AN

EXAMINATION

OF THE

ADDRESS

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND
TO POPE PIUS VII.

WITH REMARKS ON

OTHER DOCUMENTS CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT OF

Catholic Emancipation.

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Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

DUBLIN:

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1816.

Houses of the Oireachtas

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PREFACE.

IN this Publication, as in his former one on the same subject, it has been the Author's chief object to bring forward such documents, illustrative of the Religion and Politics of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, as might be of service in enabling the people of Great Britain to judge how far it may be expedient or safe to concede the Emancipation which is demanded.

The Author prefixed his name to his former publication, because, as it purported to present "Facts and Documents," it seemed necessary to authenticate them by a signature. He has done the same on the present occasion, partly because, in a crisis so important, every one should take a side; and

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partly to shew those whose hostility his former publication excited, that it is not in their power to deter him from the discharge of what he considers a duty.

DUBLIN, 19th JAN. 1816.

Houses of the Oireachtas

AN

EXAMINATION, &c.

SUCH have been the extravagancies and folly of the Roman Catholic leaders in Ireland, that ſcarcely any act of their's can excite ſurpriſe. We have ſeen them erect a tribunal for the redreſs of grievances. We have read their ſpeeches and proclamations exciting the people to inſurrection. We have witneſſed their aſſumption of the prerogative of Parliament, in taxing the country, and of that of the crown in determining on embaſſies to foreign powers. After all this, was there any act, however preſuming or criminal, of which we might not anticipate they would be guilty? Yes, there was one from which, although uninfluenced by any ſenſe of propriety or apprehenſion of conſequences, it might be ſuppoſed they would be reſtrained by regard to the cauſe they profeſſed to have ſo near at heart: no one could imagine that they would be ſo infatuated as at once to ruin that cauſe by AN APPEAL TO THE POPE ON THE POLITICAL STATE OF THE EMPIRE; and thus commit the very act, the bare apprehenſion of which had operated ſo ſtrongly on the minds of Proteſtants.

The public attention ſhould be fixed on this document. The modern hiſtory of our country does not furnish a more

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important one, whether it be regarded as indicative of the preſent diſpoſition of the Roman Catholics, or of their deſigns for the future, in the event of their attaining to Political power. To examine, and to illuſtrate it by other recent meaſures of the ſame party, is the deſign of this publication.

This document is entitled "THE HUMBLE ADDRESS AND REMONSTRANCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS OF IRELAND TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS VII: and purports to be authenticated by the ſignatures of the Chairman and Secretary of the Aggregate Meeting of the Roman Catholics, at which the reſolution for preſenting ſuch an Addreſs was paſſed; and by the Chairman of the Catholic Aſſociation, by which the Addreſs was drawn up. With reſpect to the gentlemen whoſe ſignatures are affixed to it, it is not intended that the following obſervations ſhould apply to them as individuals. It is notorious that perſons are too much in the habit of allowing their names to be affixed, as a mere matter of form, to papers which they have not even read. This may have been the caſe in the preſent inſtance: and indeed the preſumption that it has is very ſtrong, when the nature and circumſtances of the tranſaction are conſidered.

This Appeal to the Pope, we may confidently aſſert, bears its condemnation on its very front; and that irreſpective of its contents. The mere circumſtance of its being an Appeal to the Pope, no matter on what ſubject, or from whom, conſtitutes it a breach of the law. By laws in force for centuries back, all Appeals to the Pope are prohibited under heavy penalties. The various ſtatutes againſt Proviſors, were enacted expreſsly for the purpoſe of preventing ſuch Appeals; every encouragement of the Papal power, being according to Blackſtone, a diminution of the authority of the crown. It would not, in the ſlighteſt degree, alter

the caſe, even though the Addreſs in queſtion were confined to the ſubject of religion: for theſe ſtatutes apply chiefly, though not excluſively, to matters of that kind. Thus for example, the ſtatute of Præmunire enacts "that whoever procures at Rome or elſewhere, any tranſlation, proceſſes, excommunications, bulls, inſtruments, *or other things*, which touch the King, his crown and realms, and all perſons aiding and aſſiſting therein, ſhall be put out of the King's protection, &c. &c." Thus it is clear that the ſubject of appeal being excluſively of a religious nature would make no difference. The Appeal would not, on that account, be the less contrary to law. But the fact is, that it cannot with a ſhadow of truth, be maintained, that the Addreſs of the Roman Catholics is of a religious nature. All their politics indeed are tinctured with religion, as, on the other hand, all their religion is tinctured with politics. This mixture of religion and politics, which has conſtituted the eſſence of Popery ever ſince the Pope became a Temporal Prince, and which is no where more obvious or more injurious than in Ireland, appears in the Addreſs: but the politics ſo completely predominate, as clearly to ſtamp it with a political character. Is it objected that theſe ſtatutes, by diſuſe, have been virtually repealed, or at leaſt may be regarded as a dead letter, in conſequence of the length of time ſince any convictions have taken place under them? This is a miſtake. They have all along been in operation. Owing to their exiſtence the authority of the Pope in theſe countries, has been extinguiſhed. By their operation, the perſons diſpoſed to acknowledge his authority have been effectually reſtrained. Even any intercourſe between him and the Popiſh clergy has been carried on in ſecret. If no convictions have recently taken place under them, it is becauſe till now no one preſumed publickly to violate them. That daring act of criminality was

reſerved for theſe times, and for the preſent Roman Catholic Leaders. It was reſerved for theſe perſons, as the conſummation of their abſurdities, and it is to be hoped, of their crimes, to appeal from their Sovereign and the Legiſlature to the Pope; and openly, in the face of their country, to diſpatch an embaſſy of laymen and prieſts, to unfold to his Holineſs the political ſtate of Ireland. *

The idea of an Embaſſy to Rome was firſt ſuggeſted by Mr. O'Connel. Shortly before the laſt diſcuſſion of their queſtion in Parliament, he ſubmitted to the Roman Catholic Aſſociation that it would be proper to ſend an Ambaſſador to the Pope, to give His Holineſs correct information concerning the Roman Catholics; adding that there was a Prieſt of his acquaintance, a man of ability, who would willingly undertake the miſſion. Surely, in making this propoſal, the learned gentleman was not ſerious. His profound knowledge of the law, and the laudable anxiety he has uniformly evinced, even in his higheſt flights of oratory, to keep within the *letter* of it, and above all that diſintereſted regard for his fellow patriots, *for which he is ſo celebrated*, forbid the ſuppoſition that he could have meant any thing more than to create a laugh. But what has reſulted from this jeſt ſhould impreſs on the country a leſſon of ſerious conſequence. If the Roman Catholics, in their preſent, as they call it, ſhackled condition, and when, looking for additional privileges, it might be ſuppoſed they were on their good behaviour, if, under ſuch circum-

* The Roman Catholic Leaders cannot plead in excuse, that they were ignorant of the existence of such statutes, or that they extended to Ireland. For in the STATEMENT OF THE PENAL LAWS, the author of which was probably engaged in drawing up this Address to the Pope, the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth enacted in England in 1571, touching correspondence with the Pope or his Legate, is introduced, and distinctly described as one of the Statutes" which affect and embarrass the Irish Catholics." By this Statute it is High treason to procure a Bull or other writing from the Pope.

ſtances, they can be inſtigated to carry their grievances to Rome, and, in the proſpect of an obnoxious political meaſure, to appeal againſt that meaſure to the Pope, what may we not apprehend when a complete Emancipation ſhall have given them encreaſed political power; and when by the precedent of a former appeal to Rome, ſuffered to paſs unqueſtioned, their preſumption ſhall have riſen to its height? Let the country look to it. Are we prepared to have the Pope introduced on every occaſion as an Umpire, and to have all affairs, in which Roman Catholics are concerned, ſubmitted to his arbitration? In the enactment of laws, is he to be previouſly conſulted, or is his negative ſubſequently to invalidate them? Are we to be brought back to the ſituation in which England ſtood centuries ago, and from which ſhe could only be reſcued by the effuſion of her beſt blood?

This Addreſs to the Pope, ſo criminal as a deliberate infraction of the law, and as a precedent ſo alarming, conſiſts of ſtatements which cannot be read without exciting the moſt fearful apprehenſions for the fate of a country, any conſiderable portion of whoſe people could iſſue ſuch a document. Its allegations are not merely malignant and falſe, but evidently calculated to render the Proteſtant Government of theſe countries odious in the eyes of foreign nations, and, what is worſe, to kindle among ourſelves the flames of rebellion. A review of its contents will juſtify this repreſentation.

It commences thus. "Moſt Holy Father. WE THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PEOPLE OF IRELAND, moſt humbly approach your Holineſs, imploring for Five Millions of faithful children, the Apoſtolical benediction." This exaggeration of their numbers, and this aſſumption of the epithet "PEOPLE OF IRELAND," might be paſſed unnoticed, if there were not in them more than meets the ear. In

"The Statement of the Penal Laws," a work written by a member of the Catholic Board, we are told that "the Roman Catholics are emphatically the people of Ireland." The concluſion which the author wiſhed his readers to draw, though not expreſſed in ſo many words, is obvious. It is this; that the Roman Catholics ſhould have the aſcendancy in church and ſtate. With a view to make out their claim to this aſcendancy, and to overawe the Proteſtants into a conceſſion of it; and above all, to prepare the lower claſſes of the Roman Catholics to demand it as their right, when the proper time ſhall arrive, ſuch language is uſed on every favourable opportunity. Perſons acquainted with the real ſtate of the caſe, may be diſpoſed only to ſmile at ſuch falſehoods and at ſuch pretenſions. But would it not be prudent to take proper meaſures to prevent ſuch falſehoods from being received as evidence of the juſtice of ſuch pretenſions? The preparatory ſcene is now acting. We have been told by high authority among the Roman Catholics, and it ſhould never be forgotten, that Emancipation is but one of a ſeries of meaſures for the regeneration of Ireland.

The Addreſs proceeds thus. "We deem it unneceſſary, Moſt Holy Father, to remind the Sovereign Pontiff of our Church, of our peculiar claims to his protection and ſupport; for we cannot, for a moment, imagine that your Holineſs is unmindful of the conſtancy and devotion manifeſted to the Holy See by the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in deſpite of the moſt ſanguinary and unrelenting perſecution that ever aggrieved a Chriſtian people. We cannot however abſtain from reminding our Moſt Holy Father, that although the perſecution which we and our anceſtors endured was notoriouſly and avowedly inflicted upon us on account of our adherence to and connection with the Holy See; nevertheleſs the Catholics of Ireland

never ſolicited the predeceſſors of Your Holineſs, at any period of that perſecution, to alter, in the ſlighteſt degree that connection, or make any modification of the exiſting diſcipline of our Holy Church, to obtain for the Roman Catholics of Ireland the repeal or mitigation of thoſe cruel laws which proſcribed them.

Here we find the Pope applied to for protection and ſupport. Protection and ſupport, againſt what? The Legiſlature and Government of the country. Even though it were conceded that the mere act of appealing to the Pope, is not illegal, yet ſurely this kind of appeal is indefenſible; nay more, ſuch as ſhould excite the utmoſt alarm. A great body of the people, ſo great as to conſider and ſtyle themſelves "emphatically the People of Ireland," avow their "adherence to and connection with the Holy See," remind the Pope of the "conſtancy and devotion which they have uniformly manifeſted towards him;" in a word, make out their claim to the title of his "faithful children" or ſubjects, and then call for his protection and ſupport. What is this but a ſolemn recognition by the people of this country, of an authority higher than that of the Government or Legiſlature, for the exerciſe of which authority they call, and that, as this document itſelf indiſputably proves, on a political queſtion.

There is an important fact cloſely connected with this Appeal to Rome which ſhould be univerſally known. At the ſame moment that the Roman Catholics are thus bringing their cauſe before the Pope, and calling for his deciſion upon it, they are aſſerting the Divine authority of the Pope and other clergy of their communion, to PUNISH WITH DEATH ſuch perſons as refuſe to obey their deciſions on the ſubject of religion. This deſtructive and abominable principle of Popery, which, it might be imagined, would be ſuppreſſed or diſavowed in theſe days of pretended libe-

rality and conciliation, is distinctly inculcated in an Edition of the Douay Version of the Bible, published in weekly numbers, and now in circulation through Ireland, under the sanction of the Roman Catholic Bishops. It is contained in a note on the 8th verse of the 17th chapter of Deuteronomy, which is as follows. "Here we see what authority God was pleased to give the Church guides of the Old Testament, in deciding, without appeal, all controversies relating to the law; promising that they should not err therein; *and punishing with death such as proudly refused to obey their decisions.* AND SURELY HE HAS NOT DONE LESS FOR THE CHURCH GUIDES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT."

Put all this together. Here is an Appeal to the Pope. If it be on a political question, then it is directly in opposition to the laws and constitution of our country. But, if the subject be of a religious nature, then the Pope has authority from God and from his Word to put to death all who shall refuse to obey him.

This pernicious and cruel doctrine must excite equal astonishment and horror. What! do we indeed live in the nineteenth century, under the light of science, in a land of freedom and knowledge, and yet are we to be told, that a man may be murdered for his religious opinions!! Is this a time for reviving a principle which disgraced the darkest and most bigotted ages! What effect is likely to result from the promulgation of this detestable doctrine, which teaches one denomination of Irishmen that their clergy have a right to put another denomination to death for presuming to think for themselves on the subject of religion; which divides the inhabitants of Ireland into two classes, one which has a right to persecute, and another which ought to be persecuted? The direct tendency of it is, to lead one party to draw the sword for attack and the other for defence. Nor will circumstances, past or pre-

ſent, allow us to hope that this is a mere ſpeculative opinion, which no man could be ſo bigotted and wicked as to reduce to practice. That it is more than a ſpeculation is too forcibly impreſſed on us by paſt occurrences in Ireland: and if we turn our eyes at the preſent moment to the South of France we ſhall ſee this diabolical principle in full operation. What a melancholy ſpectacle preſents itſelf there! The temple of God ſurrounded by infuriate fanatics, thirſting for blood, and with frightful imprecations devoting to deſtruction the worſhippers within! And under the ſacred roof, in the midſt of a people prepared to die, * a venerable paſtor, performing for himſelf and for his flock the laſt offices of religion!! By what ſentence was this harmleſs people doomed to death? Who ſteeled the hearts and ſharpened the poignards of this execrable band of aſſaſſins! It is all the work of thoſe who have written that murderous comment on the ſacred text of the Bible, which gives to the Prieſthood of Rome the power of life and death.

There is no danger, we truſt, of ſuch ſcenes occurring in Ireland. We poſſeſs, in the generous nature of our countrymen, a ſtrong ſecurity. The principle of humanity, it is to be hoped, is too deeply rooted in the Iriſh heart, to be eradicated even by bigotry itſelf. At the ſame time it is impoſſible to calculate the lengths to which thoſe may be conducted who have implicit faith in the doctrines of an

* At the moment that General Le Garde was shot, the Protestants at Nismes were at divine service in the Church which had on that day been re-opened for them by order of the Duc D'Angouleme. The Church was surrounded by furious fanatics, who had already assailed the doors, which the Gens D'Armes had barred to prevent their entrance. Their numbers were so great, and their cries and imprecations so frightful that every Protestant conceived his destruction inevitable. In the midst of the groans with which the Church resounded, M. Jouillerat, the pastor, with a solemn and unfaultering voice, read from the pulpit the exhortation to the dying.

intolerant church; especially when the precise spot of the Sacred Word of God can be pointed out to them, which arms their Priests with authority to inflict the last penalty on the obstinate rejectors of their religion. At the present moment the City of Dublin furnishes striking evidence of the credulity of a considerable portion of its Roman Catholic inhabitants, and of their superstitious veneration even for the most absurd tenets inculcated by their Priests. It will scarcely be credited that there exists in this City AN INSTITUTION FOR AFFORDING RELIEF TO SOULS SUFFERING IN PURGATORY. And yet the fact is undeniable. Its prospectus and rules have been published. The following extracts from them are eminently entitled to publicity.

"Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends."

Purgatorian Society,

ESTABLISHED 6th MARCH, 1815,

AND

HELD IN ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL

ARRAN-QUAY.

✠

In the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST. Amen.

"The Holy Catholic Church, ever guided by the Spirit of Truth, having commanded her Children to "pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their Sins," Mach. xii. 46, and the Holy Ghost having decreed "that nothing

defiled ſhall enter the Kingdom of God," Rev. xxi. 27, and alſo that thoſe who have departed this life, without fully ſatisfying for their Sins, the juſtice of an offended God, ſhall be caſt into priſon, from whence they ſhall not depart, until they pay the laſt farthing, Matth. v. 26, Chriſtians ought ſeriouſly to reflect on theſe great truths, and if they have any Compaſſion for their departed Parents or Relations, many of whom, perhaps are at preſent, ſuffering in that abode of Miſery and Woe, calling on their Relations here on Earth, in the language of Holy Job, "Have Pity on me, have Pity on me, at leaſt you my Friends, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me." But to whom ſhall thoſe Poor Souls turn who have no one here on Earth to ſupplicate a juſt God in their behalf? Surely to none but him who will be Merciful to his ſuffering Brother, and who in return, as the Goſpel declares, ſhall alſo find Mercy, Matth. v. 7; the above named Society, wiſhing to co-operate with theſe divine precepts, and likewiſe inviting all Catholics to join with them in their Prayers, and procure the Holy Sacrifice of the Maſs, to be offered for their repoſe, as it is the moſt efficacious means of ſhortening the duration of their ſufferings. In order to carry this great work of Mercy into effect, they have agreed to be guided by the following Rules:—viz.

"That the affairs of this Inſtitution be regulated by the *Superior*, *two Rectors*, and *ſix Members*, who ſhall compriſe the Officers or acting part of the Society, and who ſhall attend, at the above Chapel, on every Monday night, at nine o'clock, and there with attention and devotion, recite the Office for the Dead, agreeable to the intention that ſhall be then mentioned.

"That every perſon wiſhing to contribute to the Relief of the Suffering Souls in Purgatory, ſhall pay *One Penny per*

Week, which ſhall be appropriated towards procuring Maſſes to be offered for the repoſe of the Souls of the Parents and Relations *of the Subſcribers* to the Inſtitution, and all the *faithful* departed in general.

" That the Spiritual Benefits of this Inſtitution be conferred in the following manner; each Subſcriber ſhall be entitled to an Office at the time of their death, another at the expiration of a Month, and one in twelve Months after the firſt; alſo the Benefit of Maſſes, which ſhall be procured for the Money ariſing from the Weekly Subſcriptions, which ſhall be extended in the following manner, that is for their Fathers, Mothers, Brothers, Siſters, Uncles, Aunts, and if married, Huſbands, Wives, and Children, if any departed who have lived to maturity.

" That every Member of the Office, who ſerves this Society as Superior, ſhall be entitled to *three Maſſes* at the time of his death; every Rector *two*; and Members or Subſcribers, without diſtinction, to one Maſs; provided, ſuch Superior, Rector, Member, or Subſcriber, ſhall die a *natural death*, be ſix Months a Subſcriber, and *be clear of all dues* at the time of their deceaſe; care to be taken that ſuch Soul Maſſes are punctually obtained.

" That ten o'Clock Maſs, in ſaid Chapel, on the firſt Monday in every Month, be offered as a Monthly Maſs for all the deceaſed Subſcribers to the Inſtitution, at which all perſons are requeſted to aſſiſt.

" That each Member do purchaſe, on entering this Society, a copy of theſe Rules, to defray the expenſe of Printing, and the Subſcriptions ſo received, be diſpoſed of to the moſt *neceſſitous Clergymen*.

" That the ſuperior ſhall on every *All Souls' Day*, advance to the Pariſh Prieſt of ſaid Chapel, whatever ſum is neceſſary for attaining an inſertion in the Mortality Liſt of the Altar, the names of the Parents and Relations, of all the

Subſcribers to the Inſtitution, to be recommended to the Prayers of the Congregation at *each Maſs* throughout the year."

To theſe extracts from the rules of the Purgatorian Society we ſhall add a few paragraphs from another Roman Catholic publication, which, while they afford evidence of the ſuperſtition and credulity of this body of people, will demonſtrate moſt forcibly that their ſyſtem of religion is at this day no leſs monſtrous and abſurd than in the darkeſt ages of which hiſtory furniſhes any record. This publication, which is widely circulated through Ireland in ſo cheap a form as to be acceſſible by the lower claſſes, is entitled, " Two Divine Revelations, as revealed to St. Auguſtine, St. Bridget and St. Anne by our Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. The firſt relates to the myſtery of the Paſſion of our Lord, from his laſt Supper, until he was offered up a bloody ſacrifice on the croſs for our redemption. The ſecond explains the twelve golden Fridays in the year. Reviſed and approved by learned and eminent Divines of the Church of Rome, and publiſhed for the general benefit of all pious Catholics." The revelation which purports to have been made by the mouth of Jeſus Chriſt to St. Auguſtine, relative to his paſſion is as follows. " 1. The credulous rabble gave me thirty cuffs. 2. Being ſeized in the Garden and led captive to Annas, after many falls, they gave me Two Hundred blows. 3. They unmercifully ſtruck me on the ſhoulders. 4. They drew me by the hair of the head ſix hundred and ſixty times. 5. They gave me many fiſts in the mouth. 6. I breathed eight hundred and eight ſighs. 7. They dragged me thirty-five times by the beard. 8. I received five mortal wounds at the foot of the croſs. 9. Being bound to a pillar I received five thouſand laſhes," &c. To this revelation is added the following note. " The virtues of this revelation

are ſuch, that what man or woman ſoever ſhall carry it about them (fulfilling the requiſites of our holy mother the Church) ſhall be freed from their enemies, and alſo from a ſudden and unprovided death. And if any woman travailing with child ſhall have it about her, ſhe ſhall be ſafely delivered, and freed from the fear of death in childbed. And alſo any houſe in which it is kept ſhall be free from evil ſpirits. And to him or her who ſhall carry it, the Bleſſed Virgin ſhall appear to forewarn them of their future bleſſed ſtate."

Theſe extracts have been introduced, not merely to expoſe the nonſenſe and abſurdity which pervade them, but to ſhew how infatuated too many of the Roman Catholics are by their clergy; and the conſequent danger of their too readily aſſenting to that comment on the Sacred text, which gives the ſanction of God to murders committed on account of religion.

But in this Addreſs to the Pope, the Roman Catholics not only claim from His Holineſs "protection and ſupport," but deſcribe themſelves as a deeply injured and ſuffering people. They complain of "perſecution notoriouſly and avowedly inflicted upon them on account of their adherence to and connection with the Holy See;" and this perſecution they ſolemnly aſſure the world is "the moſt ſanguinary and unrelenting that ever aggrieved a Chriſtian people." What effect is this complaint likely to produce on thoſe unacquainted with the real ſtate of the caſe? It muſt excite in them mingled emotions of pity and indignation: pity for the unfortunate ſufferers, and indignation againſt the Government which oppreſſes them. It would not be ſurpriſing if Roman Catholics in Foreign countries, ſympathizing with their afflicted brethren in Ireland, ſhould inſtitute an inquiry into the nature and extent of their grievances, and imitating the conduct of Proteſtants among

us, towards the ſufferers in the South of France, call on their reſpective Governments to interpoſe for their relief. If the ſympathies of Britiſh Proteſtants have been kindled by a few aſſaſſinations, by the maſſacre of a few ſcores of people in France, ſurely foreign Roman Catholics cannot hear unmoved the cries of Five Millions of their brethren in Ireland, tortured by "the moſt ſanguinary and unrelenting perſecution that ever aggrieved a Chriſtian people." At this moment, perhaps, they are endeavouring to calculate how many have been ſlaughtered, or picturing to themſelves the cruel tortures amidſt which they have been deprived of life; or perhaps they are preparing an aſylum for the ſmall remnant of the Prieſthood, which, after the conflragration of their ſacred edifices, may have eſcaped the general maſſacre. If ſuch have not been the effect of this document on the mind of Foreigners, we are not to thank the Catholic Leaders for it: for this, like their other meaſures, is equally calculated to render the Government odious abroad and inſecure at home. But what are we to think of the men, who deliberately and unbluſhingly can give ſuch falſehoods under their hand? Among the many bad ſigns of the times, is there a worſe one, than that total diſregard of truth and moral character, in which thoſe perſons ſeem to glory, who aſſume to be Political leaders in Ireland? Does it not appear from their public conduct, as if they had forgotten all diſtinction between truth and falſehood? Do we not ſee them daily diſtorting every fact, whether of a public or private nature, and, with ſignal effrontery, fabricating ſuch falſehoods as may beſt ſuit their purpoſes of malice or revenge, or political irritation? And what is their conduct on detection, or when any attempt is made to diſabuſe the public mind? They bluſter, and bully, and make a noiſe about their honour: as if a calumniator were leſs a calumniator after he

had bullied and fought, than before; or as if the ſtain of falſehood could be covered by the ſtain of blood.

Numerous examples might be adduced of theſe outrages upon truth. But for a glaring and moſt criminal inſtance, we need not go beyond this alleged perſecution. Where can even a trace of ſuch perſecution be diſcovered? Look at the various claſſes of the Roman Catholics. Examine firſt the Peaſantry and working tradeſmen. Are the former obſtructed or oppreſſed, on the ground of religion, in taking or cultivating land? Are the latter ſhackled in the choice or exerciſe of their manual employments? No: there is literally not a ſhadow of diſtinction between them and Proteſtants of the ſame rank. Go up higher to the departments of trade and commerce. Do the Roman Catholics labour under any diſqualifications, or are they in any reſpect obſtructed in thoſe purſuits? No: they have preciſely the ſame facilities, privileges and rights which Proteſtants poſſeſs. And even in the profeſſions of law and medicine (from the Eſtabliſhed Church they are neceſſarily excluded) the ſame rule holds good, as to every thing really important to the great maſs of perſons engaged in thoſe profeſſions. That of medicine, with all its emoluments and honours, is as free to them as to Proteſtants: and if, in the department of law, there are a few ſituations to which Proteſtants excluſively are eligible, thoſe ſituations are ſo few, and from the competition ariſing from Proteſtant numbers and talents, ſo few of them, even though they were open to all, would be attainable by Roman Catholics, that this profeſſion is ſcarcely an exception to the general rule. But how are they ſituated as to opportunities of inſtruction? Are any obſtacles thrown in the way of their advancement in learning and knowledge? The very reverſe. They poſſeſs even greater facilities, in this reſpect, than Proteſtants. Various ſchools in which there is no inter-

ference with their religious opinions, have been inſtituted for their inſtruction, and are ſupported by the contributions of Proteſtants. The only Proteſtant Univerſity in Ireland is open to them. Nor is this all; a College for their excluſive advantage, has been founded and endowed by the Proteſtant Legiſlature. If any where, then we may expect to find, in what concerns the exerciſe of their religion, ſome traces of the perſecution of which they complain. Let us therefore examine how they are ſituated in this reſpect. Are they obſtructed or diſcouraged in their religious worſhip? No: they are ſecured in the full, free, and moſt public exerciſe of all the rites and ceremonies of their Church. Are they limited as to the number of their clergy, or reſtrained from making a ſuitable proviſion for them? Their own ſtatements on this ſubject, furniſh the beſt anſwer to this queſtion. They have in Ireland, according to their own account, "Four Archbiſhops, Twenty-four Biſhops, Eleven Hundred Pariſh Prieſts, Eight Hundred Curates, and between two and three Hundred regular Clergy of various orders:" and as to their emoluments, an eſtimate of them may be formed from this circumſtance, that the Pariſh Prieſt of a ſmall village in the County of Limerick, enjoys (as they have lately aſſured the public) an income of 300*l.* per annum. There is but one inquiry more. Are they deſtitute of proper edifices, in which to receive their congregations, and to conduct their religious ſervices? Any one who has lately travelled through Ireland is competent to anſwer this queſtion. Their Chapels are as numerous as the Pariſh Churches, and, in many places, far exceed them in ſplendour of external ornament. This fact deſerves particular notice; becauſe thoſe Chapels have been erected, in almoſt every inſtance, on the eſtates of Proteſtants (very frequently the ground given free of rent) and by funds to which Proteſtants have been the moſt liberal contributors.

Such is the real condition of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, at the very moment that they have had the ſignal effrontery to complain to the Pope, and to ſtate in the face of Europe, that they are the victims of " the moſt ſanguinary and unrelenting perſecution that ever aggrieved a Chriſtian people.

The next paragraph of the Addreſs to which we ſhall advert, deſerves particular attention. It is this. " It is conſidered right to aſſure Your Holineſs, in the firſt inſtance, that although the Penal Laws, which were framed for the oppreſſion of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, have been conſiderably relaxed during the reign of our preſent Moſt Gracious Sovereign; nevertheleſs, the hoſtility to our Holy Religion continues to exiſt in full force: and every artifice is practiſed, and every inducement held out to ſeduce the Iriſh Catholic from the practice and profeſſion of his religion. Rewards are given to every Catholic clergyman who apoſtatizes from his faith; public ſchools and hoſpitals are maintained, at great expenſe, in which hoſtility to the creed and character of Roman Catholics, conſtitutes the firſt principle of inſtruction. Commiſſioners are appointed to prevent Catholic Inſtitutions receiving any benefit from the donations of pious perſons. Societies are eſtabliſhed, under the favour of our rulers, for proſelytizing the Catholic poor; and bribes offered and given to Catholic parents for the purchaſe of their children's faith; at the ſame time that every effort of bribery and corruption is exerted to influence Roman Catholic School-maſters to ſeduce the Roman Catholic children, entruſted to their care, from an attachment to their creed. Every member of the Legiſlature, every miniſter of the Government, every judge of the land, every ſuperior naval, military, or civil officer, and almoſt every individual in official ſtation is obliged to ſwear, and has actually ſworn in the following words."

Here the form of abjuring Tranſubſtantiation and the Invocation of Saints, is introduced.

Surely we have here as much admirable matter as has ever been compreſſed into ſo narrow a compaſs. What! have "the Penal Laws, which were framed for the oppreſſion of the Roman Catholics, been conſiderably relaxed during the preſent reign;" and yet are the Roman Catholics the victims of "an *unrelenting* perſecution?" Nay more, of the moſt ſanguinary perſecution that ever aggrieved a Chriſtian people! Moſt ſanguinary, at the very moment that the Penal Laws have been conſiderably relaxed! This may paſs off in Ireland, where ſuch modes of ſtatement are not uncommon. But is it not to be apprehended, that his Holineſs and the Conclave of Cardinals, being accuſtomed to iſſue Bulls, may have the idea of one ſuggeſted to them by this paſſage? Leaving his Holineſs, however, to diſpoſe of the Bull, which his dear children have offered to him, let us attend to the details of this ſanguinary perſecution.

They enumerate ſeven particulars in which they are aggrieved. Of theſe, one is a miſrepreſentation, and four are abſolute falſehoods. Let us examine them. "Rewards," they ſay, "are given to every Catholic Clergyman who apoſtatizes from his faith." This is a ſhameful falſehood, as the authors of it are well aware. In the ſecond year of Queen Anne's reign a law was enacted, empowering the Grand Jury of any county, in which a Roman Catholic Prieſt had conformed, to preſent for him 20*l.* per annum during his reſidence in the county, and until provided for in the Eſtabliſhed Church. In the eighth year of the ſame reign, the ſum was raiſed to 30*l.*: and in the eleventh and twelfth of the reign of His preſent Majeſty, there was a further encreaſe of 10*l.* From that period up to the year 1800 this Act was continued from time to

time. But on the 24th of June of that year it expired, and has never ſince been revived. Thus it appears that, ſo far from rewards being held out to ſeduce the Roman Catholic Clergy, for the laſt fifteen years there has been no legal proviſion whatever for thoſe who conform. On the contrary, perhaps they have received too little encouragement. Two Prieſts conformed in the City of Dublin about four years ago: and, although one of them had been a Profeſſor in the College of Maynooth, and although both of them have proved reſpectable characters, they are at this moment only Curates in the Eſtabliſhed Church.

The next ſtatement is, "Societies are eſtabliſhed, under the favour of our rulers, for proſelytizing the Catholic poor." This is another falſehood. It is couched indeed in guarded terms. "Under favour of our rulers," is a form of expreſſion to which it is difficult to attach any diſtinct meaning. The only meaning which will bear out this ſtatement is, that the Members of Government, as ſuch, have eſtabliſhed Societies of this deſcription. Now this is falſe. No ſuch Societies exiſt. There are indeed various benevolent Inſtitutions, in the advantages of which Roman Catholics ſhare, and to which ſome Members of the Government are contributors. If this be a crime, ſtill it is not the ſpecies of crime deſcribed in the Addreſs: for thoſe Societies extend their advantages to Proteſtants as well as Roman Catholics; and therefore, to make proſelytes of the latter cannot be their object.

The next two particulars bear the ſtamp of falſehood ſo plainly on their front, that merely to ſtate them is ſufficient. "Bribes are offered and given to Catholic parents for the purchaſe of their children's faith; at the ſame time that every effort of bribery and corruption is exerted to influence Roman Catholic School-maſters, to ſeduce the Roman Catholic children entruſted to their care from an

attachment to their creed." Such a mode of making converts could never enter into the mind of any man who was not a fool; and of ſuch folly, we may ſafely challenge the Roman Catholics to point out a ſingle inſtance in this country. But without waſting any further time on thoſe imaginary grievances, let it be granted that the ſtatements concerning them are true, even including thoſe whoſe falſehood we have expoſed; ſtill what does this perſecution amount to? To this: that the Proteſtant Government of theſe countries, under the conviction that popery is a pernicious ſyſtem, diſcourage its growth; and, commiſerating the condition of its deluded votaries, have employed the moſt ſuitable means for their inſtruction and converſion; have eſtabliſhed Aſylums in which the children of indigent Roman Catholics may be ſheltered and taught; and made ſuch a proviſion for Roman Catholic Prieſts, who ſhall conſcientiouſly renounce the errors of Popery, as ſhall ſecure them from abſolute want. Such is the ſum and ſubſtance of this moſt ſanguinary perſecution. What! are Proteſtants to be denied the privilege of diffuſing information and knowledge among their countrymen? Are they to be excluded from this and the other legitimate means which common ſenſe and humanity dictate, of oppoſing what they deem fatal error and ſuperſtition? Or is the exerciſe of this, which is the undoubted right of every man in this free country, to be ſtigmatized with the name of perſecution? If this be perſecution, at leaſt it is of a very different kind from that exerciſed in Popiſh countries. Contraſt the treatment of Roman Catholics in Ireland, with that which Proteſtants experience, where Popery has the upper hand. In the dominions of Auſtria, the Pope enters his ſolemn proteſt againſt allowing them the public exerciſe of their religion. In Belgium the Roman Catholic clergy aſſure their Monarch that the toleration of Proteſ-

tants is inconſiſtent with the principles of their religion. In Spain the Inquiſition is opened for their reception, and in France they are maſſacred.

We ſhall adduce but one paſſage more from this Addreſs. It cannot fail of making a deep impreſſion. "We cannot ſuffer ourſelves to ſuppoſe, that Your Holineſs would, knowingly, ſanction ſo pernicious a meaſure; for it is our decided conviction, that any ſuch conceſſion to our Proteſtant Prince, or to his Proteſtant Miniſters, of a right to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the appointment of our Prelates, would inevitably deſtroy the Catholic religion in Ireland. Its firſt conſequence would be A GENERAL AND INDIGNANT REVOLT againſt the framers or favourers of the deteſted ſyſtem, without regard to rank or ſtation."

Here at leaſt we have candid and open avowal. We are fairly warned that any Bill for Catholic Emancipation, containing arrangements or qualifications ſuch as have hitherto been propoſed in Parliament, will be followed by "a general and indignant revolt." How happy then, for our peace and ſafety, that Mr. Grattan's Bill, with Mr. Canning's clauſes annexed to it, was loſt in the Houſe of Commons. Inſtead of giving ſatisfaction to the Roman Catholics, it would have expoſed the country to hazard. If at any future time their claims ſhall be urged in Parliament, here is wherewithal to repel and abaſh their advocates; here is their pledge, ſolemnly given to the chief paſtor of their church, that any Emancipation, ſhort of an unqualified one, ſhall be followed, on their part, by a general and indignant revolt.

What degree of credit this tiſſue of falſehood and ſedition ſhall receive in foreign countries may be doubtful; but that it has been attended with the deſired effect in Ireland, we have at this moment the moſt melancholy evidence. That it was partly deſigned for effect in Ireland, is rendered

indiſputable by the pains taken to circulate it among the lower claſſes of the Roman Catholics in every part of the country. It was not only publiſhed repeatedly in all the Newſpapers, under the influence of that party, but ſtruck off on a large ſheet, and an order iſſued, that it ſhould be purchaſed in that form, and framed and glazed and hung up in every houſe. Publications of a ſimilar tendency are making their appearance every day. Within the laſt few months, three Hiſtories of Ireland have been compiled, and ſent forth; one purporting to have been written by a Nun, another by a Member of the Catholic Board, and the third an anonymous work, in queſtion and anſwer, deſigned for the uſe of Schools. In theſe publications, England is painted in the blackeſt colours; her ſway in this country is repreſented as moſt oppreſſive, tyrannical and cruel, and the connection with her as the bane of our proſperity and happineſs. As a ſpecimen of thoſe hiſtories, we ſhall give a few extracts from that in queſtion and anſwer, compiled, as the Title page ſtates, for the uſe of Schools.

"What was the conduct of the Engliſh towards the native Iriſh?

It was marked by every ſpecies of diſſimulation and oppreſſion that diſgraces human nature: nor does it appear that they for ſome time purſued a different line of conduct: for from this period, a deluge of woes poured in upon Ireland; her ſubſequent annals are written in characters of blood, and are but the records of diviſion and perſecution."

"Did any thing particular occur in the reign of Henry V. reſpecting the Colonial Iriſh?

By a decree of the Britiſh Legiſlature, they were expelled from England, as adventurers and vagabonds; their ſtudents were ignominiouſly turned out of the Inns of

Courts, and every other place of education where they could obtain a knowledge of the laws by which they were governed. Thus did England act towards the youth of her own Colony, of the ſame race and religion as her inhabitants. What a ſtriking contraſt between ſuch conduct, and that of the generous Mileſians at a former period ! ! !"

" Had the bloody wars between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter any effect upon Ireland ?

No. The Iriſh Chieftains continued their domeſtic quarrels, while the Engliſh Colony purſued their plan of extermination ; to effect which the more ſpeedily, they enacted new ſtatutes iu a Parliament held at Trim in 1461, by which a price was ſet on the head of any Mileſian going to or from the Pale, unleſs accompanied by an Engliſhman, wearing Engliſh apparel, &c."

" How did Elizabeth act towards the Iriſh ?

Her firſt concern was to ſpread the influence of her religious ſyſtem in Ireland, for which purpoſe ſhe called a Parliament to eſtabliſh her prerogative of ſupremacy, and to enforce her Penal Laws."

" Were any Iriſh Catholics put to death for their religion during her reign ?

Yes, multitudes: but the names and hiſtory of only two hundred are on record. The common ſtretching rack was frequently employed againſt the Catholic priſoners; and it was not unuſual to tear the nails from their fingers, or to batter the ſhaven crowns of the Clergy until their brains appeared."

" Was the acceſſion of the Stewart's beneficial to the Iriſh nation ?

Far from it; though the Iriſh laviſhed their blood and treaſure in defence of this family, they were repaid by the baſeſt ingratitude."

" What was the reſult of James's harſh proceedings?

They naturally produced rancour and diſtruſt, which were induſtriouſly magnified by their enemies, and rumoured into inſurrections and conſpiracies."

" Did not James appoint a commiſſion of inquiry to ſcrutinize the titles and rights of the lands in Leinſter, and the adjoining diſtricts?

Yes; and ſuch rapid progreſs did theſe commiſſioners make in the diſcharge of their office, by the help of perjury, fraud, and the moſt infamous acts of deceit, that in a ſhort time, James deemed himſelf entitled to make a diſtribution of 385,000 acres. The remainder of this reign was, to the non-conforming Catholics, an uninterrupted ſcene of vexation, oppreſſion, and extortion."

" When did Cromwell land in Ireland?

In Auguſt 1659; and immediately ſpread devaſtation over the country, perſuading his ſoldiers, that the Iriſh ought to be dealt with as the Canaanites in Joſhua's time; that is, utterly extirpated."

" What became of the original inhabitants, who ſurvived the general deſolation and remained in the country?

They were ordered to tranſport themſelves into the Province of Connaught, which had been depopulated and laid waſte, and were forbidden to repaſs the Shannon under pain of death."

" Was not the Act of the 27th of Elizabeth enforced by proclamation?

Yes. By this Act every Romiſh Prieſt was deemed guilty of rebellion, and ſentenced to be hanged until he was half dead; then to have his head cut off, and his body cut in quarters; his bowels to be drawn out and burnt, and his head fixed on a pole in ſome public place. Even the private exerciſe of the Catholic religion, was made a capital crime;

and the ſame price (five pounds ſterling) was ſet upon the head of a Prieſt, as was ſet on the head of a wolf."

" What does Morriſon, a contemporary writer and eye-witneſs, ſay of the perſecution at this period?

That neither the Iſraelites were more cruelly perſecuted by Pharaoh, nor the innocent infants by Herod, nor the Chriſtians by Nero, or any of the other Pagan Tyrants, than were the Roman Catholics of Ireland at this fatal juncture."

" Did James II. reſtore the Catholics to their birth rights by a change of the Act of Settlement, commonly called the *Black Act?*

No; as this act had the ſanction and experience of twenty years, he dreaded the inconvenience and diſorder likely to reſult from ſuch a general transfer of property."

" When was the battle of Aughrim fought?

On the 12th of July 1691. Above two thouſand, ſays Leſley, who threw down their arms on this occaſion, and aſked for quarter, were afterwards *killed in cold blood.*"

" Were the articles of Limerick adhered to?

Scarcely had two months elapſed when they were baſely infringed, and Ireland more than ever treated as a conquered country, its independence violated, its national conſequence and dignity debaſed."

" Was the ſituation of Ireland retrieved by the acceſſion of Queen Anne?

No: our afflicted country was doomed to ſuffer under every Britiſh Sovereign, particularly under every Stewart, &c."

" Did the Britiſh Empire rejoice at the acceſſion of George III. a native Sovereign?

Yes: but in the general exultation Ireland alone was doomed TO WEEP. The wretched ſtate of her peaſantry in

the ſouthern province, produced ſome alarming diſturbances, which were maliciouſly conſtrued into a general Popiſh plot."

" Did the execution of theſe unfortunate objects of miſery" (the Whiteboys) " ſatisfy the views of thoſe who fomented the tumults?

No: they ſought a victim of more renown, and ſelected Nicholas Sheehy, a Pariſh Prieſt in the County of Tipperary, as a fit object of their wicked, though ultimately ineffectual purpoſe, of implicating the Catholic religion, the Pope, the French, and the Pretender, in the tumultuary outrages of theſe deſperadoes."

" What became of this clergyman?

A reward of 300*l.* being ſet upon his head, he conſcious of his innocence, preſented himſelf for trial in Dublin, where he was honorably acquitted. His enemies, however, being determined on his deſtruction, indicted him for the murder of a man, named Bridge, " whoſe dead body," ſays O'Leary, " could not be found in Ireland, but whoſe living body was diſcovered in Newfoundland, whither he was privately ſent." For this imaginary crime he was tried and condemned in Clonmel, to be hanged and quartered, which ſentence was accordingly executed in 1766."

" What do you underſtand by *Townſend's Golden drops?*

Such was the title given by the wits of that day to the additional ſum of ten pounds annually, granted by this Viceroy to every Catholic Clergyman who conformed to the Eſtabliſhed Church; his Excellency *wiſely* taking into conſideration that a yearly proviſion of 30*l.* made by the 8th Queen Anne, *was in no reſpect a ſufficient encouragement for Popiſh Prieſts to become converts.* This lure has been ſince denominated " *a lancet to let out bad blood.*"

" Had not Ireland much heavier cauſes of complaint than the revolted colonies of America?

Infinitely greater. America had been founded and cherifhed by England. Ireland, on the contrary, by a long and various warfare, as well as by a perfidious policy, was fubjugated, depreffed, degraded, reftricted in manufactures and commerce; exhaufted by taxes, and drained by enormous remittances to England. The people could not but feel that they were ruled with an iron rod, not for their improvement or advantage, but for their impoverifhment and oppreffion."

"Did not Mr. Pitt labour in his infidious commercial propofals of 1785, to regain the Legiflative fupremacy fo lately wrefted from England?

Yes; and from the moment that this favourite plan was thwarted, he uniformly aimed at the downfall of Ireland by a Legiflative Union."

"Did Mr. Pitt lend the arm of the executive to all the purpofes of intolerance, to which his Irifh undertakers thought fit to apply it?

He did moft largely. The weakening of Ireland by internal diffentions was the private order given to the chief agents, while the public inftructions to the oftenfible and refponfible Miniflers of the Crown, concealed the deftructive principle in the back ground."

"Was not a plot deeply laid in 1794, under great political influence, to ftigmatize the body of Catholics through the crimination of Mr. Fay and other refpectable gentlemen of his perfuafion, for the murder of Mr. Butler, and the general fyftem of Defenderifm, which had then fettled in a continuation of lawlefs robbery?

Yes; but juft Providence defeated it by expofing to view the bafe machinations and perjuries of the informer Lynch, and other fuch mifcreants raked out of the neighbouring goals, who had been hired and fuborned to fwear away the lives of the victims pointed out."

"Did the United Iriſhmen take any improper ſteps in 1797?

Yes; they renewed their league with the French Directory, and laid plans for the rebellion of 1798."

"Did any occurrences tend to goad them on to this treaſonable act?

Yes; the violent and unconſtitutional outrages of the Orangemen; the unwarrantable and illegal exceſſes of a portion of the magiſtracy; and the half-hanging, tortures, floggings and burnings, which under the pretence of exceſſive loyalty, were permitted by the miniſters, and inflicted by his ſycophants."

"When Mr. Pitt came to look cloſely down the precipice, to the verge of which he had forced this unfortunate iſland, did he not revolt with horror at his own temerity?

He did; and in his haſte ſent over Lord Cornwallis to entice her therefrom, and to endeavour to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants."

"Did Mr. Pitt or his colleagues ever bring forward the Catholic claims?

Shortly after the Union, they ſneaked out of office, under pretence of inability to forward thoſe claims, leaving a written pledge to this illuſtrious body, that *many characters of eminence* (including of courſe their own) *were pledged not to embark in the ſervice of government, except on the terms of the Catholic privileges being attained.*"

"Were Mr. Pitt and his colleagues ſincere in their conduct?

No; for ere long he returned to office, under a counter-pledge of never bringing forward, or ſupporting the Catholic claims; Lord Cornwallis accepted the government of India, but never ſtood up in Parliament to enforce their claims; and all their friends ſeemed to forget their promiſes."

"What was the grand active principle upon which Lord Hardwicke accepted the government of Ireland in 1802?

A principle he dared not openly avow, viz. to reſiſt her Emancipation, and to perpetuate the old ſyſtem of diviſion and excluſion, under the deluſive ſemblance of conciliation and mildneſs."

The publication from which theſe extracts have been taken, was found in a School, called a *Lancaſterian School*, in the City of Cork, in the hands of the children. In this School upwards of Eight Hundred children of the lower claſſes receive inſtruction. To ſuch of them as were able to read, this hiſtory had been given *gratis*, on the condition that they ſhould carry it home with them, and read it to their parents in the evening. Thus this School, ſupported by public bounty, to which probably, in conſequence of the ſpecious name it bears, many loyal perſons are contributors, is uſed by the diſaffected as an inſtrument to advance their deſperate purpoſes againſt the ſtate; and thus the innocent child is employed to ſow principles in the mind of his parent, which, followed up, muſt lead that parent to an ignominious death. At the firſt glance it is clear this hiſtory was not compiled for the purpoſes of information; for beſides that it diſtorts every fact, the incidents it records, are not thoſe of great national importance, but of party politics: its object then evidently is, at once to corrupt our youth, and to exaſperate the worſt paſſions of our adult population.

Who that examines the extracts we have taken from it, can ſuppoſe for a moment, that Catholic Emancipation, even though conceded in its full extent, would ſatisfy the party by which Ireland is diſtracted. The condition of the Roman Catholics ſcarcely occupies any place in the hideous picture of Engliſh tyranny, and in the lamentable detail of Iriſh grievances expoſed in this hiſtory. The

Britiſh government, religion, influence, ſettlers, and deſcendants, or in one word, Britiſh connection is the evil which is to be thrown off. The ignorance, poverty, nay the very crimes of our people, are laid to the charge of the Britiſh Government. Their conduct towards Ireland is deſcribed as far ſurpaſſing, in injury, outrage and cruelty, that of the moſt ſavage conquerors. In violation of the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties, as well as of every principle of juſtice, and even in oppoſition to its own intereſt, England is repreſented as having uniformly damped our induſtry, ſhackled our trade and commerce, and fomented among us thoſe animoſities, which have kept us to this hour a divided and diſtracted people. No man can read this hiſtory, and give credit to its ſtatements, without execrating the government, paſt and preſent, and becoming in principle at leaſt, a traitor to his King.

Look at the fatal effects which have already reſulted from ſuch publications. A ſpirit of hoſtility againſt the preſent order of things in Church and State has been excited. In ſome places our people have been ſtimulated into actual inſurrection. In ſeveral counties even the military force of the country has been inſufficient to give ſecurity either to property or life. An organized ſyſtem of plunder and aſſaſſination has been eſtabliſhed, which has hitherto baffled every attempt to break it down, or to provide an adequate protection againſt it. Its vengeance purſues every man who preſumes to raiſe his voice or his arm in behalf of his country. Whole claſſes of perſons are marked out as victims, who are to be plundered of their property or deprived of life. This is at the preſent moment the caſe with the Clergy and Magiſtracy in ſeveral places. With reſpect to the Clergy, the plan has been regularly arranged, and as regularly carried into effect, for plunging hem into poverty, and putting them in ſuch terror of

their lives, that they ſhall not dare to vindicate their rights. In the Southern counties their ſituation is ſuch, that a faithful picture of it could not fail to excite ſympathy in every feeling heart. Many of them, with large families, and no income but that derived from their Benefice, have not, for ſeveral months, received any part of their dues. Though thus deſtitute of reſources, they have been obliged to abandon their reſidence, through dread of aſſaſſination, and take refuge in the neighbouring towns, in which, from their crouded ſtate, lodging and every neceſſary of life is at the higheſt price. But even in ſuch ſituations, they are not ſafe. Within the laſt few weeks, a reſpectable clergyman and moſt worthy man juſt eſcaped aſſaſſination while ſitting in his own parlour, in one of the moſt populous towns in Ireland. A ſhot was fired at him through the window, and no doubt would have been followed by others, but that he had the preſence of mind to throw himſelf on the floor, from which the aſſaſſins concluded that they had effected their purpoſe. Indeed every time a clergyman, in thoſe counties, leaves his houſe, his wife and children are chilled with the apprehenſion, that they ſhall next behold his mangled corpſe. Nor are the Magiſtracy in leſs danger, as the murder of the lamented Mr. Baker, and the various attempts to aſſaſſinate other valuable characters decidedly evince.

Will any man pretend that Catholic Emancipation would prove a remedy for theſe diſorders? Diſorders which have originated, not in any thing connected with the rejection of that meaſure, but in cauſes totally diſtinct; in the grievance of an Eſtabliſhed Church, a Proteſtant government, and Britiſh connection. If all the advantages of the Conſtitution were thrown open to the Roman Catholics tomorrow, the conceſſion, ſo far from giving peace to the country, would operate as an incentive to freſh demands,

enforced by new aggreſſions. It would be repreſented, not as a boon, but as a right long unjuſtly withheld, and extorted at laſt from the weakneſs of Great Britain, by the irreſiſtible numbers and force of the claimants. It would arm the perſons who are now exciting inſurrection in the country, with encreaſed powers, which, if we may judge of the future from the paſt, they would not fail to employ for the very worſt of purpoſes. If the experiment be tried, within ten years Ireland will be convulſed by a civil war, more fearful than any which has ever afflicted her; or Popery ſhall have taken quiet poſſeſſion of the place now occupied by our Proteſtant Church.

Great pains have been taken to impreſs on the public mind, that the meaſure of Catholic Emancipation, has been, as to its principle, conceded by the Legiſlature, and that it is now only a queſtion about terms. The Roman Catholics affect to believe that the whole affair is at preſent ſuſpended on their deciſion about the Veto; and that, if they would only conſent to this or ſome ſimilar arrangement, the meaſure would be concluded at once. Reports to this effect are circulated with great induſtry by ſome of their advocates in Parliament, who pretend even to blame that obſtinacy, which is the only remaining bar to complete ſucceſs. Nay they go ſo far as to aſſert, that one of His Majeſty's Miniſters has made arrangements for ſubmitting the queſtion to Parliament in the enſuing Seſſions, when it will be finally arranged. There is the ſtrongeſt reaſon to believe that all this is a deluſion, a mere trick, practiced for the purpoſe of impoſing on the public the idea that the meaſure is inevitable, and therefore that all oppoſition to it muſt be vain. For ſurely a moment's reflection on what occurred in Parliament in the laſt Seſſions, will ſhew that the eyes of the Legiſlature have been opened to the real

deſigns of this party, and to the conſequences which, under any circumſtances, muſt flow from the elevation of Popery in theſe countries. It was the great argument of Mr. Fox, when advocating this meaſure, that men ſhould not be judged of by their opinions, even though thoſe opinions might appear to be of a miſchievous tendency;—that actions alone were to be taken into account. Well, the Legiſlature have had their attention directed to the actions of the Roman Catholics: upon this ground they have formed their judgment; and upon this ground they ſolemnly decided againſt them in the laſt Seſſions. Subſequent events have demonſtrated the wiſdom of that deciſion; and therefore unleſs Emancipation is to be conceded as the reward of inſurrection, and every ſpecies of outrage which can diſturb and diſgrace a country, the reports on this ſubject, which have alarmed the Proteſtants of Ireland, are falſe.

It muſt be granted, however, that the Pope, with true paternal affection, has carefully conſulted the intereſts of his "dear children." He and they indeed have taken oppoſite courſes. While they aſſumed a menacing poſture, and ſeemed diſpoſed to come to extremities, he with characteriſtic art, has had recourſe to flattery and intrigue. He firſt iſſues his fatherly admonition to his flock in theſe countries, and with pious ſolicitude for the welfare of our Proteſtant Government, exhorts them to loyalty and obedience, and extolls Great Britain to the ſkies; and then he profeſſes himſelf moſt anxious, that proper ſecurities ſhould be given, in the event of Emancipation, for the ſafety of our Eſtabliſhed Church. But at the ſame moment, that with ſo much liberality and kindneſs, he is making proviſion for the ſafety of our Proteſtant Church and State, he is employed in expoſtulating with the Auſtrian Government for allowing to Proteſtants the liberty of public worſhip; and

he is encouraging the Belgian Biſhops to proteſt againſt the toleration of Proteſtantiſm, on the ground that ſuch toleration is inconſiſtent with the EXISTENCE of the Catholic Church; and he is eſtabliſhing the Inquiſition in Spain, to purify that country from the hereſies introduced into it by the Britiſh army. Thus his Holineſs is detected of hypocriſy; and ſurely this is a wonder! A wonder, not that he ſhould have played the hypocrite, but that he ſhould have done it ſo clumſily as to expoſe himſelf to detection.

In the conduct of the Pope in this tranſaction, beſides hypocriſy which muſt always diſguſt, there is a degree of arrogance which cannot fail of exciting indignation in the breaſt of every Proteſtant. By his miniſter, Cardinal Litta, he has preſumed to dictate the form of oath in which he will *permit* the Roman Catholics to ſwear allegiance to the Crown. What, is ſuch inſolence to be borne! Is it not enough that the peace of the country is diſturbed by every Roman Catholic demagogue, but is Great Britain, at the ſummit of her glory, to receive leſſons in Legiſlation from a Junto of Prieſts at Rome? There was a day when Britiſh Proteſtants would not ſubmit to ſuch degradation. They will not ſubmit to it now. No. The ſpirit of their anceſtors is not extinct. And even though it were, there is a vigilance in the Britiſh Government, and a wiſdom in its councils, and we may humbly hope, a gracious and Almighty power, exerciſing ſuperintendence and controul, in which we may ſafely confide.

There is one ſubject more to which we muſt advert. It is a letter purporting to have been written by Sir Henry Parnell, containing inſtructions and advice to the Roman Catholics, as to their conduct in the preſent juncture. Whether it be the production of the Honorable Baronet or not, we ſhall not attempt to decide. But without heſitation we aver, that it does no credit either to the under-

ſtanding or heart of its author. It commences with a recommendation to the Roman Catholics to preſent an addreſs to the Prince Regent, previouſly to the diſcuſſion of their claims in Parliament. "The miniſter," ſays the letter-writer, "will be obliged to lay ſuch addreſs before the Cabinet; and thus the Catholic queſtion will become a Cabinet queſtion; and thus that part of the Cabinet, friendly to the Catholic claims, will have an opportunity of exerciſing their influence in the manner moſt likely to prove of the greateſt ſervice." This is an admirable expedient, no doubt, for producing diſſenſion in the Cabinet, and embarraſſing the miniſter; and reſults are probably expected from it not unfavourable to the letter-writer's wiſhes and intereſts. But to paſs by all this, we would inquire, is the author of this letter ignorant of the conduct of the men, for the laſt four years, whom he would obtrude into the preſence of the Prince Regent? Has he never heard that thoſe men, in their writings and ſpeeches, attributed the preſent affliction of our beloved Monarch, to a judicial and deſerved viſitation from Divine Providence, on account of his oppoſition to the Catholic claims? Has he never heard that, after thus baſely triumphing in the calamity of the Father, a calamity at which a whole nation grieved, they dared to impeach the honor of the Son, by inſinuating that in former days he had given to them pledges of ſupport, which pledges he ſubſequently refuſed to redeem; and that they did not deſiſt from their endeavours to affix this ſtain on the Royal character, 'till Lord Fingal, to whom they appealed, obeying the impulſe of his honorable feelings, pronounced the charge a falſehood, and thus exhibited them, in their proper colours, as unprincipled calumniators? Has he never heard that when, in the courſe of the laſt year, it was propoſed, in an Aggregate Meeting of the Roman Catholics, held in Dublin,

to addreſs the Prince, one of them had the effrontery to ſtand up and declare, that ſuch a meaſure would be a diſgrace to the illuſtrious Catholic body; in which ſentiment he was cheered by the reſt of his party? If all this be unknown to the letter-writer, he is, on theſe ſubjects at leaſt, the moſt ignorant man in the community: but if this has come to his knowledge, then he has deliberately recommended a meaſure which every man of honor and feeling in the country would deprecate. He has endeavoured to force into the preſence of the Prince, men whom a conſciouſneſs of guilt and unworthineſs ſhould have kept back. If they ſhould liſten to his advice, and preſume to appear before that Prince, whoſe filial feelings they have outraged, and whoſe honor they have invaded, they may indeed be graciouſly received; His Royal Highneſs has ſufficient magnanimity to deſpiſe the perſonal inſult, and to pardon thoſe who have offered it; but with what feelings will the country view ſuch a ſcene, and what will be their judgment of the man whoſe advice produced it?

After recommending the meaſure of an Addreſs to the Prince, the letter-writer proceeds to ſuggeſt the topics which ſhould be introduced into it, and the manner in which they ſhould be treated. He ſays, "If the Addreſs contain a reſpectful but *ſpirited* appeal to the Regent, it may induce him to re-conſider the conduct of the Catholics, ſince he has diſcharged the duties of the Executive; and he will ſee that they have done nothing to deprive them of the protection he was diſpoſed to ſhew them, when forming a new Adminiſtration to ſucceed Mr. Percival." Without ſtopping to notice the letter-writer's anxiety that the propoſed Addreſs may not be deficient in *ſpirit*, or to inquire where he obtained his information concerning His Royal Highneſs's diſpoſition towards the Roman Catholics at the time of Mr. Percival's death, we come at once to

his aſſertion, that the Roman Catholics have done nothing to deprive them of the Prince's protection, ſince he became Regent. What! is it nothing to write and circulate the publications from which we have given extracts? Is it nothing to hold up the Government of Great Britain, and the connection with that country, to the hatred of the people? Is it nothing to inſult a nation's feelings, by triumphing in the affliction of their venerated King, and by ſlandering the King's Son? Is it nothing to excite the country to inſurrection? Is it nothing to have actually revolted? All this may appear nothing to the letter-writer; but, God forbid that it ſhould appear nothing to the Prince or to the Parliament!

Further, the author of this letter recommends that if the ſubject of *ſecurities* be mentioned in the Addreſs, it ſhould be explained, "that the oppoſition which the Catholics have made to them, has not originated in any perverſe or prejudged view of the queſtion; or in any diſinclination to conciliate and ſatisfy adverſe opinions; but that it has been the reſult of an apprehenſion that theſe ſecurities were to be ſo framed, as to ſhake the Catholic religion, and to give the Crown an influence which would be inconſiſtent with the Conſtitutional rights and liberties of the ſubject. This explanation," he adds, "would place the queſtion on ſuch grounds as would remove much of the repugnance that prevails, at this time, even to give the main queſtion of Emancipation a calm and diſpaſſionate hearing." What is the meaning of all this? Surely our letter-writer cannot be ignorant of Mr. Grattan's bill, into which Mr. Canning introduced certain clauſes, where the ſecurities were diſtinctly ſtated, which, even in the judgment of the moſt decided advocates for Catholic Emancipation, were no more than reaſonable. If he be aware of the proviſions of this Bill, why does he inſinuate to the

Roman Catholics, that they are left to their own conjectures on the ſubject of ſecurities, and therefore might be apprehenſive of ſuch as would be inconſiſtent with their religion, and dangerous to their Conſtitutional rights and liberties? The letter-writer cannot be ignorant that the Roman Catholics are fully informed as to the preciſe nature of the ſecurities which their Parliamentary Advocates proffered on their behalf:—nor can he be ignorant, that on this very occaſion, they diſowned theſe Advocates, and expreſſed their abhorrence, not only of the propoſed ſecurities, but of all ſecurities whatever; and thus did the very thing which the letter-writer adviſes them to deny, viz. ſhewed "their diſinclination to conciliate or ſatisfy adverſe opinions."

The author of this letter next adviſes that the Addreſs to the Prince Regent ſhould be accompanied by Delegates, "to explain to Miniſters and to the leading Members of Parliament, the extent of what is deſired to be conceded, and the beſt method of forming a bill." How flattering muſt this propoſal be to the diſtinguiſhed characters for whoſe further illumination on the Catholic queſtion it makes ſo wiſe a proviſion! Surely it will be with infinite ſatisfaction that they ſhall form a junction with the Delegates from the Catholic Board; and with unſpeakable advantage ſhall they liſten to Mr. O'Connel, and Mr. Scully, and Mr. O'Gorman, and the other ſages and orators deputed to inſtruct them! What a happy expedient this, for producing harmony, and accelerating the final adjuſtment of the Catholic claims! The Catholic Aſſociation will frame the bill which is to emancipate the people of Ireland; the Catholic deputies will convey it to London; the miniſters of the Crown will have it carefully engroſſed; and the leading members of Parliament will preſent it to the Legiſlature, by whom it will be inſtantly enacted! This advice is ſo ob-

viouſly a maſter-piece of wiſdom, that it would be idle to make a ſingle remark on it.

The author of this letter concludes his advice to the Roman Catholics, by deprecating any further diſcuſſion among them on the ſubject of ſecurities; "becauſe" (ſays he) "ſuch diſcuſſion would inevitably counteract the good effect of the Addreſs to the Prince Regent." Here, at leaſt, we have truth, and truth of the utmoſt importance. Why would any further diſcuſſion on the queſtion of ſecurities produce ſuch an effect? Becauſe, as the letter-writer well knows, ſuch diſcuſſion would clearly prove, that any profeſſions of a conciliating nature, which might be uſed in the Addreſs to the Prince Regent were unmeaning and deluſive; and that unqualified Emancipation, in the fulleſt ſenſe of the word, is what the Roman Catholics of Ireland demand.

In fine; the Roman Catholics have appealed to the Pope, and, in that appeal, vilified their Proteſtant countrymen. They have, moreover, ſhewed their hoſtility to their King, by triumphing in his ſufferings, and by ſlandering his Son and Repreſentative. They have gone further; they have broken out into inſurrection. While the great body of the people have acted thus, their clergy have ſent forth and recommended a tranſlation of the Holy Scriptures, accompanied by a note, in which they repreſent themſelves as poſſeſſed of a Heaven-conferred right of dictating, without appeal, in matters of Religion, and of puniſhing with death thoſe who refuſe to ſubmit to their deciſions.

If, notwithſtanding all this, they be ſuffered to occupy the ſituation which they demand as their right, the motto of this publication, it is to be apprehended, will be applicable, not to them, but to us.

Quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

FINIS.