Bishop of Kilmore was a very old man, and if the Bishop of Elphin died first this old Bishop of Kilmore would have, in taking charge of the two dioceses, to go thirty Irish miles and then cross the Shannon. And how could the Bishop cross the Shannon, and where, he would ask, could the Bishop put up at night? These pertinent questions, he thought, quite dis-posed of this great measure of national justice. The debate was adjourned, and the next night,

ture sessions to say what this appropriation

should be. All that was done was to leave

out any express statement that Parliament

should decide how the surplus should be ap-

plied.

appear quite unanswerable. The Bishops, he pointed out, had an unlimited power of leasing, until their powers were restrained by the State, to the limit of twenty-one years, and the restraint, as stated in the preamble of the act greating it, was expressly derived in the preamble of the policiest flight of Eldonian humbug—the complete twenty years; and he reached the policiest flight of Eldonian humbug—the complete twenty per act of humbug—the co lottiest flight of Bidonian humbug—the completest type of humbug perhaps ever attained
in England—by declaring that "the archbishops, bishops, and clergy might undergo
much persecution, but he hoped that
they would allow him—if they would
allow a layman te go along with them
—to take a full share of the evils of the
Church." Let it be fully remembered that
one of the most audacious parts of the bill one of the most audacious parts of the bill was to out down the income of that sweet martyr, the Bishop of Derry, to £8000 a year. With no inconsiderable courage the Bishop of London (Bishop Blomfield) followed Lord Eldon, and announced his intention to support the bill. The Archbishop of Dablin supported him; but the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) took the other side, arguing against so sweeping a reduction, "more especially as the bishops must be useful in the capacity of resident gentlemen." Two royal dukes took part in the debate, the Duke of Sussex being as much for the bill as his brother of Cumber land was against it. The division showed that Ministers had a majority of fifty-nine. A few amendments were made in committee, but of so slight a nature that the Government advised the Commons to agree to them, and on the second of August all discussion on the bill was at an end, and it received the assent of both houses.

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ELEGANT FRENCH PLATE MIRRORS.

Also, 2 extra large and very elegant oval pier mirromassive gilt frames; 4 oval and pier mirrors, handsom framed.

TO BANKERS, MERCHANTS, AND OTHERS,
Peremptory Sale, No. 6:39 Arch street.

EXTENSIVE STOCK OF CHILLED IRON FIRE AND
BURGLAR PROOF SAFES, MADE BY LILLIE &
SON: SECOND-HAND FIRE AND BURGLAR.
PROOF SAFES, MADE BY EVANS & WATSON
AND FARREL & HERRING, MONITOR AND
DUODECAGON COMEINATION LOCKS: TWO
FINE LARGE HORSES, LARGE TRUCK, ETO.
On Thursday Morning,
April 29, at 10 o'clock, at No. 6:39 Arch street, by catalogue, to close the Philadelphia Agency of Mesars Lillie &
Son, the entire stock of very superior Fire and BurglarProof Safes, including—3 extra large childed iron doubledoor fire and burglar-proof safes; 2 small burglar-proofs, in
each patent combination locks; 5 large double-door chilled iron
fire and burglar-proof safes; 30 superior chilled iron
fire and burglar-proof safes; 40 superior chilled iron
fire and burglar-proof, and fire and burglar-proof
cagon combination locks.

SECOND-HAND FIRE-PROOF SAFES,
A number of superior second-hand fire and burglar-proof
safes, made by Lullie & Son, Evans & Watson, and burglar-proof

A number of superior second-hand fire and burglar-proof ares, made by Lillie & Son, Evans & Watson, and Farret safes, made by Lillie & Son, Evans & Watson, and & Herring.

CELEBRATED COMBINATION LOCKS.

Suitable for banks, vault-doors, etc., of the Monitor and

Duddecage make.

FINE LARGE HORSES, TRUCK, ETC.

Large and very fine white stallion: large white drafthorse; large and superior heavy truck; heavy harness;
quantity of rope, rigging, etc.

[416 lit

THOMAS BIRCH & SON, AUCTIONEERS
AND COMMISSION MERCHANTS, No. 1116
CHESNUT Street; rear entrance No. 1107 Sansom St.

CHESNUT Street; rear entrance No. 1107 Sansom St.

SALE OF A STGCK OF FINE LINENS, SHIRTINGS,
DAMASK TABLE GOODS, TOWELS, HANDKER,
CHIEFS, QUILTS, SHAWLS, TABLE COVERS,
ETC.
On Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday Mornings, April 25, 27, 28, and 29.
Commencing each day at 10 o'clock, will be sold a large stock of superior linen housekeeping goods, consisting of line linen sheetings of all widths, aplendid linen damask table cloths of all sizes and patterns, napkins of every variety, fruit cloths, doylies, towels, Turkey red damask, crashes, table and piano covers, cashmere, square, and long shawls, ladies' and gents' hosiery, bosoms, handkerchiefs, etc. etc.

JAMES HUNT, AUCTIONEER, SOUTH-AMES HUNT, AUCTIONEER, SOUTHwest corner of FIFTH and SOUTH Streets.
CARD,—Persons relinquishing housekeeping, storekeepers and others desirous of selling their goods at public sale, either at their own place or at the auction store,
will find it greatly to their advantage to call on us. Our
personal attention will be given to all business intrusted
to us. Our charges are the most reasonable; we refer by
permission to hundreds for whom we have sold as to capability and responsibility.

4 23 124

BY LIPPINCOTT, SON & CO., AUCTION-

On Wednesday Morning.

April 28, at 10 o'clock, on four months' credit.

LARGE POSITIVE SPECIAL SALE OF WHITE AND
LINEN GOODS, HONIERY GOODS, HANDKERCHIEFS, KID GLOVES, MILLINERY GOODS,

ETC. ETC.

Also,
SPECIAL SALE OF STRAW GOODS,
Including about 329 cases ladies, misses', and children's
wear, in the most fashionable styles.
Also, by order of the Sheriff, large stock of general dry
goods.
[125] 21

On Thursday, April 29, LARGE STOCK OF DAMAGED GOODS, From the late fire, No. 231 Market street, Full particulars hereafter. [4 26 3t] B SCOTT'S ART GALLERY, No. 10-20 CHESNUT

SPECIAL SALE OF MODERN PAINTINGS.
On Tuesday and Wednesday Evenings,
27th and 28th inst., at 34 before 8 o'clock, at Scott's Art.
Gallery, No. 10-20 Chesnut street, will be sold, without
reserve, a collection of Modern Oil Paintings, by artists of
reputation, comprising landscapes, river, and mountain
views, all mounted in neat gold-leaf frames. [4 26 21]

C. D. McCLEES & CO., AUCTIONEERS, No. 506 MARKET Street. SALE OF 1500 CASES BOOTS, SHOES, BROGANS, ETC. ETC. On Thursday Morning, April 29, at 10 o'clock, including a large line of city-made

N. B.—Sales every Monday and Thursday. [4 26 3t BY PANCOAST & LARGE, AUCTIONEERS,

CONSIGNMENTS of American and Imported Dry Goods, Notions, Millinery Goods, and Stocks of Goods solicited. KEENAN, SON & CO., AUCTIONEERS, NO

PROPOSALS.

PROPOSALS FOR SUPPLIES ...

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER, OFFICE OF THE CHIEF SIGNAL OFFICER,
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22, 1869.
Sealed Proposals, in duplicate, will be received at this office until 12 M. on FRIDAY, the 30th instant, for supplying the Signal Service of the army with the following articles, viz.:—
Twenty-five (25) HAND TELESCOPES, with Straps and Case companies. nd Caps complete. Sixty-five (65) MARINE GLASSES (Binocular), with ases and Straps complete.

The whole to be delivered on or before the 1st of

The whole to be delivered on or scretc tar

July next,

The Telescopes must be of not less than thirtythree (33), and the Marine Glasses of not less than
five (5), magnifying powers, and both of defining
power, and make similar and equal to the models in
this office.

Envelopes to be endorsed "Proposals," and addressed to the undersigned.

Further particulars and requirements made known
on application to this office.

By order of the Chief Signal Officer of the Army,
L. B. NORTON,

Brevet Major, U. S. Army,

Property and Disbursing Officer,

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