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THE  
SPEECHES  
OF  
SIR THOMAS OSBORNE, BART.  
AND  
PATRICK DUIGENAN, Esq.  
ON THE  
CATHOLIC BILL,  
IN THE  
IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,  
MAY 5, 1795.

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Houses of the Oireachtas



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S P E E C H E S

ON THE

CATHOLIC BILL.

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SIR THOMAS OSBORNE, BART.

ON the grounds of justice, and general expediency, the cause of the Catholics has been heretofore pleaded, with all that force of genius that, under the guidance of an inflexible love of truth, enables the Right Honourable Gentleman, who has introduced the bill, to exhaust the reasoning on every subject that he undertakes to elucidate. I therefore shall look at it in a new light, and consider it as a step that leads directly to that Parliamentary Reform which, at the opening of the last session, was suggested, and contended for, with a degree of *unfeigned zeal* that stands a pledge for perseverance, and on the full accomplishment of which depend absolutely the prosperity and security of these kingdoms. I consider it in that light, because it requires the ad-

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missibility



missibility into this assembly of a great number of men who are now excluded, amongst whom, it is evident, that there are those who, in temper and prudence, greatly excel that whole sect of philosophers who maintain the doctrines of ascendancy; and, I am persuaded, that our only way to guard against those dangers, to which we may be exposed, in consequence of that resentment that is excited in a race of men, to whom it does not appear Nature has denied the faculties of men, is to keep our eyes fixed on the strict principles of the constitution, and not to shut them against the light of reason.—And, Sir, I am sure, that it is neither unseasonable or irrelative for a member, on the present occasion, to deliver his sentiments on that subject, which appears to be the most important that can be conceived, when it is considered that the legislature and the government of an hostile and victorious country are composed of philosophers and patriots; at a time when we can see a door lying open by which adventurers and dependants may be admitted into our own, to exercise what has been, by the same illumined mind, indignantly termed the trade of Parliament.

Sir, for the few moments that I mean to speak, I shall indulge myself in a vision, and imagine that I am addressing a Committee of Public Welfare. And, although, as I have heard, with the deepest concern, a Member, whose understanding fits him to have formed a better judgment, unhappily mistake one of the best productions of the pen for an advertisement for insurrection—I too, perhaps

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may



may be thought guilty of speaking for it.—Still, I will say, that the errors of those misguided men, who mistake the republican principle, and the designs of those vicious men, who pervert and abuse it, are dangerous to the state, and ought to be guarded against. But that is not a reason why the republican principles should not be investigated and understood, as the foundation of our constitution, and only foundation of any human government that is just: and that, Sir, is a sentiment that is not, by any torture, to be represented as coming from one who wishes to pull down the Crown. And as a fast adherent to the Crown, I maintain the republican principles, that pillar on which the Crown rests. Sir, it is a celebrated speech of a famous Statesman, that he would cling to the Crown. I applaud the sentiment; but I think it had been better expressed, had he said, that he would cling to the Republican principle; for when that actuates men who are disposed to have an individual limited ruler, and to put a crown on his head, it, and it alone, has power to maintain that Crown against all who would shake it. What has been the fate of the Crown of France, that the world thought impregnable? Not having been grafted on a Republican stock, it has perished. Sir, it is common with many of those who are justly the admirers of our Constitution to say, that there is a certain principle in it that must, of itself, conduct men back to the right way when they have strayed to a certain distance. This is a most dangerous maxim,

for



for it tends to make men supine, and certainly is no more than the doctrine of those who are but lazy philosophers. The truth is, that the wisdom of our ancestors could go no farther than to form a Constitution on such a construction, that if, at any time, the monarchical and aristocratical branches should invade, to a certain degree, the democratical, it must resolve itself into a form of Government purely Republican. I, Sir, am averse to that change; and therefore I maintain the Republican principle, that pillar on which the Crown rests: seeing, that if we suffer it to be undermined by those vermin that are engendered in the filth of spurious Aristocracy, the Crown must tumble at last. Sir, it is monstrous to hear how gangs of men, who are knaves, wilfully confound the salutary rejection of a Republican form of Government with that of the Republican principle; and it is equally lamentable to observe, how others, who are dunces, are totally incapable of drawing the distinction. It is nonsense to say that the Republican principle confounds the necessary and the natural distinctions amongst men: for though it does assert, that all men are equal, as to their rights, it is as strenuous in affirming, that in their qualifications to move in society, with benefit to society, they are not equal, and never have been so. As long as they continue to be what they are, and ever have been, you must have the *profanum vulgus*, and in that *profanum vulgus* will ever be found men of all sizes, of mere wealth, the richest often the



the most contemptible. But the Republican principle is not only the supporter but the arbiter of distinctions. Why is Majesty in our Constitution emphatically and truly styled the fountain of honour? Because it issues from that rock the Republican principle. And when that adverts to the Nobility, with which it not only is perfectly consistent, but of which it is the very author, it means the flower of citizens. In our Constitution Nobility signifies the blossom on the tree of Liberty, the Crown is the fruit, and authority, so produced, is certainly wholesome; but it is not possible more strongly to prove the spurious and the noxious quality of those weeds, that have sprung out of the dunghill of parliamentary corruption, than by any interference in the smallest degree, with the democratical branch—I mean with the formation of it, not with the due controul of it in the proper place—had a strict adherence to original principles, exclusively confined the aristocracy to that dignity and high spirit of independence which the wisdom of past ages well knew were alone competent to the exercise of such a function.

These sentiments must impel any man, who feels them, to support every measure that tends to the re-establishment of the Constitution; and, as I consider the cause of the Catholics to be most evidently and deeply blended with that of reform, I shall conclude, with once more repeating the zeal with which I am animated in prosecution of their interest, adding this single observation—  
that



that the peculiar circumstances of this kingdom call on us, with the loudest voice, not only to join the most zealous co-operation to the efforts of those men in England, who are pursuing reform with sagacity and spirit, but is also to take a lead on that subject.—For what is the reason that that horde of our landed proprietors take up the pernicious and despicable abode that they do, in England, followed by a train of mischiefs that are innumerable? It is because the vanity of empty men, not capable of discerning how real estimation is to be earned, is captivated by the sound of England's being called the seat of Empire; that is, it is where the King's Court is held, that is full of corruption. Let that corruption be abolished, and those flimsy emigrants must return home, to avoid the contempt that ever must attend idle, insignificant, and wandering strangers, in any nation where men are brought back to the exercise of the judgment of men; and I rely on it, that the most effectual restraint on the absentees of Ireland, would be a curb on the corruptions of the British Court. I now, Sir, have endeavoured to do my duty, by speaking my sentiments with freedom, at a time when men of all nations are summoned to circulate, with zeal, the effusions of truth, and to feel a rivalry in doing so; and I say, that, although as the subject of a limited Monarch, I am not able to perceive any thing in the sound of the word Republic, that ought to make men wince; I still am as deeply impressed as any man with a sense of the truth  
of



of that doctrine, that tells me, that we are to bow low to Majesty, as that point to which the power of the people is drawn for the public good, by popular consent; and also to revere the genuine Nobleman, whose virtues and capacity mark his resemblance to illustrious progenitors, and afford to his country the prospect of succession. For, Sir, though I am far from thinking that that is the wisest part of our Constitution, that fixes an hereditary right of legislation in any families, still, as long as we have Peers of high blood, who shew that blood, it may be prudent not to decry it.

And, before I sit down, I must animadvert on a certain cant expression, that is a favourite with many, and by them applied in crimination to those who are able to estimate the value of liberty; applied sometimes in a pert, and sometimes a presumptuous tone; the phrase is, Gallicism of sentiment. Sir, for aught I know, the ruling sentiment in France may be, that men ought to encounter all dangers and difficulties, rather than submit to arbitrary rule. Sir, our Constitution is formed on the purest principles of liberty, and if men, who see that deviations have been made, and who fear that every departure is making way for the secret and gradual approaches of arbitrary rule, if they are zealous in pursuit of Reform, they certainly are actuated by that sentiment that may be a Gallic one; for though Gallia may have adopted it, that is not a reason why we should resign it.

And



And as there may be men who may have taken the alarm at that intelligence that has been lately conveyed to us through the debates of the British Parliament—intelligence that it was not possible to have collected in this kingdom, that Ireland is in a state of Irritation: to them I must observe, that the people of Ireland are in that state in which it becomes men to be:—In the state of fairly discussing what is truth and justice, and consequently what leads to their own happiness and prosperity, and that, Sir, is not irritation. And if those Members of the British Parliament continue to abandon the business of their own country, that they are sent to manage, in order that they may take up the concerns of another nation, that they do not understand, and with which they have nothing to do, they will certainly justify that French farcaim that has already pronounced some of them to be no more than mountebank orators.

Dr. DUIGENAN—stated the Catholic petitions. They all prayed, “That all penal and restrictive laws, now affecting the Catholics of Ireland, might be repealed, in consideration of their loyalty to their Sovereign, their respect to the Legislature, and dutiful and obedient submission to the Laws.”

The Petition from Cavan, signed by a Romish Priest, who, in his signature, styles himself “R. C. Bishop of Kilmore.”



The Petition from Roscommon, signed by a Romish Priest, in his signature styling himself "Roman Catholic Bishop of Elphin."

The Petition from Galway, signed by four Romish Priests, in their signatures styling themselves respectively, "Titular Archbishop of Tuam," "Bishop of Elphin," "Bishop of Kilmacduagh," and "Bishop of Clonfert."

The Petition from Drogheda, by a Romish Priest, in his signature styling himself, by initial letters only, "Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland."

The Petition from Newry, by a Romish Priest, styling himself "R. C. Bishop of the Diocese of Dromore."

The Petition from Limerick, by a Romish Priest, styling himself "R. C. Bishop of Limerick."

The Petition from Longford, by a Romish Priest, styling himself "R. C. Bishop of Ardagh."

The Petition from Tipperary, by a Romish Priest, styling himself in his signature, "Right Rev. Dr. M'Mahon, Bishop of Killaloe."

Dr. Troy, Titular Archbishop of Dublin, in a pamphlet, intitled "Pastoral Instructions, addressed to the Roman Catholics of the Arch Diocese of Dublin, published in 1793, page 85, states, that the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland act as Ordinaries in their several Dioceses, and are appointed by, and act under, the Pope's Bulls.

The Romish Priests above-mentioned, signing themselves Roman Catholic Bishops, and all the



laity who signed these Petitions with them have, by such signatures, openly avowed their contempt of, and disobedience to, the Laws and the Legislature, even at the very time they appear as Petitioners to the House for a repeal of these laws, and contradict, in the most audacious manner, the very substance of their Petitions. They did not act so from ignorance of the laws, for they signed Petitions to Parliament in 1793, in the same manner; but their friends advised them to withdraw such Petitions, and present new Petitions signed in a different manner, with which advice they then complied. And these Romish Bishops, particularly he of Elphin, openly exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction, dissolving marriages by sentences, and executing judicial instruments under episcopal seals, and signing such instruments as Bishops.

The laws thus violated, are the following:—  
 Act of 16th of Richard II. called the statute of provisos, punishment, *præmunire*. Act of the 2d Elizabeth, ch. 1. sect. 12. punishment for the first offence, forfeiture of goods, and a year's imprisonment; punishment of a second offence, *præmunire*; of a third offence, that of High Treason.

Act of the 9th William III. chap. 1. sect. 1. punishment perpetual exile; returning to the kingdom punished as Traitors.

Act of the 21st and 22d of George III. chap. 26. sect. 6. punishment the same with those recited.



The other consideration in their petition, on the score of which they pray a repeal of all penal and restrictive laws, affecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland, is their loyalty to their Sovereign. This is to be examined.

Omitting former instances of the disloyalty of Roman Catholics, I come to their present proceedings.—The Roman Catholics of the City of Dublin met the 23d of December last, appointed a Committee of Nine Persons, who drew up the petition of the Catholics of the City of Dublin, now before the House, which was approved by the whole Assembly: they at the same time agreed to request all the Roman Catholics of the nation to prepare similar petitions, and present them to the House. This request was immediately complied with by the Roman Catholics, in every county, city, and borough, throughout the kingdom.

Some of the Catholic Nobility and Gentry of ancient families throughout the kingdom, (the whole of which body are so few in number, that such of them as have any considerable property, do not amount to forty throughout the nation) had disapproved of many proceedings of the Roman Catholics of Dublin heretofore, and had withdrawn from their Assemblies, and Earl Fitzwilliam states in a letter written by him to Lord Carlisle, and published as a pamphlet; that he, entertaining some doubt whether the petitioning Roman Catholics of Dublin, and their Committee of Nine, spoke the sense of the Roman



Catholics of the kingdom at large, sent for some of the Chiefs of the Catholic Nobility and Gentry, whom he styles *Seceders*, and asked them, whether they agreed in sentiment with the Roman Catholic Assembly of Dublin, and their Committee of Nine? and that they assured him, they were in perfect union with the Assembly of Dublin and their Committee of Nine, and that such Assembly and Committee were duly authorized to speak the sense of all the Roman Catholics of the kingdom; and that they were willing that Mr. Edward Byrne, the Chairman of that Assembly and Committee, should take the lead in all business respecting the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Hence, it is plain, that the Roman Catholic Assembly of Dublin, and its Committee of Nine, do declare the sense and opinions of all the Catholics of Ireland. This Assembly met at a Romish Chapel in Francis-street, in the city of Dublin, on the 9th of April last, and at this Assembly several most traiterous and seditious speeches were publicly pronounced, four of them, by four members of the Committee of Nine; and a fifth, by a Nephew of one of the Committee, who happened to be then sick; in which they most traiterously endeavoured to incite and encourage all Irish soldiers and sailors in his Majesty's armies and fleets, to desert their colours: openly declared, that the war we are engaged in against the French, was, on our part, and the part of our Allies, an *impious Crusade* against liberty: expressed their

joy



joy at all disasters that befell our armies and fleets, and the highest exultation that the armies of the Confederated Despots (as they styled his Majesty and his Allies) were flying before the soldiers of liberty; asserted, that, all victories obtained by his Majesty's armies and the fleets were public calamities to Ireland, and that Irishmen ought to weep for them; that Ireland was ruined by her connection with Great Britain; that they would hereafter never make any application to a British Ministry, nor have any connection with them; that they would support a *radical Reform* in the House of Commons; and, that this nation could never be happy, 'till its Government was changed into a Republic, independent of Great Britain! At the same time, magnifying their own power and riches in the most vaunting and seducing manner to the multitude; these speeches they published in all the Popish Newspapers, that is, in the Newspapers published in Dublin, the patronage of all which they have purchased, two excepted. The Assembly then entered into certain Resolutions, which they have also published, in one of which they *respectfully thank Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. their Agent, for his important services to the Catholic Body, which no Gratitude can over-rate, and no Remuneration can over-pay.* In another, they resolve, that the Right Hon. Henry Grattan be requested to introduce the Catholic Bill immediately into Parliament:—and, in another, they resolve, to raise money by a speedy and liberal subscription throughout the kingdom, under pretence of defraying the expences of their present



present application to Parliament, but in reality to support internal insurrections and rebellion.—[Here the Doctor read several Extracts from the Speeches and Resolutions at Francis-street Chapel on the 9th of April last.]—He then stated to the House who Mr. Tone is, on whom the Catholic Assembly bestow such lavish praises : Stated the tryal and conviction of the Rev. Mr. Jackson, a French Spy and Agent, for High Treason. On this tryal it appeared that *Tone* was to be appointed an Agent by certain conspirators and traitors in this kingdom, (one of which is Nephew to one of the Committee of Nine) to go to the French Convention, and to solicit an invasion of this kingdom by the French ; That he had drawn up a state of Ireland to be laid before the French Convention, and that he attended at several meetings of the conspirators, at one of which he read the aforesaid paper to the conspirators. —This paper stated, that the people of Ireland were divided into three classes.—1st, *Protestants* of the established Church, the fewest in number, but who had almost the whole landed property of the nation, and were in possession of the whole patronage of the country, ecclesiastical and civil ; that these were all Aristocrats, adverse to any Revolution, and attached to England. 2d Class, *Dissenters*, all Republicans and enthusiastic admirers of the French Revolution. 3d, *Catholics*, the bulk of the people, almost the whole peasantry of the country, in the lowest degree of misery and ignorance, ready for any change, because no change can make them worse : that the name of England and her power



power was universally odious to this third class, they are enemies to England from their hatred to the English name: they are in a semi-barbarous state, of all others the best adapted for making war. That there is no doubt but an invasion, with a sufficient force, would be supported by the Catholics, *from their hatred of the English name*, resulting from the tyranny of near seven centuries. This paper further strongly enforces an invasion of Ireland, rather than of Great Britain by the French. The trial and conviction of Jackson was on the 23d of April last, it appeared that *Tone* was one of the conspirators, and drew up this paper in April 1794, a year before the trial; and it appears from the resolutions of the Roman Catholic Assembly, on the 9th of April last, about a fortnight before the trial, that *Tone*, who is by profession a barrister, is, and has been, for some years past, the confidential agent of the Catholics of Ireland, and must be supposed well to know the sentiments of that body in political matters; he is also the author of a pamphlet called the Northern Whig, published about three years ago, proposing and recommending a coalition between the Protestant Dissenters and the Catholics, for the purpose of pulling down the present establishment in Church and State, and forming a Republican Government in this kingdom, separated from, and independent of, Great Britain. All these circumstances, connected with the publication of the traitorous and seditious proceedings of the Roman Catholic Assembly at Francis-street Chapel of the 9th of April



April last, the avowed organ and representative of the whole Catholics of Ireland, plainly shew, that the general body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, have no pretensions to Loyalty, and that their petition in that respect, is an acknowledged falsehood. So much for their pretended loyalty, respect for the Legislature, and dutiful and obedient submission to the laws of the Irish Roman Catholics. Some Roman Catholics of ancient families, and who have preserved parts of their estates amidst the former bloody convulsions of this country, are well known to be of different political sentiments from the bulk of the Irish Roman Catholics as above stated : to be men of honour, and as faithful subjects of his Majesty as the tenets of their religion will suffer them to be to a Protestant Prince ; but as before stated, the number of that class is inconsiderable, any bill framed for the political aggrandizement of a body of people, entertaining such detestable and traiterous political sentiments as already stated, ought to be rejected with the utmost contempt by this House.

It is proper to inquire, whether Roman Catholics from the avowed principles of their religion, are entitled to be put on an equality with Protestants, in a Protestant State, in respect to political power, the avowed principle and purpose of the present Bill ?—Roman Catholics absolutely deny the Supremacy of the King and State in all ecclesiastical concerns, and obstinately refuse to take the oath substituted for the oath of supremacy, (prescribed to be taken by the Irish act of the

second



second of Elizabeth) by the English act of the third and fourth of William and Mary; "That  
 " no foreign Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate,  
 " hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power,  
 " superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, eccle-  
 " siastical or spiritual, within this realm." At  
 the time this act of William and Mary passed in  
 England, it was the received law of Ireland,  
 that Ireland was bound by the acts passed in the  
 British Parliament, when Ireland was particularly  
 named in them; and this oath was accordingly  
 taken in Ireland, by virtue of that English statute,  
 by all persons who were thereby enjoined to take  
 it, and particularly by all the Members of the  
 Irish Parliament, which met in Ireland, in the  
 fourth year of William and Mary, as appears by  
 the Journals of the House of Commons. When  
 Great Britain, in the year 1782, relinquished her  
 ancient right of binding Ireland by British statutes,  
 this oath was prescribed to be taken in Ireland,  
 by the same persons who were obliged to take it  
 before that time under the British act, by the  
 Irish act of the 21st and 22d of his present Ma-  
 jesty, usually called Yelverton's act.—It has been  
 often asserted, both in this House and out of it,  
 that the Irish Constitution owes its very birth  
 and origin to the famous year 1782: yet, if this  
 Bill passes, that oath, in respect to Roman Catho-  
 lics, is to be abolished, and that boasted Consti-  
 tution of 1782, is to receive a mortal wound.—  
 Roman Catholics not only refuse to take the afore-  
 said oath, but roundly assert, that the Pope, a  
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Foreign Prince and Prelate, is entitled to exercise supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this realm; that he is guardian, and sole expounder of the Canons, and all ecclesiastical laws; that he, *proprio jure*, may make or dispense with all laws of this kingdom relating to ecclesiastical matters; that *appeals* from all Ecclesiastical Courts in this kingdom, lie to his supreme Tribunal; that he is Christ's Vicar on Earth; the supreme visible head of the Church on Earth. (See Dr. Troy's Pastoral Instructions, pages 97, 98; and the Catechism of Dr. Butler, late Titular Archbishop of Cashell, lately published, page 24.)—Roman Catholics profess themselves ready to swear, that the Pope has not any *temporal* jurisdiction within this realm, either directly or indirectly; but such oath cannot be kept by any Roman Catholic, who holds the above doctrine of the Supremacy of the Pope in Spirituals, because a great degree of temporal power and jurisdiction in a State, is annexed and inseparably united to the Supreme jurisdiction in spirituals, and interwoven with it; for instance, the validity of marriage is a matter of pure spiritual cognizance, and must be pronounced on by Ecclesiastical Courts, from which all Roman Catholics believe, that an appeal lies to the Pope; on the validity of marriage depend the temporal rights of inheritance, of dower, of alimony, of separation, of divorce, of liability to a wife's debts, of administration of intestate's effects: nay, even the very right of succession to the crown may depend on it. Excommunication is a spiritual censure, yet it involves



volves many temporal rights; and a thousand other instances of indissoluble connection of temporal power and jurisdiction to the supreme ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, might be given; a subject, therefore, who denies to the State the supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, denies nearly one-half of the legislative and executive authority of the State.

The Doctor referred to the authority of Sir John Davis, in his speech on the oath of supremacy, delivered in the Council Chamber, in Ireland, in the reign of King James the First; that great lawyer states, "That as all the causes that  
"rise within this kingdom, be either ecclesiastical  
"or civil, the King must have power and jurisdiction to decide and determine, as well the one as the  
"other, or else he shall be but half a King within  
"his own kingdom, as having jurisdiction but in half  
"the causes, so as his people must be fain to appeal  
"to some foreign power, to beg judgment and  
"right in those causes."—See Curtis's History of the Duke of Ormond, vol. I. p. 39.—What is the notorious effect of such doctrine? The subjecting of this kingdom, in respect of one-half of its legislative and executive power, to a foreign Prince; which is a crime, according to Locke, if committed by the Sovereign or Legislative Power, to be punished by deposition. Locke's words are, "The delivery of the people into the  
"subjection of a foreign power, either by the  
"prince or the legislature, is certainly a change  
"of the legislative, and so a dissolution of the government; for the end why people entered into  
"society, being to be preserved one, entire, free,  
"inde-



“ independant society, to be governed by its own laws ; this is lost whenever they are given up into the power of another.”—See Locke on Government, chap. 19. sec. 217.—Roman Catholics holding such doctrine cannot be made, with any degree of prudence, Legislators, Chancellors, and Judges, as this bill purposes to make them. The Irish Roman Catholics are more attached to this foreign jurisdiction than the English Roman Catholics. In the reign of Henry II. (for the Constitutions of Clarendon,) the subject of contention between Henry and Becket, forbid the exercise of the Papal jurisdiction in England, yet they were enacted by the Parliament of England, then all Catholics. This wise Prince would not have contested this point with so much zeal, if the power claimed by the Pope in spirituals, did not trench on his temporal power.—It has been attempted to turn the argument of the danger of the Pope’s supremacy in spirituals into ridicule, by a Right Honourable Baronet, a first-rate wit in this House, by his asking, does any man in his senses now dread the power of the Pope, a poor party Sovereign, who owes his safety to the protection of a regiment of English dragoons ? To this it may be answered with great truth, that it is perfectly immaterial in what person—whether a Prince or a beggar—the Roman Catholics suppose the supremacy to be lodged, as they assert that it is not lodged in the state : because the danger to be apprehended from so pernicious a tenet, arises from the numbers and power



of the persons in the nation who hold it, and not from the power of the persons they suppose to be invested with it. As the danger to the State, when there was a Pretender to the Crown, arose, not from the power of the Pretender, a poor banished Prince, without territory or revenue, but from the number and power of his adherents in this country, the Right Honourable Baronet pilfered this joke from the famous Romish agent in England, who has published his own Jesuitical letter to the Baronet, in which this piece of wit will be found by any person who will give himself the trouble of reading it.—No sect of people, denying the supremacy of the state in one-half of its legislative and executive authority, can, with any propriety, be put on a level of political power, with those who admit, in the fullest manner, the supremacy of the state, as well in ecclesiastical matters as in temporal.—A second avowed principle of Roman Catholics, which prevents a full communication of political power in the State with them, and will be an eternal cause of separation between them and Protestants, is that uncharitable tenet of exclusive salvation. The Romish Church holds Christians, who differ from the Church of Rome in religious opinions, cannot obtain salvation in the next world—see Butler's Catechism, p. 22, 23, 24, and Troy's Pastoral Instructions, from p. 60 to p. 69.—This uncharitable opinion tends strongly to render Roman Catholics irreconcilable enemies to Protestants; how can real amity subsist between them, when the



the Roman Catholic believes his Protestant neighbour to be a living tabernacle for the devil, and that his spirit, immediately on its separation from the body, descends to hell, and is doomed to eternal misery ? Some Roman Catholics revolt from this dreadful doctrine, because their natural good sense and benevolence overcome their religious prejudices ; but the bulk of them hold the tenet, and it is carefully inculcated by their Clergy. 'Tis a cruel and unchristian doctrine, and calculated for eternal discord and separation. Dr. Troy endeavours to justify it, by asserting that the Protestant Church also holds the tenet of exclusive salvation ; his reasoning and arguments on this point, are sophistical ; from his own arguments and quotations it is plain, that the Protestant Church, as the truth is, allows, that all Christians, of whatever sect or persuasion, may be saved ; but the Romish Church excludes all Christians, those of their own communion excepted, from salvation. Dr. Troy takes great pains to prove that Roman Catholics do not, and ought not to abjure the infallibility of the Pope ; the oath they take in that respect is, " That it is not an article of the Catholic faith, " neither am I thereby required to believe or " profess, that the Pope is infallible." He observes, that all they swear is, that the Pope's infallibility is not an article of faith, but that they are left at liberty to believe it if they think fit ; and he praises the English Roman Catholics for rejecting the form of an oath, a few years ago, which precisely stated, that they did not believe the Pope to be infallible ; and then he states, that the decrees of the Pope,



Pope, *Ex Cathedrâ*, are completely decisive and infallible, when acquiesced in by the majority of Bishops; that is, that they are now completely decisive and infallible, because the acquiescence or dissent of the majority of Bishops cannot now be ever collected, as it is next to impossible, that any general Council will ever be again assembled in Christendom, in which alone the acquiescence or dissent of the majority of Bishops could be collected.—(See Troy's Pastoral Instructions, p. 73, 74, 75.) Here then is the infallibility of the Pope, avowed to be a principle of the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding the shuffling oath they take in that respect. This is a dangerous doctrine, and ought to exclude the maintainers of it, from an equality of political power with Protestants in a Protestant state. What influence can the obligation of an oath have with persons, who believe this infallibility? for, if the Pope shall pronounce and decree, *Ex Cathedrâ*, or officially as Pope, that the oath is unlawful in itself, and does not bind, the swearer believing in his infallibility, must also believe, that he is loosed from the obligation of his oath, and that he does not stand in need of any dispensation whatsoever for that purpose. See a notable instance of this method of freeing Roman Catholics, from the obligation of oaths, in the Bishop of Cloyne's present state of the Church of Ireland, page 21, where he states the letter of Cardinal Ghilini, the Pope's Nuncio at Brussels, the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, so late as the year 1768. It is stated, by  
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the favourers of this Bill, that the Protestants as well as the Roman Catholics of Ireland, are anxious that it should pass into a law; that the city of Dublin has petitioned the Crown in favour of it, and that several assemblies, in different counties in the kingdom, composed of Protestants and Roman Catholics, have also petitioned the King and this House in favour of it. Nothing can be more unfounded than the assertion, that the protestants of Ireland, of the church established, are favourers of this bill. The protestant corporation of the city of Dublin, petitioned the king against the principle of it, and prayed his protection for the protestant establishment in Ireland. A few sectaries in the city of Dublin, improperly enough stiled protestants, met and agreed on petitions to the crown in favour of the bill; at one of those meetings, at which thirteen attended, who stiled themselves the merchants of the city of Dublin, Mr. Abraham Wilkinson, an anabaptist, presided, and was supported by Mr. Joshua Pim, a Quaker, and Mr. James Hartley, a Dissenter; these three gentlemen are certainly men of respectable characters in the mercantile line, and have made fortunes with unblemished reputations; but it must not be conceded, that they, and the few persons of their own republican faction that assembled with them, spoke the sense of the protestant merchants of the city of Dublin. Another assembly, called an Aggregate Meeting, was convened in Dublin; these Aggregate Meetings are a late invention of the Republican faction in this kingdom:



dom : a few bell weathers of that flock meet together, and if one of their faction happens to be a Sheriff or a Magistrate, as is sometimes the case, they draw up what they style a requisition to him, to assemble forthwith the whole gang by public advertisement. As this faction is in general composed of the meanest, the poorest, and most desperate of the community, all levellers, no person ventures into an Assembly thus convened, who has any regard for his purse or his throat. When such an Assembly meets, one of the Captains of the gang pulls a string of seditious resolutions or a factious petition out of his pocket, reads them to his confederates; they are instantly adopted, signed by the Captain, and published with great industry throughout the kingdom by the factious newspapers. Mr. Alderman Howison, a Dissenter, lately called an Aggregate Meeting in this city; a Petition was there produced, read, and adopted by the Assembly, purporting to be a Petition to his Majesty in favour of the Roman Catholic claims, and the Assembly then came to a resolution of deputing Mr. Alderman Howison and another gentleman, a Dissenter, as their Ambassadors to present this Petition to his Majesty; the Assembly consisted of ninety persons, and the Petition was afterwards sent about the town to all Republicans to sign it, by which means they procured about 500 signatures to it, and the Ambassadors carried it to London, and presented it to his Majesty at Levee. To give some idea of the Republican principles of this Assembly and

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the rank of its component parts, the principal orator, as he was a man of the name of Willis, by trade a maker of leather breeches: this man, at a Sheriff's entertainment about a year ago, given by Mr. Sheriff Giffard, refused to drink the King's health, at which the company was so enraged, that they filled a large glass with the drainings of the bottles, compelled the breeches-maker to drink it off to the King's health on his knees, and then turned him out of the room. Mr. Howison, a few years ago, was, by the intrigues of a Republican faction, at that time headed by Mr. James Napper Tandy, elected Lord Mayor of the city of Dublin, in prejudice to a most respectable Alderman, Mr. James, whose turn it then was to fill that office, and which he has since filled greatly to the honour of the city and his own credit. [Alderman James, is brother-in-law to Alderman Howison]. One Cooney, the Editor of a factious newspaper, styled the Morning Post, (who is now suffering imprisonment in Newgate, being convicted of publishing several false, malicious, and seditious libels), was, previous to the Mayoralty of Alderman Howison, convicted of publishing a most scurrilous and malicious libel against our Queen, the pattern of all that is good and great, the best of wives, the best of mothers, and the ornament of her Court and Kingdom; for this offence Cooney was sentenced to be imprisoned, and pillored at the expiration of the term of his imprisonment; he suffered the punishment, and Lord Mayor Howison having

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an official dinner at the Mansion house in a day or two after Cooney was liberated from his imprisonment and the pillory, invited Cooney to this dinner, and he was placed at this entertainment next the first Nobility of the kingdom, though he had publicly stood in the pillory a few days before in College-green. It cannot be admitted that this Bear-garden of Republican Dissenters spoke the sense of the Protestants of Dublin. In the county of Cork fourteen persons assembled, six only of them freeholders of that county, and entered into resolutions favourable to the Catholic claims, and to this bill, and styling themselves the Freeholders of the county of Cork, sent up their resolutions to Lord Kingsborough, one of the Representatives of the county in Parliament, as instructions to him how to vote on the bill. His answer to these persons is remarkable for its spirit and propriety; he has spoken against the bill, and has declared that he will vote against it, notwithstanding these pretended instructions of Freeholders. The same political legerdemain has been played by the Republican faction, in several other counties.

The numbers and power of the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom, have been exaggerated by the Patrons of this Bill, not only beyond reality, but probability; and such exaggerated accounts have been carried over to the English Ministry, and have had considerable effect. As to numbers, the Roman Catholics of Ireland do not exceed the Protestants in a greater proportion, than that



of two and a half to one; such was the proportion by a very accurate account of the number of the inhabitants of this kingdom, made in the year 1732; the whole inhabitants of this kingdom then amounted to something less than Two Millions. The number of inhabitants has certainly since increased, but it is highly improbable that they amount now to Four Millions, that is, that the population of this country has been more than double in sixty years. The accuracy of the modern calculators of population is much to be suspected: Mr. Chalmers, in a late tract, has proved to demonstration, that the calculation of Doctor Price, as to population in England, is grossly erroneous; the surface of Great Britain is to that of Ireland, in the proportion of three and a half to one; if then Ireland contains Four Millions of inhabitants, as modern calculators assert, Great Britain, which to a traveller appears to be much better peopled, must contain upwards of Fourteen Millions, which is much more than the inhabitants of Britain are usually calculated at. But supposing Ireland now to contain Four Millions of inhabitants, it is certain that the proportion above-mentioned of Catholics to Protestants in 1732, must be rather diminished from many causes in this year (1795) in favour of Protestants; and that as the strength of the Dissenting interest in Ireland, is confined to four Counties only, in which four Counties the Protestants of the Established Church are at least as numerous as the Dissenters, it follows, that the great body of the

Protestants



Protestants of Ireland, are Protestants of the Established Church : it is also equally certain, that much the greater number of the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland are good and faithful subjects of his Majesty, and well attached to the Constitution ; and that the Republicans amongst them are not so numerous as generally imagined, but that their turbulence makes them appear to be more numerous than they are in reality. As to the power of the Roman Catholics in the State, that must be estimated not so much from their numbers, as from their landed estates and personal property. The landed estates in the hands of Protestants in Ireland are to those in the hands of Roman Catholics, in the proportion of fifty to one ; and, the Catholic Agent, Mr. Tone, may be believed, when he states that the Peasantry are mostly Catholics, and the poorest and most wretched in Europe : what personal property there is lodged in the hands of the Roman Catholics, is confined to merchants and traders of that profession in cities and towns ; and they certainly are not possessed of the twentieth part of the personal property of the nation. To convince Gentlemen of this truth, let it be remembered, that a few years ago, a National Bank was established in this kingdom, a sum of 600,000*l.* was the capital : the Roman Catholics of Ireland, (though very ambitious of becoming Directors of this Bank,) were only able to subscribe Sixty Thousand Pounds of the capital among them all : the rest was subscribed by Protestants ! Away then with these fallacious boastings of the wealth and

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power of Irish Roman Catholics! 'Tis one of the arts practised by the Patrons of this Bill in this House, to endeavour to intimidate Protestants by prophecies and forebodings of dreadful wars, tumults, and massacres, which they are constantly trumpeting forth, as the certain consequences of the rejection of this Bill: When I see a Gentleman, equal as an actor to Garrick, Barry, or Sheridan, get up in this House, with all the well-diffembled marks of horror and dismay in his countenance, his hair standing at end, and hear him conjuring up the hideous sprites of battle, murder, and sudden death, as consequences of rejection, in solemn tones, from the lowest key of his voice, as if he was enclose in a hog'shead and speaking through the bung-hole—though I admire his ability in acting, yet, as I am no way dismayed by the unsubstantial goblins, my great respect for this House alone restrains me, from singing to him the Nurses song,

“ Get away Raw-head and Bloody bones!  
Here is a Child does not fear you.”

It has been argued, that the Parliament of this Kingdom has already conferred on Roman Catholics the Elective Franchise; that acquisition of the Representative Franchise, is the certain consequence of the possession of the Elective; and that therefore it is absurd to reject the Bill, and refuse now the Representative Franchise to the Roman Catholics, which they will certainly soon acquire. How does it appear, that the acquisition of the Representative Franchise is the certain consequence



consequence of the acquisition of the Elective? —Experience proves the contrary. No man can possess the Representative Franchise in England, who has not a clear unincumbered estate of 300l. per annum, which entitles him to sit in Parliament as Member for a Borough; or, 600l. per annum, which entitles him to sit in Parliament for a County; yet, the great majority of those persons in England, who enjoy the Elective Franchise, are excluded from the Representative Franchise, because they have not estates of 300l. per annum, nor of 600l. per annum. The enjoyment of the Representative Franchise, by Roman Catholics in Ireland, would subvert the Constitution; and if it were true, that the enjoyment of the Representative Franchise is a certain consequence of the enjoyment of the Elective, the argument of the patrons of this bill would only prove, that we ought instantly to deprive the Roman Catholics of the Elective Franchise for the preservation of the Constitution in Church and State. This bill, if passed into a law, would not content the Roman Catholics, for they pray the repeal of all restrictive and penal laws, affecting them particularly; which this bill, if passed into a law, would not effect; though it is fully competent to the subversion of the Constitution. The Roman Catholics have been called upon by the Republican faction to make their present demands; that restless faction saw they were too weak to carry on their design of establishing in this kingdom a democratic Republic on the French scheme, without the assistance of the bulk of



of the people; they have therefore called into their aid the Roman Catholics, by offering to them the subversion of the Constitution in Church and State, founded in the 2d year of Queen Elizabeth, revived and strengthened by new barriers at the Restoration, improved, and renovated, and again established at the Revolution, again strengthened and fortified in the year 1782, the glorious æra, as the patrons of the Bill say, of the enfranchisement of Ireland. The Roman Catholics have attentively listened to the call, and zealously embraced the offer; they are now completely Republicans and Democrats; see all their late publications: the Stewart race, to which they were attached as Monarchs, are extinct, and they mortally hate an English Government, and the House of Brunswick. If you capacitate Roman Catholics to enjoy all the great offices of the State, and to sit in Parliament, by passing this bill, what is called by the Republican faction a Reform in Parliament, must be the immediate consequence, because, as the representation of all Counties, potwalloping Boroughs, Cities, and Towns, where the election is popular, will be open to Catholic ambition, Catholics will become natural enemies to all close Boroughs, from which they will be in general excluded; they will therefore more strongly unite themselves with the Republican party, and insist on the destruction of these boroughs, and the division of the kingdom into departments like France: if you confess, by passing the present bill, that you cannot and dare not resist their present demands, how will you be able to



to resist their demand of a reform, when their strength and influence will be encreased ten-fold, and when their interest will draw still closer the bands of confederacy between them and the Republicans? All aristocratic influence will be then banished from this House, it will become a mere democratic assembly, and the more Catholic the more Democratic. Then adieu to all establishment; Church and State will vanish before them, an immediate attempt to turn this Monarchical Government into a Republic, under the protection of France, and severed from the British empire, will be the consequence. This nation will become a field of battle for the British and the French, as Sicily formerly for the Romans and the Carthaginians; misery and desolation will overwhelm the country like a deluge, and sweep away Protestant and Roman Catholic in one common ruin: Britain, as heretofore, must, from the geographical situation of the country, be victorious, and experience will teach her the necessity of uniting this country for ever to the British empire, which she, fatally for her own and our happiness, neglected to do at the Revolution, when she had it in her power. If this bill should pass this House and the Peers, it is impossible that the King could give the Royal assent to it. Part of the King's Coronation oath, settled at the Revolution, is as follows ' I will, to the utmost of my power, " maintain the Protestant Religion as by law established, and preserve to the Bishops and Clergy, " and to the Churches committed to their care, " all such rights and privileges, as by law do, or " shall,



“ shall, appertain to them or any of them.” This  
 oath has considerable additions made to it by the  
 Act of Union between England and Scotland in  
 the reign of Queen Anne. That Act enacts as  
 follows, “ that all acts then in force for the esta-  
 “ blishment and preservation of the Church of  
 “ England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline,  
 “ and government thereof, shall be in force for  
 “ ever. That every King or Queen, at his or her  
 “ Coronation, shall take and subscribe an oath to  
 “ maintain and preserve inviolably the said settle-  
 “ ment of the Church of England, and the doc-  
 “ trine, discipline, and government thereof, as by  
 “ law established, within the kingdoms of England  
 “ and Ireland, the dominion of Wales, and the  
 “ town of Berwick, and the territories thereunto  
 “ belonging. That this act shall for ever be a  
 “ fundamental and essential part of the Treaty of  
 “ Union between England and Scotland.” I have  
 already shewn, that the Bill, if passed into a law,  
 would not only subvert the civil constitution, but  
 that it would also subvert the ecclesiastical estab-  
 lishment; and that therefore his Majesty, a most  
 religious pious Prince, could not, consistent with  
 the obligation of his Coronation oath, give his  
 Royal assent to such a bill. It has been argued,  
 that the Royal Veto is now extinguished by disuse,  
 and that the King is, by the Constitution of the  
 kingdom, obliged to give his Royal assent to any  
 act which has been approved of by the Houses of  
 Lords and Commons; and that if the Houses of  
 Lords and Commons should agree upon an act  
 for abolishing the Protestant religion, or even



Christianity itself, the King would be obliged to give the Royal Assent to the Act, and that his doing so, would be no breach of his oath. This argument is pilfered also from the letter of the Romish Agent in England to a Right Hon. Baronet already mentioned, but he uses it in a more disguised and Jesuitical manner than it is stated in this House. Little credit is due to the arguments of this Romish agent : during the American war, he constantly preached up in Parliament the most violent Republican doctrines ; when it pleased God to afflict his Majesty with a most grievous malady, to the great grief of all his faithful subjects, this man was impious enough to declare, in the English House of Commons, that God Almighty had *hurled* his Majesty from his Throne ; as it was asserted in the English and Irish papers of that day. Upon the destruction of Christianity in France he changed his opinions, and wrote violently against the French Democrats, for doing the same things which he had so often, and with such energy, commended, when performed by the American Republicans. The reason is plain ; the Americans then stood in need of the assistance of the French, who, at that time, professed the Roman Catholic Religion ; the Americans, therefore, favoured the Roman Catholic Religion, but the French, in their late revolution, proscribed all Christianity ; consequently the Roman Catholic Religion, which this agent styles pulling down the *Majesty of Religion*. Hence *illæ lachrymæ* of that gentleman, and hence his recantation of Republicanism. This arguments to prove  
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that his Majesty may at any time violate his Coronation oath, both in premisses and conclusions, may be fairly denied ; either or both Houses of Parliament cannot dispense with the obligation of his Majesty's oath ; it was never before asserted that they would assume the pretended power of the Pope of Rome, of absolving from the obligation of oaths, neither can it be conceded that his Majesty's veto is gone by disuse. A case may be however put further, to shew the absurdity of the argument : By Irish Acts of Parliament unrepealed, the kingdom of Ireland is declared to be for ever annexed to, and dependant upon, the Imperial Crown of England, and that whoever is King of England becomes thereby *ipso facto* King of Ireland. If a bill was to pass both Houses of Parliament in Ireland for abolishing the Protestant Religion, and for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland, could his Majesty, consistent with the Coronation oath taken by him in England, pursuant to the act of Union, give the Royal assent to such bill, whilst the act of union remained in full force in Great Britain ? The Romish Agent in England will scarce assert that he could.—The Doctor concluded his long speech with a declaration, that he would vote for the rejection of the bill.

The Bill was at length rejected by a majority of 71.

F I N I S.