

Hibernica trinoda necessitas.

A REGULATION OF TITHES,
A PROVISION FOR THE CATHOLIC CLERGY,
AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

THOUGHTS
ON THE
FOREGOING HEADS,

TOGETHER WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
Opinions of Doctor Patrick Duigenan.

BY ROBERT BELLEW, Esq.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE.

“ Ego ita comperio omnia regna, civitates, nationes, usque eo prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt.”

SALLUST.

“ Accordez à tous la tolérance civile, non en approuvant tout comme indifférent, mais en souffrant avec patience tout ce que Dieu souffre, et en tâchant de ramener les hommes par une douce persuasion.”

FENELON.

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1803.

Liberty and Justice

A BILL FOR THE

PROVISION FOR THE CATHOLIC CLERGY

AND THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

ACT

ON THE

ROBUSTING HEADS

OBSERVATIONS

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

BY ROBERT BULLOCK

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

IN A SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE

10TH OF JANUARY 1829

IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

PASSED ON THE 10TH OF JANUARY 1829

RELATIVE TO THE

PROVISION FOR THE CATHOLIC CLERGY

AND THE CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

ACT

1829

P R E F A C E.

THE hints on the policy of making a national provision for the catholic clergy of Ireland, which I have offered to the consideration of the public in a letter addressed to Mr. Bagwell, a gentleman to whom Ireland is indebted for his attention to her interest in parliament, having met with the approbation of some well acquainted with that country; determined me a few months ago to follow up my original idea, in a further investigation of the utility and practicability of the measure. This led me to consider tithes, and to propose a plan for remedying the existing evils arising from that principal source of national discontent. My intention at that time was to have taken a

view of the internal economy of Ireland, and to have proposed some regulations which I flattered myself would be found useful to the country at large, in as much as their immediate tendency was meant to be directed to the improvement of the condition of the lower orders of the people ; but such matters of local consideration and sober detail must be reserved for a season of peace. At present, war and the peculiar and unhappy circumstances of Ireland call our attention to a subject which interests not only the most lively feelings, but also the prejudices and passions, of almost every individual in the country : I mean the subject of catholic emancipation ; by some thought to be fraught with principles deleterious to the constitution ; while many believe it to be a necessary constituent part of any system which can be used with efficacy or effect, in remedying the ills of Ireland ; of the latter I profess myself to be one, after having given the subject a close, and I trust an impartial consideration. Previous to entering on the main subject of catholic emancipation, I found it necessary to endeavor to remove some of those violent prejudices which are found

found to exist in the minds of Irish Protestants against the doctrines and discipline of the See of Rome; in this, my intention was not to become an advocate for popery, but merely, by a fair and candid exposition of doctrines, sadly misrepresented and little understood, to make way for the return of that charity which may be considered the harbinger of national peace and individual conciliation. I am no controversialist, nor do I seek to gratify the polemic by a sketch meant merely to rouse the indolent and to disabuse the grossly ignorant. Though the nature of my undertaking made it necessary that I should be concise, I have conscientiously endeavored to be correct; as the scope and main object of my undertaking is to lead my countrymen to happiness within their reach, not to mislead them into error.

With respect to Catholic emancipation, I have examined the arguments urged against it by the most determined and most ingenious of its opponents, and find that none of them can stand the test of unbiassed reason: they draw their chief force from the antiquated practices of the See of Rome, and the modern prejudices of our countrymen.

trymen. The enemies of catholic emancipation evidently wish to establish an opinion which they affect to take for granted, namely, that all the bloodshed, massacres, and misery which have desolated Ireland, from the time of the reformation to the present day, have uniformly and exclusively proceeded from the tenets and doctrines of the Romish church, and that similar consequences must necessarily flow from Roman Catholic tenets *ad infinitum*: this opinion, which if true would not only close the door on the hopes of the Catholic, but would also shut out for ever the fair opening prospect of Irish prosperity, I have combated, and if I may be allowed to let my judgment decide in a matter in which my heart feels so warmly interested, I hope not unsuccessfully. I have considered our bloody annals, from the period of the reformation to the present day, and find, that though the contest was too often between Protestant and Catholic, and though ignorance was too often hurried on by fanaticism, yet that all the civil wars, rebellions, and massacres, which have disgraced Ireland will easily and naturally resolve themselves into the ambition and

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turbulence of rulers, or the selfish and temporal views of individuals, and that, of course, they cannot be considered an insurmountable bar to catholic emancipation. I have endeavored to show, that the chronic disease produced by the penal code, requires a radical cure, and that temporizing palliatives and a partial cure are dangerous alike to the patient and the doctor.

In my letter to Mr. Bagwell, I noticed the temporal grievances of the Catholic as unavoidably arising from the existing religious system of the body of the people, and endeavored to point out the remedy. I would here have it understood, that neither creeds nor mysteries are meant to fall within the scope of this brief sketch further than may be necessary to national conciliation ; and if I have appeared to step out of my way to consider for a moment the doctrines and disciplines of the See of Rome, it was from a motive of tracing them to their political source, which must now be considered as nearly dried up, and not to indulge the spirit of a polemic.

In observing, that “ the Roman Catholic religion has never been propitious to national

“liberty and national prosperity;” I meant it merely in reference to that mixed authority once claimed by the Popes, and often most unjustifiably exerted over the countries of Europe. I am no friend to an *imperium in imperio*, and am as unwilling as any man to tolerate a power exterior and independent of the state; and if it be felt to exist in any degree in Ireland on the present day, the fault cannot well be said to rest with the Catholic, who necessarily must be eager to fly into the embraces of government whenever it is disposed to receive him; and we must hope that circumstances rather than disinclination, have heretofore induced our rulers to reject those advances which it is believed would have tended to their mutual advantage.

When I wrote my letter to Mr. Bagwell, I sent it into the world without a name, not that I am a friend to anonymous publications in general, but considering it a matter of perfect indifference whether my name, unknown to the world, appeared or not, I then used my free-agency in the gratification of my feelings. Whatever may be my present inclinations, I do not consider myself at

liberty

liberty to withhold my name from the public, since I have thought it my duty to examine the arguments of a gentleman whom I only know through the medium of his opinions, which I cannot help thinking peculiarly hostile to the tranquillity of Ireland, being for the most part delivered in that dictatorial and positive air calculated to bias gentlemen at this side of the water, whose avocations and pursuits have not allowed them leisure to make themselves acquainted with the state and peculiar circumstances of Ireland.

May I here be allowed to observe, that the very pathetic address pronounced by Mr. Hutchinson, in behalf of his country, at the close of the last sessions of parliament, has animated the hopes of the friends of Ireland to look forward with confidence to the near approach of a period when the urgent necessities of that portion of the empire will no longer be postponed to matters of a secondary consideration, or her interests overlooked by her *quondam* friends, in the distant, though splendid, contemplation of *Asiatic aggrandizement*; and that those, who by their successful exertions have

have accomplished the union, will follow up that measure, and make it at once the strength of the empire and the salvation of Ireland.

There are some who say, that Mr. Hutchinson's speech was *ill-timed*; on this point I must beg leave to differ, and to assert, that no time nor season should be considered unfavorable to cheer the mind with virtuous hope. This Mr. Hutchinson has done in pointing out a certain means for the accomplishment of this desirable end, by the instrumentality of a great personage, whose patriotism and benevolence forbid us to entertain a doubt of a ready acquiescence *on his part* to undertake the God-like work of national conciliation.

It is now for the Protestants of Ireland to consider both the propriety and wisdom of addressing his majesty in behalf of their fellow subjects: in doing this, let the Protestant beware how he yields to the influence of prejudice, or listens to the suggestions of false pride, which insidiously may attribute generosity to apprehension, and justice to dismay; motives alike unworthy the power, the spirit, and the honor of the Protestants.

tants of Ireland, who should now look upon the Catholic as his suppliant countryman, not as his threatening enemy,—with such a spirit all may yet be well !

London, Nov. 1, 1803.

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FURTHER CONSIDERATION
ON THE
POLICY OF MAKING A PROVISION

FOR THE
Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland.

WHEN I pointed to tithes as a fit object of taxation, in urging the policy and justice of making a national provision for the catholic clergy of Ireland, it was from a conviction of its propriety; and if in the first instance I proposed that tithes should bear a greater proportion of the burden than the profit rent of land, it was from a belief, that a measure not only popular but reasonable would ultimately be attended by circumstances highly beneficial to the established church, as well as salutary to the empire at large; nor have I heard any argument to induce me to renounce that opinion, which still remains the
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same, notwithstanding any qualification, which for the sake of unanimity I may here suggest.

That the church, like any other body of men in society, should feel anxious to preserve their property is natural, nay it is their duty; and that they should at times betray a degree of sensibility on that subject, greater than other bodies politic, will admit of much excuse to the candid mind. The clergyman, in embracing a profession so awfully important in the eyes of every serious person, does not profess to lay aside his human nature; and however the spirit of the gospel may have regulated his passions, purified his conduct, and elevated his soul, his scene of action being this world, he will still be a man, and as a man he will vindicate the rights of the church when attacked by men; but he will vindicate them, not solely because he derives his support from them, but because he thinks,—and thinks justly,—that it is necessary to the community that the church should be supported. From this spirit, laudable as well as natural, have unfortunately arisen evils grievously injurious to the peace of society, and to that harmony and cordiality which should subsist between the pastor and his flock; hence the many mischiefs springing from the tithe system as it now exists in Ireland, a system as inimical to the internal tranquillity of the church, as the most avaricious or ambitious Pontiff has ever been

been to the peace of Europe. Witness the tithe-drawings, resembling rather foraging on the enemy than legal acts in a civilized country. Witness the nightly outrages of those deluded men called Whiteboys, who without alleviating their own sufferings, have brought distress on the church, and disgrace on their country. Witness the sighs of the farmer, and groans of the cottager; for the cottager in Ireland feels a pressure from tithes* unknown to the peasant of any other part of the world. Let us then beware how we change the depredations of the Whiteboy into the desolation of civil broil, and aggravate the passive sighs of the people into the war-whoop of despair!

For my part, I am so far an enemy to innovation, that even in tithes I can find enough of ancient and established usage to exclaim, were any hand raised against them for their destruction, —Forbear the rash attempt, reverence this gothic structure raised by the pious hands of your forefathers, respect its venerable appearance, its ancient casements, its antique sculpture, and the very ivy which entwines its battlements; but above all, beware how you move a stone of its foundation, lest falling on your heads it spread a mighty ruin over the land. For the inside, model it as you

* This is peculiarly the case in the South of Ireland; in other parts I am informed that it is not so bad.

please, and accommodate to the nineteenth century those apartments fitted up for our ancestors in the days of the Henrys and Edwards ; but, to leave metaphor,—I say, though I would not abolish tithes, nor perhaps easily agree to a commutation, I *would prevent* their continuing to be a tax on industry, an impediment to solid and substantial improvement, the scourge of the Irish peasant, and the inexhaustible source of those divisions and heart-burnings which poisons the spring of Christian charity, and, opening a box more fell than that of Pandora, sends forth the proctor and the canter, the hedge attorney and civil bill, each to pour his appropriate terrors on the ignorant, the defenceless, and the poor.

This I think is to be effected by removing that uncertainty which attaches to tithes taken in kind, or estimated in the growing crop, and by assimilating them to the rent of land. This may very easily be done by passing a law obliging every clergyman to lease his tithes during his incumbency, which letting should run with the land, let the same change hands as it may. In settling the rent the clergyman may appoint one arbitrator, the parish another, and in the event of their not agreeing, the grand-jury* of the county

* It has been suggested that the grand jury should not appoint the umpire, on the ground that they are interested ; the same objections perhaps will not be against the judge of assize.

an umpire. Every fresh incumbent may either acquiesce in the old rent or demand a valuation, he and the parish dividing the expense of the same. Such a law would put tithes on the same footing with rents, and make every clergyman on the day of his induction to a living, as it were, tenant for life of an estate entailed on the church, which he lets for its value during his time, and his successor will be at liberty to do the same. This, if I am not mistaken, will remove the objection urged against commutation; namely, that tithe is the only species of property calculated to apportion the incomes of the clergy to the fluctuation of circumstances, and the lapse of time. The speedy adoption of this measure, the assimilating tithe to the rent of land, would facilitate the plan I have proposed; for, granting a provision to the catholic priest, by simplifying the mode of raising the fund—perhaps there is not much time to be lost!

I shall not take up the reader's time by offering arguments to prove that tithes operate as a tax on industry. Dr. Adam Smith, and every enlightened and unbiassed writer on the subject, agree in the theory, while every day's practice shews us that they are, as generally collected, (that is, either taken in kind, or let on the land,) not only a tax on industry, but a tax aggravated in proportion to the diligence, skill, and capital of the farmer.

Tithes seem to be almost the only part of the feudal system which has stood the shock of revolution, the flux of time, and the current of improvement. In the days of our feudal ancestors when rents were paid in kind or commuted for services, tithes were not a burthen severely felt; and it was but reasonable that, while the priest laboured for the soul of the peasant, a portion of the produce of the peasant's labour should go to feed the priest; but when barter, the child of a rude age, gave way to the general use of money, the offspring of civilized society, the inconvenience of tithes was soon felt, and like the fame of Marcellus, "*crescit occulto velut arbor ævo*," until the pressure on the people occasioned a re-action, which either corrected them by the severe hand of reformation, or buried them altogether in the gulph of revolution. This has, and this must ever be the fate of establishments, which, having outlived the reason of their original institution, short sighted statesmen, through a mistaken policy or a blind veneration for antiquity, struggle to force against the current of existing circumstances. Was parliament on the present day to propose to revive wardships, would the people of England endure it? But neither wardships or any other feudal duty would be attended with half the bad consequences that tithes, in their present form, actually produce in Ireland.

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Now when the threats and machinations of a powerful rival call forth all our vigilance, and all our energy, should we suffer an evil to exist, which, impairing our force by checking our industry, gives the arch enemy an advantage over us?

The late revolution has swept away the system of tithes from a large portion of the continent; but, though England must disdain to follow the cruel maxims of her neighbour, or to sacrifice her clergy to any policy of state, she will still recollect, that she owes a duty to herself, and the safety of her people, which whispers in her ear, *Fas est ab hoste doceri**.

In proposing to tax all tithes at the rate of ten per cent, I was aware of an objection arising from the obvious inequality which must strike the reader, seeing that the clergyman possessing from 200 to 400*l.* per annum would feel the pressure proportionably heavier than the wealthy dignitary who enjoys from 800 to 2000*l.* per annum, which I understand is not unfrequently the case in Ireland. To meet this objection, I proposed, that clergymen should have an appeal, suppose to the justices at the quarter sessions, which may relieve, by allowing an abatement proportioned to the income and number of children, in the same manner as was prac-

* The tardiness of the French clergy to grant supplies to the government is considered among the causes of the late dreadful revolution.

tised in England in the case of the income-tax; but, on further consideration, I thought that it may be advisable, as well for preserving the simplicity and unity of the plan, as for removing all possible cause of complaint from the church, to put tithes and the profit rent of land on the same footing where the income arising from tithe did not exceed 400*l.* per annum; but that all excess of income from 400*l.* and upwards should be subject to the 10*l.* per cent, but not to the assessment, which only falls on the first 400*l.* This qualification, which goes directly to the relief of the clergymen of moderate fortune, by laying the percentage only on the surplus revenue of the wealthy, it is to be hoped will be found sufficiently palatable to prevent the rising of that *esprit du corps*, which, contracting the understanding and shortening the view, teaches men to consider their own interests and security as distinct from the prosperity of the people. But supposing the pious sons of St. Patrick, unwilling to dispute with the most short sighted, and even disposed to humour the most froward of the sons of the church, were to give up the percentage altogether, and that the churchman who pays no tithes*, and the layman who does pay them, were, for the furtherance of a measure on which the salvation of the country in a great degree hinges:

* i. e. No tithes from an income arising from tithes.

admitting I say, they were to be taxed *in pari passu*, while acquiescence on the part of the laity would demonstrate their love of peace, all must regret, that the clergy of the established church could know their own true interests so little, as not to shew a disposition to make in some degree common cause with the Catholic, from whose labour they derive their support, from whose valour their protection, and on whose loyal attachment to government may depend their very existence.

It is obvious that the collection of this tax must be attended with the least possible difficulty, especially if tithes be assimilated to rents; and may be received by the collectors of the heath-money*. The priest, who should be paid from the general fund, *not by his particular parish*, may receive his salary half yearly, first producing a certificate which may answer as a receipt, signed by himself, his bishop, and the chairman of the quarter sessions. As to the amount of the rate, it will depend on the quantum of the sum to be raised, and the amount of the rental of the kingdom. As to the sum to be raised, I think it will fall within 150,000*l.* per annum; which certainly bears a small proportion to the rents and tithes of Ireland. The land-tax in England produced nearly two millions per annum, which was

* It has been suggested to me that the high constable would be the proper person to collect.

considered not to amount to more than six-pence in the pound taken on the actual rental of the kingdom; but the tithes and rental of Ireland approach much nearer the tithes and rental of England, than at first sight may be imagined by those who would judge from the vast disparity between the trade, manufactures, and money capital of each country.

The land-tax which succeeded the ancient subsidies assumed its present form in the year 1693, and was laid on the land at a rate, even then, much below the real rental of England; but notwithstanding that, one shilling in the pound produced to the exchequer near 500,000*l.* per annum.

Now, if the actual rental and tithes of Ireland may be considered equal to that nominal rental of England taken more than a century ago, which few will doubt who consider the great rise of rents and tithes in that country, it will follow that even a six-penny rate on tithes and rents will give a much larger sum than the sum required*. This I am induced to throw out merely to satisfy the minds of the clergy and the landholder, whose fears on the score of taxation may cloud that cheering prospect of hope, which, though now only seen through the twilight of early dawn, may

* Since I wrote the above I have been informed that the rental of Ireland is estimated at twelve millions per annum.

soon, rising in all the splendour of meridian brightness, transfuse a vivifying influence into the most wretched hut and obscure corner of Ireland.

I have on a former occasion glanced at the advantages that would arise from a tax on the profit rent of land; viz. that it would operate as a bounty on residence, on industry, and as an efficient relief to the indigent, free from the abuses of an English poor law. Objections may, and doubtless will be raised; and visionary must that man be, who expects to reconcile without a murmur, the jarring and individual interests of society. The plans of man, like man, are subject to the common law of his nature; all have their defects;—but it is for wisdom to chuse the least exceptionable. To those, if there be any such, who object to a rate on the profit rent of land on the ground of partiality, I would answer, consider who they are in whose favor the exemption operates; either the industrious farmer, whose labour, skill, and capital, form the solid foundation of national wealth, or the spirited and patriotic proprietor*, who, fulfilling the duties of a useful and respectable station, prefers the participation of his native hospitality, to the selfish and solitary enjoyments of

* The propriety of taxing the occupant in some cases has, I confess, been urged with force, and perhaps should be acquiesced in when it did not tend to discourage industry.

the capital ; but the tax does fall impartially, in as much as it falls on the *whole* profit rent, which, though not in all cases a criterion of the exact value of the land, is a standard by which we can measure accurately the rate and so prevent fraud in the collecting or injustice to the individual, which, besides being attended with many difficulties, would necessarily often occur were it laid on the *estimated* value of the land. Suppose an estate that would let for a thousand pounds per annum to be occupied by the proprietor, it pays no tax ; if the same be let at any given rent, suppose 500*l.* per annum, and occupied by the immediate tenant, it then pays a tax charged on the 500*l.* rent ; if the same be let again for a further profit of 500*l.* then the lord of the fee and the middle-man pay each an equal contribution, but the occupant goes free ; what can be fairer than this ? But it often happens in Ireland that the head landlord does not receive a fifth, or a tenth part of the value of the land ; and it may sometimes happen that the immediate tenant occupies ; in such case the landlord, being the only contributor, will exclaim, “What, shall I, who do not receive a tenth of the value of my estate, pay all, and my tenants none ?” Let him reflect for a moment, and he will perceive how ungrounded his objection : true, he is the only one taxed for the land ; but he is not taxed according to the full value of it, but according to the

the rent he receives; and should his tenant cease to occupy, he, the tenant, will be taxed according to his profit; but was the middle-man, who may possibly pay nine times the tax of the landlord, to object that it was hard that he, being but tenant, should pay nine times as much as the lord of the fee, though the reasonable part of mankind must smile at his complaint, I doubt whether his landlord's objection is more just or reasonable.

Though the rent of land may not, in all cases, be a certain and accurate criterion of its value, still from its progressive nature, always tending to find its level with the real value of land, and from the disposition, inherent in every considerable proprietor to let off a large portion, and in most men to indulge their repose, the rental of a country may be considered as approximating the annual value of its land. But, supposing by the recalling of the absentee, and the abolition of the middle-man, that the state of Ireland was to be so far ameliorated, that you had the absentee and the middle-man no longer to resort to, it is impossible to conceive that the country, under such favorable circumstances, could want means to provide for the catholic clergy. But, until that happy day of national prosperity shall arrive, the profit rent of land is a fit, and, I am persuaded, together with tithes, a fair object of taxation to raise a fund for the proposed measure.

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The same argument will apply to tithes, particularly if reduced to the certainty of rent, together with other considerations of a moral and of a political nature, on this day not to be slighted by the clergy. It is, however, to be feared, that so long as the immediate interests of man continue to influence his conduct, and bias his understanding, he will acquiesce with difficulty and regard with jealousy any plan which tends to lessen his income, though his reason informs him that its rejection will be attended with consequences ultimately disastrous. Passion is the child of this day's interest, and governs her too fond mother, whose indulgence becomes their common ruin; while Reason, the adopted daughter of to-morrow's good, in vain points out the blessings of the future; so it is, perhaps, with respect to the taxes proposed for accomplishing a measure desirable in the opinion of every man who has discretion enough to judge, and honesty enough to declare his sentiments.

But perhaps we have still to hear some clergymen exclaim, that the property of the church should remain untouched, though in withholding their just contribution they were to endanger their country: perhaps too, there are men who may wish to shift the burthen, though it were on the shoulders of the farmer and the peasant: perchance there may be, though I am unwilling to suppose it, shepherds who know so little of the
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true interests of the church and of society, as to suffer their flocks to pine on the meagre and arid pasture of the waste sooner than receive assistance from the hand of the heretic ; and still more unwilling am I to believe it possible that perverted piety would call on fanaticism now, in the nineteenth century, to lend her terrific voice to affright prosperity from the land of Ireland !

But truth must still prevail, and if a nation reject the blessings proffered by the lenient hand of reform, the man of reflection must tremble at the terrors of that convulsion which its obstinacy may provoke.

However I may feel this subject, I am not so ignorant of the heart of man as to imagine that a scheme embracing so general an interest as the present will not meet opposition ; but I am sanguine enough to hope, that such a phalanx of independance, wisdom, and loyalty, will stand forward in its support as shall dismay its selfish opponents. I am aware too, that there are minds of so perverse a nature, that, far from allowing any kind of indulgence to the objects of their hatred, they uncharitably deny them (for there are fanatics in all sects) to be capable of amendment, or to deserve any indulgence ; such men, reasonable on other subjects, and sometimes learned too, if you touch on their favorite topic, Catholic *iniquity*, will give way to all the extravagance of the Knight of la Mancha, and in
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the opinion of many they deserve, much more than Don Quixotte, to be sent to do penance in the sable mountains. Such men will tell you, if you hint at a provision for the catholic priest, that it will be to no purpose; that, although government were to appoint and pay the priest, priests being an order of beings *distinct* from man, government will be unable to attach him by his interest, or to control him by his hopes and fears: they will tell you, that the people will not be relieved by your paying the priest, for that the relentless pastor, though no longer urged by pressing necessity, will still continue to fleece his shivering flock; and lastly, they will affirm, that the impoverished Catholic of Ireland *prefers* to pay his own priest, though he *starve* his wife and family.

He who reasons with a madman evinces no great soundness of intellect. I shall leave such objections to confute themselves, and only observe, that the desire of some to continue in a state of ignorance, superstition or disaffection, can no more be urged as an argument against the proposed measure, than the desires of those unworthy individuals who wish to keep them in that wretched state.

There is a certain rancorous spirit of party, which in politics, like hardened infidelity in morals, occasions the unhappy possessor to be given up to what is called a reprobate mind; and he is

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no longer capable of seeing the truth as such, but follows error with a zeal worthy of a better cause; a furious zeal, which tempts him to trample on the happiness of his fellow subjects, when perhaps he vainly thinks that he is labouring for his country's good. The unhappy circumstances of Ireland have, I fear, given birth to a few such characters; but I trust they are very few, when compared to the number of those whom liberality, patriotism, and true virtue, have embodied in the cause of their country.

It has been suggested to me from a most respectable quarter, that land which does not pay tithe of agistment is a fit object of taxation for the catholic clergy of Ireland. As this probably occurred to the church when it was proposed to tax tithes, I will beg leave, on this subject, to observe, that the land which does not pay agistment tithe still pays its proportion of the tax, being rated according to the profit rent, which will always be in a ratio compounded of its actual value and exemption from tithes; but if the tax was laid on land in respect to agistment tithe, you would find the measure embarrassed with all the legal nicety and difficulties which are found to attach to that species of tithe, which has neither the simplicity or certainty of rent, or even the uniformity of predial tithe, which in a steady course of husbandry is not found materially to

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vary:

vary : but this is not the case with agistment tithe, and may therefore occasionally subject the farmer to pay tithe, and the landlord to pay the tax for the same land. Upon the whole, if simplicity and ease with respect to the collection, and certainty as to the amount, be desirable in raising a fund for the support of the catholic clergy of Ireland, I profess I cannot conceive that there are any objects of taxation, which can more fully unite the two advantages, than the proposed rate on the profit rent of land, and on tithes reduced to the certainty of rent; the latter modified so as to meet the passions and prejudices, as far as possible, of all parties.

Before I conclude this head, I shall beg leave to say a word respecting the Popish chapels or Mass-Houses, as they are called. The depressed and degraded state of the popular religion manifests itself in the very contemptible appearance of the greater number of the buildings (if sorry huts deserve that name) which in Ireland are consecrated to the service of the Supreme Being. In some particular places, it is true, the spirit of devotion, or perhaps the zeal of party has extracted from an impoverished people the means of erecting buildings less disgraceful to the country and less unworthy the rights of Christianity.

However, it must be confessed that the temple of the Deity and the cottage of the peasant exhibit,

hibit, for the most part, a striking picture of meanness and discomfort. I recollect some years ago to have accompanied a curate in the south of Ireland, on a Sunday, to his church, which was in the country, and where we were literally two or three gathered together, and no more; after an expeditious compromise of the service, we returned through a village where the people were at mass; the yard of the chapel was filled by the devout, and numbers knelt on the highway: I asked a man who seemed to have finished his prayers, or not to have been very attentive to them, why the people did not go into the chapel? "Faith," says he, "for a very good rason, because it is as full as it can hold, and fuller too." Satisfied with an answer I must have been dull not to have understood, and pleased with a figure of speech the peculiar force of which I always admired, I wished him good day, and rode on with the curate, who observed to me, that the chapel we passed was one of the best country chapels in the neighbourhood; that it had been a whisky distillery; that the proprietor had failed, owing to the generality of his customers being more disposed to drink than to pay; that the spirit of devotion had succeeded the spirit of barley and malt; and that Father John was thought to be one of the *snuggest* priests in the diocese. This little circumstance recurring to my mind, suggests some

reflections, which induce me, in spite of prejudice and mistaken zeal, to ask a question, which I trust will not be considered irrelevant to the subject. Can there be so strong a repugnance between the climate of Germany and of Ireland, and is there such an essential difference between the inhabitants of both countries, that the followers of the confession of faith of Augsburg, and the disciples of the see of Rome, shall in the one place agree to worship their Common Father in the same temple though in different forms, while in the other it is considered a profanation if a catholic priest even presume to set his foot in the common repository of our forefathers,

“Where heaves the turf in many a mould’ring heap,”

and if I mistake not, contrary to law; is this wise, is it conciliatory thus to keep prejudice alive and check the growth of Christian charity? There are little courtesies which gain the heart sooner than the greatest favors: were Irishmen then, under certain circumstances, to follow the example which is set them by their brethren in many parts of the continent, I am convinced it would be found most efficacious in conciliating the affections of all parties. What have we to dread? our own imprudence? ill grounded fear makes the danger it apprehends: let us unite with the
Ca-

Catholic as our fellow subject and our fellow Christian, and we shall find him such.

It is now time for the Catholic to cease to believe that the Protestant must necessarily be damned, and for the Protestant to think that the Catholic must needs be a traitor; but the interest of the Catholic, of the Protestant, of the Irishman, and of the Englishman, are, under Providence, all in the hands of the Imperial Parliament; on them are fixed the eyes of every honest man, in sanguine hope and ardent expectation, that through their wisdom the unity of the empire will shortly be attended by a union of sentiment, a union of interest, and a union of loyalty.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

LEADING TENETS

OF THE

CHURCH OF ROME,

WITH RESPECT TO THEIR

MORAL AND POLITICAL TENDENCIES.

WERE I to allow a cold calculating spirit to suggest, that the “still small voice of reason” could make little impression on the dull ear of prejudice, and that her sober and mild accents must be lost in the din of party contest; I should hesitate, perhaps, to recommend a union of such discordant particles as seem at present to compose the two orders of my countrymen, though such union were to lead them to serve in peace their common parent.

But the state of Ireland is now critical, and requires the active influence of the heart to conspire with the more sober operations of the head: in

that spirit I wish to address the Christian Protestant and the Christian Catholic of Ireland. Heaven forbid! that we should shut the "gates of mercy" on the imputed heresy of the former, or deny a share of Christian charity to the exaggerated and often misrepresented errors of the latter! The man who ventures to speak the truth to contending parties must expect the resentment of the fanatics on both sides: those men, who, losing sight of all religion, transfer the name to the secondary objects of their idolatrous devotion, and call their polluted politics by the august name of Christianity. It is to be hoped, that such characters, though conspicuously *loud*, constitute but the minority. Be that as it may; the man who sincerely feels the *amor patriæ*, should devote himself with the spirit of a Curtius, and leap into the gulph if his duty require it.

In examining into the grounds of that religious animosity which, unfortunately, in Ireland has too often burst the bonds of civil society, or converted them into galling fetters, I would put a question to the Catholic, and ask him why he cherishes irreconcilable hatred to the Protestant? If he be under the influence of vulgar prejudices, he will answer: "Because the Protestant is a heretic; because his father, grand-father, and great-grand-father hated Protestants, and because he knows that Protestants hate him." Ask him what
a heretic

a heretic means ; and if he answer you any thing, probably it will be: " Why, a person that goes to church, and who can never go to heaven." As to any further distinction between heretic and Catholic, you may as well ask the horse he rides, or the shillalah he carries in his hand. Put the same question to the Protestant, I here mean the nominal Christian, a man who sometimes goes to church because he thinks it decent and very proper to set the example, but who is as ignorant of christianity as he is of the doctrines and discipline of the Romish Church, which to be thought acquainted with, he in the *true* spirit of party may very possibly imagine would be an imputation on his loyalty, and a reason for calling in question his disposition to support the protestant ascendancy :—ask such a man why he hates a Roman Catholic; now if he happen to be a man of some moderation and does not answer in a sweeping way, " Because it is the duty of every good Protestant to hate Papists ;" he will tell you, " That he hates Catholics because they are idolators, have indulgencies for all sins that have or may be committed, hold oaths not binding between Catholic and Protestant, and think it meritorious to murder all those that are excommunicated by the Pope, from the King on his throne to his next door neighbour"—*cum multis aliis hujusmodi* :—he will tell you, that all this is certainly fact, for that Doctor

Duigenan

Duigenan found it out in the council of Lateran, which was held not above six hundred years ago, and told him he might depend upon it. What if every enlightened Catholic deny the charge, and call on the Doctor to prove it if he can ! but if such charges, on a candid examination, are found to have no other existence except in a mind blinded and besotted by party rancour ; and that such abominations (for abominations they surely are) were neither propounded by the council of Trent, nor * avowedly encouraged since that period by the Papal See ; we must then endeavour to trace the enmity which subsists between the Catholic and Protestant of Ireland to some other source : and if that source be discovered to lurk neither in the *labyrinths* of school metaphysics, nor to lie *enveloped* in the sublime mysteries of our holy religion ; but if it should be found in the region of civil government, and within the circle of state politics ; will it then be candid, can it then be just to draw the character of the Catholic from the deluded fanatic of Wexford or the demi-barbarian of Killalla ?

I call then on Irishmen to consider, whether religious tenets have placed an insurmountable

* The struggles of the Pope to maintain his temporal authority, though often of a doubtful complexion, must not here be confounded with the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome.

barrier in the way of that harmony which should subsist between Catholic and Protestant or not? for it is now time to determine a question, on the decision of which depends this awful alternative, whether Ireland is to prosper and be happy, or whether periodical rebellion be necessary to cover by its ashes the fire of an unextinguishable volcano.

Though no divine, I may venture to promise much satisfaction * to every dispassionate enquirer, and sincerely wish that it was in my power to do that ample justice to a subject, which I feel to be of such importance to my countrymen, and on that account, have ventured to touch it, though I confess with a trembling hand.

Much has been said of popery ; and long have the political practices and the individual characters of those who filled the papal chair been confounded with that religion, whose rays, diverging from the centre of Italy, dispersed the darkness which hung over the nations of Europe. It is true the clear light of the gospel was often either enveloped in thick clouds which threatened again the return of night ; or, refracted by the mists of ignorance or superstition, presented religion in colours not her own ; while human so-

* I would here be understood to mean, that it must give satisfaction to both Catholic and Protestant to find that catholic tenets, rightly understood, are not an insurmountable barrier against national union.

ciety, shattered by the fall of a mighty empire, like a broken mirror, distorted while it faintly reflected her face divine. But Christianity stood the shock, and Rome, once the mistress of the world in arms, now saw laid within her walls the foundation of a new power, no less wonderful and scarcely less extensive.

Although it has been the singular destiny of the See of Rome, at different periods, to be both the agent and the instrument in subjecting men to an ideal or an invisible power, and although the successors of Saint Peter proved they were but men, as times and circumstances favored the gratification of passions inseparable from the nature of man; shall statesmen, therefore, on this day pretend to make use of those chains forged by the Gregories and Innocents of the thirteenth century, which their successors are no longer able to hold, and which the rust of ages should long since have destroyed? But so it is, that we find a learned Doctor calling up the midnight spectres of that gloomy era to terrify us in the open day-light of the present period. Can he believe us to be such babes, or has the good Doctor arrived at that time of life when the sound reasonings of the man yield to the sickly fancies of the child? Be that as it may, for the sake of all timed children let us enter into the cenotaph of their holinesses, and prove to the world, that however formidable
a living

a living Pope once might have been, there is now nothing terrible in his ghost.

When Constantine embracing Christianity determined, perhaps from a mixed motive of policy and piety, to establish it in the empire, he committed an error which has been attended by circumstances grievous, and for ages fatal to the peace of the Christian community; by making the spiritual independent of the temporal power of the state. The evil effects of this measure were not immediately felt: the bishops of Rome, grateful to their patrons, promoted the real interests of the state by their zeal in advancing and spreading the doctrines of the gospel; but when the barbarians had over-run the empire of the west, and when Pepin and Charlemagne had endowed the See of Rome with a rich portion of the empire of the Cæsars, it was to be expected that the servant of servants would sometimes display the foibles and sometimes betray the vices of our common nature.

The history of the Pontificate presents to our view an interesting picture, filled with portraits of infinite variety, each bearing the characteristic marks of his day; and whether we shudder at the vices of a Borgia, or view with complacency the mild virtues of a Ganganelli, we shall find this truth confirmed, that individual man acts but instrumentally in the great operations of human society; and while he appears in some measure to direct events, has evidently little influence in creating

ating them; and that their characters, as their dresses, are fashioned by the times. We shall find that acts, which in the days of an Innocent or a Gregory, would have passed with impunity, in the days of a Leo or a Clement lead to a reformation. At one time we behold schism disgrace the chair of St. Peter, while the contending parties expose themselves to the eyes of Europe. Here we witness a King or an Emperor deposed by a Pope; there we see the proud conqueror insult with hypocritical humility an imprisoned Pope, while he styles him the Vicegerent of Christ. In latter times we have seen this mighty colossus, which has long tottered on its base, fall prostrate on the earth, without exciting either sorrow or surprize. I here would be understood to mean that power too often fatally exerted, to the disgrace of religion, and obstruction of rational freedom. The Pope may still be Bishop or Pope of Rome, and he may be considered, without danger to the state, the spiritual head of the Romish Church, as tacitly received by the catholic countries of Europe, and as expressly declared in the concordatum between the See of Rome and the French Republic; he may also exercise the authority of a temporal prince over such a portion of the estates of the church as the benevolence or the policy of the conqueror of Italy shall think proper to allow: but, as for that spiritual power which once could cover and give effect to Papal ambition, it is now too

too threadbare to serve as a veil to cover the schemes of the statesman.

With regard to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of Rome, as admitted by reasonable men and practised by our neighbours on the continent, it now becomes interesting to examine whether there is any thing in it, which in reason and sound policy can be considered an insurmountable bar to a full union with, and a complete emancipation of our catholic brethren, by an unequivocal admission into all the rights of the subject. How far this may be considered by some an impertinent intrusion on holy ground, gives me little concern to know; satisfied if, with a sincere heart, though feeble hand, I may eventually succeed in drawing aside, in some degree, the veil of that sanctuary which is said to contain idols at once destructive of the moral rectitude of the Catholic, and mysteries incompatible with the peace of society; and, by fairly exposing to examination, in open day-light, objects which possibly will be found to borrow their principal terrors from the darkness of ignorance, the misrepresentation of prejudice, and the spirit of party, invite my countrymen with humility to approach the shrines of mystery and of truth*. I am further

* It is perhaps unnecessary to observe here, that the moral as well as the natural world has its mysteries, which no more impeach the truth of the former as received by the mind, than they do of the existence of the latter as perceived by the senses.

induced

induced to this inquiry from a persuasion, that all the alleged moral incongruities, which serve as pretexts to divide the people of Ireland and to subject the Catholic to civil and political incapacities, will resolve themselves into questions of speculative opinion or party policy; and if that should prove to be the case, of course they can no longer be considered a just bar to Christian charity, to a national provision for the Romish Clergy, or to catholic emancipation.

To mention seriously the infallibility of the Pope on the present day may require an apology to many of those to whom I address myself; if a party spirit of misrepresentation, with a disposition to manufacture to its own purposes the aberrations of the Papacy, with more than Papal ingenuity, did not call upon me to examine what has been much talked of, though perhaps by many but little understood.

Notwithstanding the doctrines broached by Bellarmine, the infallibility of the Pope was never admitted in temporals; and though some Popes manifested a disposition to exercise an unwarrantable authority in temporal concerns, it never was generally acquiesced in by the nations of Europe, and certainly is not by any one of them on the present day. As to his infallibility in spirituals, it is not admitted by the generality of the faithful, who require the authority of a general council;

cil; and for the opinions and writings of Bellarmine, independent of their intemperance and dangerous tendency, they must now cease to command respect from those who consider that it was no difficult matter to induce a *jesuit* to prostitute his talents to the aggrandizement of papal power in the splendid court of Sixtus Quintus: nor can we now reasonably apprehend that another Clement will stand up in the nineteenth century to depose emperors and bestow kingdoms; when even in the thirteenth century this stretch of temporal power by the Pope was denied by the barons and bishops of France, who, when the Pope offered the empire to Robert of Artois, remonstrated in language not the most courtly: but I shall fatigue my reader no longer on this head, lest he should exclaim, *Utitur in re non dubiâ testibus non necessariis*.

The invocation of saints is a charge against the Romanists, who are accused of transferring to them the worship which is due alone to the Deity. The sincere Christian has to lament that the practices of the ignorant have at all times subjected the christian religion to the sneer of the scorner: but let us see how this matter has been understood by the enlightened Christian Romanists: they admit that it is the practice of their church to pray to the saints for their intercession with the Father of mercies, but deny all adoration

to them; they admit it to be a matter of discipline, which is rather recommended than enjoined; and urge its utility in as much as it relieves the mind, which is disposed to indulge in indefinite contemplation on the incomprehensible Author of all things, by the intervention of beings who once partook of our nature, whose virtues merit our respect, and whose agency, though mysterious, they say is not impossible. Upon the whole it appears, that the invocation of saints is but an indirect mode of offering their devotions to the Deity, and as such deserving the indulgence of charity "which thinketh no ill."

Another charge has frequently been urged against the Church of Rome, to the great scandal of all reasonable Catholics, viz, that it enjoins the worship of images to those in its communion: but history, while it enables us to trace the origin of such an accusation to the schisms which divided the eastern from the western churches, and while it leaves it difficult, it is true, to exculpate the practice of individuals in the dark ages, forbids us implicitly to believe, that Popery either commands or recommends to her votaries the practice of idolatry: and it is now to be wished, that Protestant and Catholic would lay aside that spirit which animated the Iconoclasts of Byzantium, and the faithful of Rome.

Roman Catholics maintain, that the council of
Trent,

Trent, in ordering that due honor should be paid to the images of Jesus Christ, meant not adoration, but that kind of awful respect and reverence which is due, and which the devout are disposed to pay, to the symbols of religion and to other holy things. Grotius on this head observes, that the disputes often turn on the acception of words of a moral relation, which by their ambiguity have distracted the minds of many men, viz. invocation, adoration, worship, religion, and honor; the interpretation of which, in candor, should be left to those who use them, and who certainly know best what ideas they annex to each. Now, if a Catholic take off his hat or kneel to an image of our Saviour, shall a Protestant on that account call him an idolator? or if a Church of England-man bow his head at the name of Jesus, shall the Presbyterian or the Quaker accuse him of worshipping a mere sound? As to pictures, statues, ornaments, music, and other helps to devotion, they fall within the circle of church discipline, and admit of various degrees and shades, to be regulated by the circumstances of the times and the taste and genius of the artist. There are many degrees between my lord Peter and brother Jack, but all extremes are wrong. If upon the whole it appear that the Church of Rome does not enjoin the worship of images, but that it merely uses them in common with pictures, sculpture, music, &c. to aid the mind in acts of devotion, it fol-

lows that the charge of idolatry is not well founded.

It is to be lamented that Christians, forgetting or neglecting the precept of their divine Master, commanding them to keep their minds humble and lowly, should so far have indulged the propensity of the human mind in the pursuit of mystery through the boundless regions of fancy and opinion, as almost to lose the substance in the pursuit of the shadow. This appears in no instance more conspicuous than in the disputes which have arisen respecting the real presence in the Eucharist.

Transubstantiation has obtained the assent of a large part of the Christian church, while many reject the doctrine altogether: thus some admit the real presence substantially; others admit it only *sub modo*, and fortify their nice distinctions between substance and spirit by tests, which, while they add little to the spiritual comfort of the believer, diminish, by exclusion from civil rights, the temporal happiness of the citizen. Others again, regulating their logic by the testimony of the senses, and rejecting all mystery as unnecessary, consider it merely as an ordinance, typical, and to be had in remembrance of the great sacrifice. If I mistake not, we are indebted to the council of Lateran * for the origin of the disputes

* It is to be observed that there were many councils held in the Lateran; that of the thirteen century is here alluded to.

on this subject. May we not now venture to hope that the fogs of the thirteenth century will vanish before the sun of the nineteenth, and that Christians will be no longer kept in a state of hostile separation by opinions confessed by all parties to be highly mysterious and beyond the reach of the human understanding? or are men to be cheated out of their civil rights, because their fathers were puzzled by a logical *hocus pocus**? It is now devoutly to be wished that the time may not be very distant when the Catholic shall cease to encumber the path which leads to paradise with that rubbish of polemical logic, which length of time has accumulated; and that the Protestant of the Church of England will shew a willingness to remove those tests, which a temporary policy may palliate, but which existing circumstances seem little to warrant, as they are peculiarly calculated to fret those sores, which, so long as tests exist, prejudice, honor, or pride will prevent from healing.

That which Protestants call the Lord's supper, Romanists denominate the mass; some among the former consider it merely a commemoration; the latter, a sacrifice. Upon this subject, as on many others, man has shown more ingenuity than good sense.

Romanists are charged with giving the com-

* *Hocus pocus*, i. e. *Hoc est corpus*, words used by the priest at the elevation of the host.

munion in one kind only; this they justify by arguments both of a spiritual and temporal nature, but which it is unnecessary to adduce here; since they admit that their withholding the cup from the laity is merely a point of discipline, and not essential as a matter of faith.

Purgatory they admit, as being countenanced by the early fathers, though not expressly mentioned in scripture; and excuse the praying for wicked sinners on the plea of charity, which forbids their putting themselves in the judgment seat, or of arrogating the power of condemnation, which alone belongs to the Most High. They admit that the doctrine of purgatory has been abused; that several councils, particularly that of Trent, expressly condemned those abuses. Upon the whole it appears, that the doctrine of purgatory, if not abused to selfish and secular purposes, can be little dangerous either to church or state.

Penances, if not perverted, cannot be considered of evil tendency, they say. The doctrine of indulgences as represented by the opponents of the See of Rome, goes I confess to sap the moral foundation of that church; but pardon for all sins past, as well as permission to sin in future, is a doctrine so very revolting to common sense, that it seems to startle the acquiescence of every mind that is not fortified with an abundant share of party spirit or sectarian prejudice. Certainly the
Romish

Romish Church denies the doctrine when taken in such latitude; and declares, that what is meant by indulgences is nothing more than a remission of a part of certain canonical penances, which the church has been in the habit of inflicting for crimes of a particular description. No part of the Romish discipline has been more abused than this, of which the council of Trent seemed very sensible, by the pains it took to correct it. These abuses seem to have been in the first rank of the proximate causes of the reformation; but it is no less true, that they have been the cause of much scandal to many Romanists, whom reason and humanity must have taught to reject and execrate any doctrine which could lead to such folly and impiety. Were we to allow our opinions to be regulated by the conduct of the bewildered fanatic and depraved hypocrite, who unfortunately are found in every sect, we should not only reject the Catholic, for the partial or past abuse of the doctrine of indulgences, but we should spurn with contempt or abhorrence that truly virtuous sect, amongst whom the pure light of the gospel now shines so bright as to bid defiance to the powers of darkness—because it happens, that some, who are called Methodists, mistake the sublime and essential doctrine of faith, and others are weak or wicked enough to

exclude from their creed the necessity of good works.

Of the seven sacraments in the church of Rome, two only they consider as necessary to salvation; the others, merely ordinances.

With regard to confession and absolution considered as points of discipline, much turns upon the right use, or abuse of them; but the government of a free and enlightened people can have little to fear from their influence, while *that* of an ignorant and depressed populace may indeed have reason to be alarmed.

With respect to *merits*, *satisfaction*, works of *supererogation*, and *relics*, we must leave them to circumstances and the progress of the human mind to purge away such impurities as have been the natural growth of a luxurious court and of a government absolute in its principle, though elective in its form*. They appear, however, to have nothing to do with civil or political exclusion; and afford no excuse for one Christian's hating another, though they may dispose him to pity a brother in error.

The Roman Catholic religion is charged with breeding up the people in ignorance: true it is that there are many ignorant Catholics; but I cannot consider ignorance as a necessary consequence of their religion, when I read the history

* Such was the Papal government.

of France and many other catholic countries. The latin language, I understand, gives way to the vernacular tongue in many places. That latin, which was the language of the learned in the western empire, should for uniformity, as well perhaps as necessity, have been used by the Church of Rome, is not to be wondered at; and that it was not laid aside as soon as its inconveniences were felt, and the apparent absurdity of praying in an unknown tongue discovered, will not perhaps excite much surprise in those who reflect with what reluctance power ever sacrifices her most superannuated institutions.

Were the Romanists to answer the charge of uncharitableness by recrimination, they might allege that a similar spirit animates the ignorant of every sect, while they deny its operation with the enlightened of their own. Charity is that manly as well as amiable virtue which makes us love while we respect the christian character; but the man of the world, the profligate, and the infidel, often require a measure of it equally inconsistent with sound morality, as with the scope and doctrines of the gospel.

The Catholics deny that they exclude any one of the commandments. With respect to their not keeping faith with heretics, and of their doing evil that good may come of it: these charges they also deny; adducing in evidence their conduct under the

the pressure of the penal laws; they having steadily adhered to the doctrine and discipline of their church, when, in compliance with this imputed principle, the taking an oath or performing an outward act of religion would, by removing legal disabilities, have enabled them to serve themselves, their families, and their party. But in the day of persecution the mind of man, supported by a principle of honor and the spirit of his religion, rises above its ordinary level.

As to plots, treasons, and massacres recorded of Papists, the catalogue is long and gloomy; man has unfortunately at all times evinced himself an animal of blood; and the policy of states has seldom scrupled to associate at least the name of religion in the perpetration of its enormities: but that state policy, and the wicked love of power, is, was, and ever will be the "*primum mobile*," though often artfully concealed, I cannot entertain a doubt.—The case of Ireland, in this respect, I will consider in another place.

Whether the Pope be Antichrist or not, is a question I beg to resign to the learned in such matters; begging leave merely to observe by the way, that whatever might have been the pretensions of Alexander the VIth to that character, Pius the VIIth appears much too inoffensive and harmless to have any claim.

When we consider the See of Rome in a temporal

poral point of view, we shall find that its character and that of its Pontiffs was materially influenced by the form of the government; which, being of the nature of an absolute and elective monarchy, almost always suffered the evils necessarily attendant on the latter part of its constitution, to wit, weakness and anarchy; but seldom felt any of those advantages arising from that vigor and dispatch which sometimes are found united with the character of the despot: and twelve centuries were necessary to produce a single Montalto. The reformation which was worked during the short pontificate of that great and extraordinary man, shows not only what was then required, but what now may be fairly expected from the advancement of knowledge and the sensible improvements in civil government. This excellent Pope, witnessing the two great discoveries of such importance to mankind, the compass and the art of printing, and wishing to add the third leg to the triangle of human knowledge, commanded a translation of the bible in the vulgar tongue; proving thereby, that a Pope could be both a christian and a statesman.

The ceremonies of the Romish Church, the lights, &c. give offence to Protestants. When Pope Stephen (if I remember right) sent St. Austin to convert Britain, he desired that he would not offend the prejudices of a rude unlettered people,

people, but to assimilate the new doctrines and disciplines to their forms as much as he could. Now this policy being practised by the early founders of religion, will account for the use of many things not expressly ordered by scripture. But if difficult and unfavorable circumstances were the cause of their introduction, why may not favorable circumstances and happier times be also the cause of their correction or rejection? The celibacy of the clergy had its rise in the eleventh century, why not have its fall in the nineteenth? On this subject, while I admit that catholic men should be left free to act agreeable to the dictates of their own consciences, I cannot help agreeing with the sound policy of the legislature in the reign of Edward the VIth, which, governed by the council of the Apostle Paul, while it left men at liberty to follow their own inclinations, earnestly recommended celibacy to the clergy; well judging, that what the flock might lose by the occasional deviations of some of its pastors, would be amply repaid by that diligent attention to the various and important duties of their calling, which would probably be observed by men, whose time was not distracted by the cares of a family, or whose virtuous independence sacrificed for its support to a lay or spiritual patron.

The

The Romanists in common with Protestants believe in the sublime mysteries of the resurrection, trinity, and redemption; and are governed in matters of faith by the same rule which governs the most enlightened divines in the Protestant Churches; that is, to admit things above but not contrary to reason. It is true, that matters of opinion have greatly multiplied in that church from various causes, which, uniting with the discipline, seem to have advanced that *spiritually-temporal* power of the Papacy, which, though often much abused, seems to have had its uses at different periods, not only in mitigating the savage manners of the barbarous conquerors of the dark ages, but also as a secondary means, under Providence, of spreading the gospel, when inspiration and supernatural gifts had ceased. It is, I confess, much easier to account for the discipline, and that intolerance made use of to enforce it, than it is to excuse either the one or the other; assumed infallibility was unwilling, perhaps unable*, to accommodate the changes of time by relaxation or seasonable alteration. At last the accumulated mass fell by its own weight: we see its scattered fragments spread over the face of Europe, but destitute of that spirit which made

* Witness the many unsuccessful attempts of the latter Popes to correct abuses.—The disease was too strong for physicians enfeebled alike by age and by habit.

them

them once act as one body. Every church now asserts her independence of all foreign control, let its discipline be Catholic or Protestant, Presbyterian or Moravian. Church discipline, though useful, perhaps necessary, should not, abstractedly speaking, be a matter of separation between Christian and Christian; and, provided they agree in matters of faith and in moral sentiment, I confess I think the great bar to communion is removed.

A Protestant bishop has been heard to call the Roman Catholic religion, The religion of knaves and fools. Did his *grace* mean the religion of Fenelon or of Father Roche? If the former was meant, the bishop seems to have betrayed a want of candor and sound information; if the latter, to have lost sight of that *political astutiæ* of which his grace has, at all times, been so emulous.—Can it be considered wise to tell catholic laymen, that they are all fools, and Romish Priests that they are all knaves? This certainly is not the “*douce persuasion*” recommended by Fenelon; who, though he might not have been so accomplished a politician as his lordship, seems to have possessed as large a portion of christian knowledge and christian charity. Sacerdotal honors have crowned his lordship’s pious labours in various parts of Ireland, from the extremity of the south to the Metropolitan See; I would therefore humbly

bly ask him as a divine of much experience, whether the conversion of the Catholic has ever been progressive in Ireland? and what advances reformation has made under the penal code? I do not mean to press for a few solitary instances, lest I may chance to call a blush into his lordship's cheek for the ill success of his fellow labourers in the *vineyard*. His lordship may say to the people of Ireland, "Become Protestants, and you shall have every thing." The Catholic of Ireland may reply, "Be just before you are generous! Make us your fellow citizens, if you wish to make us your friends; and, if you wish to persuade us, speak to our understandings, not to our fears! If you wish to conciliate the Roman Catholic, represent him not to those who are often as ignorant of the spirit of christianity as they are of the tenets and discipline of the See of Rome, as an idolator, as a man disregarding the obligation of an oath, as a traitor in principle, and as a murderer without compunction. If impatient under the pressure of his suffering, or, deluded by the turbulent and ambitious, he has been hurried into acts of violence, restrain him, but let it be with humanity; and if you mean to eradicate the evil, remember how long you have tried penal laws in vain!"

On this subject Montesquieu is explicit; he says, that "Penal laws ought to be avoided in respect to religion; they imprint fear it is true, but

as

as religion has also penal laws which inspire fear, the one is effaced by the other ; and between these two different kinds of fear the mind becomes hardened." That this has been the case in Ireland, I can have no doubt, and have every reason to believe that it will continue to work the same effects, so long as a single excluding principle remains to fret the mind long irritated by the penal code.

Dr. Adam Smith and Mr. Hume, whom I quote as politicians, not divines, were both friends to the measure of a national provision for the clergy ; that is, for the clergy of the great majority of the people. The following passage from Mr. Hume, though in some points objectionable, is, I think, conclusive with respect to the propriety of making a provision for the catholic clergy of Ireland : " But if we consider the matter more
 " closely, we shall find that this interested dili-
 " gence of the clergy is what every wise legislator
 " will study to prevent ; because in every reli-
 " gion, except the true, it is highly pernicious,
 " and it has even a natural tendency to pervert
 " the true, by infusing into it a strong mixture
 " of superstition, folly, and delusion. Each
 " dishonestly practitioner, in order to render himself
 " more precious and sacred in the eyes of his
 " retainers, will inspire them with the most vio-
 " lent abhorrence of all other sects, and con-
 " tinually endeavor, by some novelty, to excite
 the

“ the languid devotion of his audience. No re-
 “ gard will be paid to truth, morals, or decency,
 “ in the doctrines inculcated. Every tenet will be
 “ adopted that best suits the disorderly affections
 “ of the human frame. Customers will be drawn
 “ to each conventicle by new industry and address
 “ in practising on the passions and credulity of
 “ the populace. And in the end, the civil ma-
 “ gistrate will find that he has dearly paid for his
 “ pretended frugality, *in saving a fixed establish-*
 “ *ment for the priests*; and that in reality the
 “ most decent and advantageous composition
 “ which he can make with the spiritual guides, is
 “ to bribe their indolence by assigning stated sa-
 “ laries to their profession, and rendering it su-
 “ perfluous for them to be farther active than
 “ merely to prevent their flock from straying in
 “ quest of new pastures. And in this manner
 “ ecclesiastical establishments, though commonly
 “ they arose at first from religious views, prove in
 “ the end advantageous to the political interests
 “ of society.”

Thus, while conciliation appears to be the
 best policy of government, a mutual forbear-
 ance and good understanding should be adopted
 by the contending parties; and while they agree
 to lay aside their animosities, let them reflect,
 that it is christianity, and not the discipline of
 any church, which claims immortality; that while

the former, possessing a buoyant principle, rises above all opposing difficulties, the same to-day, to-morrow, and for ever; the latter, subject to the vicissitudes of fortune and the lapse of time, takes many forms in its season: at one time we see it like the caterpillar creeping on the earth and devouring the fruits thereof; at another time, like the torpid chrysalis wrapped in its down, enjoying its indolence and ease; but we are taught to expect the coming of that church, which like the same creature in a further state of perfection, unfolding its beauties and spreading its wings to heaven, will give happiness to man, and prove itself not unworthy of its divine head, or the spirit which then will animate it. But until that day comes, let each, conscious of its own imperfections, treat others with that good policy which is inseparable from christian charity.—

“ Let not man’s weak, unknowing hand
 “ Presume God’s bolts to throw,
 “ And deal damnation round the land
 “ On each he judge his foe.”

The Romish Church is said to be highly averse to the Church of England; perhaps the Church of England * has returned the compliment. To discover whether this implacability spring from a moral or political necessity, or if from either, or

* Certainly the Church of Ireland.

from obstinate habits, mistaken policy, and old prejudices, I have been led to enter a devious, and heretofore, by me, an untrodden path ; and trusting to the rectitude of my intentions as my guide, I entered the labyrinth, and ventured to explore its intricate mazes, directed by that clue which a mind not enslaved by prejudice or bigotry, and ardent in the desire of seeing unanimity restored to my long distracted country, afforded, little ambitious of the character of the polemic, for which I readily admit myself unqualified, and feeling no disposition to create a spirit I am not conscious of possessing.

How far this short review of the tenets and discipline of the Romish Church may prove agreeable to my reader, will much depend on the stock of party prejudice he carries into the enquiry. Should he be a man of candor, I trust he will discover, that as the church and the theological errors of popery, which have been exaggerated, manifestly tend to correct themselves, and as certain tenets which once might have been dangerous, when directed and supported by the See of Rome, have long since lost their political agency, Roman Catholics whether they are such from prejudice, honor, or conviction, should no longer be excluded from the full participation of the rights of the subject.

Houses of the Oireachtas

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
OPINIONS OF DR. PATRICK DUGENAN
ON
Catholic Emancipation, &c.

IT is an opinion too generally prevailing, that the late civil war in Ireland was a war of religion. Though the ephemeral historian of the *day*, the pamphleteer, and the party politician, all join in the cry, still had I my doubts: indeed, it has been for some time a question with me, how far those wars, which are called wars of religion, can justly be considered such; and whether we do not assign religion as a cause, when in fact its name is merely instrumental in producing an effect. In examining this question, I have been led on by something more than the pleasure of discovering an abstract truth, convinced that the

peace of society hinges more on the exposing its fallacy to the public, if it should prove to be a popular error, than is generally imagined. If then upon a candid inquiry it shall appear, that a love of power, or an impatience under an undue exercise of it, and not religion, has been the real *causa teterima belli*, and that all wars resolve themselves directly or indirectly into state policy; I trust it will then be admitted, that difference in religious opinion should not be considered an everlasting and insurmountable barrier to national union and national prosperity. In truth it was the monstrous consequence which must flow from the adoption of such a principle, namely, perpetual exclusion from the common rights of the subject, that first led me to question the doctrines of those who affirm that all civil wars in Ireland must be wars of religion, and of course that catholicism has inherent in itself the seeds of rebellion. Thus says the prejudiced protestant in Ireland of his Roman Catholic fellow-subject; thus once said Tellier and Louvais, the Popish ministers of Louis XIV. of the Protestants of France; and both countries have felt the consequence of such doctrine.

Before the period of the reformation, when all were Roman Catholics, the people of Ireland struggled to shake off British influence or British oppression; and the simple natives, fond of their rude customs and attached to their chiefs, fought

fought for the preservation of the former and from attachment to the latter, with no less zeal than when religious opinions divided the contending parties.

When the liberties of England were threatened by the power of Spain, the ambition of Philip, seconded by the policy of the See of Rome, took advantage of the state in which men's minds were then in, and made religion the ostensible motive, while he pursued his private views; and unfortunately he found in man too much of the nature of the mastiff, which only requires to be clapped on the side and hallooed, to tear in pieces his brother mastiff. The simple chieftain Desmond, flattered by the attentions of the King of Spain, joined in opposing Elizabeth, whom Philip hated as his rival, and whom the earl might have dreaded as his liege sovereign. Heresy was the watch-word—a word then meant to distinguish the army of Elizabeth from that of the invaders and natives; but a word which unfortunately has ever since distinguished and separated both in war and in peace the people of Ireland—a word in its very nature indefinite, and dangerous in proportion as it is little understood. When the invading army of Spain was either slain in the field, or massacred* in the fort (a barbarous policy that scarcely

* I mention this circumstance of the massacre of the Spanish troops

scarcely any circumstance can justify); and when a Protestant soldier had decapitated the traitor, or murdered the Catholic chieftain; shall we then say that it was religion, and not the lust of power, that made Philip sacrifice his wealth and his subjects, and that it was not the turbulent spirit of insubordination which induced Desmond to risk his life and lay waste his country, but that they both fought for transubstantiation or the mass?

The same may be said of Tirone; this wily chieftain, flattered by the hope of assistance from the same quarter, spread the horrors of civil war from one extremity to the other of the unhappy island; and before submission had obtained his pardon, famine nearly swept away the wretched remnant that was spared by the sword. To what are we to attribute the restless spirit of Tirone? can it be to his love for religion? surely not, though the Pope and Philip joined him in the cry. The Pope wished to maintain his power, shaken by the schism which the reformation occasioned; and was seconded by the Catholic Clergy, whom unfortunately for the peace of Ireland he then ap-

troops after surrender, not by way of extenuating the cruelties of the Roman Catholic by recriminating on the Protestant, but to shew the futility and injustice of attributing cruelties to any particular tenets, which are attributable to a more obvious and a more natural cause.

pointed:

pointed*: Philip, feeling all the various passions of a proud and disappointed lover, was resolved to sacrifice to his ambition the pretended object of his affections: and Tyrone, little reflecting that success in his projects would only end in a change of masters, vainly hoped to build his power on the ruin of English authority. Actuated by this one motive, they one and all, making religion subservient to their lusts, shouted death to the *heretic*: the people who heard the *sound*, understood not the *word*, but obeyed; and rivers of blood deluged the land.

The peaceful reign of James afforded that monarch an opportunity of gratifying the favorite and laudable passion of civilizing Ireland; and his exertions were in many respects successful, though the means used were not always to be justified by the motives: for at the same time that the Irish people (then first admitted to the partial rights and protection of subjects) owed gratitude for the abolition of many rude and barbarous customs, the inhabitants of an entire province had reason to complain of an invasion of their property, bestowed upon strangers; but state policy and private justice do not always go hand in hand, and

* The appointment of the Roman Catholic Clergy by the Pope instead of the government, I consider a radical evil, which I trust the legislature will speedily cure.

the state of the country then perhaps required a violent remedy. The wounds inflicted by Desmond and Tyrone began now to heal; and order and law, under the severe but firm administration of Wentworth, produced fruits till then little known in Ireland. When the favorite of Charles was sacrificed to the violence of party by an irresolute or an ungrateful master; and when the government of Ireland was placed in the feeble and polluted hand of Parsons and Borlace; Moore and O'Niel, the descendants of ancient chiefs, planned in a foreign country the rebellion of 1640: but shall we impute the atrocities of that direful period to religion—atrocities which were not confined to one side, but were perpetrated alike by a Coote and a Moore? No; the plantations in Ulster and the forfeitures in Leinster were the real cause why a desperate attempt to recover property, which is but a modification of power, at that time spread desolation over the face of Ireland. When the brave and loyal Ormond, no longer able to serve the cause of his unfortunate master in a distracted country, was obliged to retire from a scene where he in vain endeavored to reconcile contending parties; he left Ireland, exhibiting a picture fit to prove to the dispassionate enquirer, that the love of power, temporal views, and mere self interest in the heart, however religion may be in the mouth, are the real causes which operate in setting

setting faction against faction, and nation against nation.

Three armies were at that time to be seen, each taking a different route to the same end. The Parliamentarians, charmed by the novelty of their newly acquired power, with real or affected zeal called heaven to their aid in support of it : on the other hand, we see the Irish of the pale professing loyalty to their falling monarch, while they struggled to maintain or recover theirs : while the rude Aborigines under O'Niel attached themselves to a foreign court, as most likely to restore to them that property and that power which they had lost. Thus each party brought into action that species of theological ammunition which the interest of his cause required ; and we find that the commissioners Taaf and Preston renounced, on the part of the Irish of the pale, the insolent and extravagant pretensions of the Nuncio and clergy, which were readily embraced by O'Niel and his northerns. After the death of Charles, when every thing seemed to yield to the vigor or cruel policy of Cromwell, and when the barbarous massacres of Drogheda and Waterford had so far appalled all parties, as to produce the deathlike calm of a broken people submitting to their fate ; the soldiers of the conqueror, and the adventurers who followed in his train, enjoyed for a time the full possession of their plunder and newly acquired property ;

property; and under the lieutenancy of Henry Cromwell the harassed country seemed to take some repose.

On the restoration, Ireland was destined to undergo a fresh convulsion: the royalists, whether Protestants or Catholics, eagerly declaring for the new order of things, the kingdom shortly submitted to the royal authority. To allay the discontents of the various sufferers, the king published his declaration for the settlement of Ireland, which was followed by the famous act of that name; the object of which was to apply a remedy in some degree to the many acts of injustice which the late disastrous period had given birth to; and by restoring a part of their lost property, to some who were altogether innocent, and to others whom necessity had forced to join an unfortunate party, to save from beggary and desperation a large portion of the people of Ireland. But this measure, evidently founded on wisdom, honor, and justice, was near plunging the country into the horrors of another rebellion. The soldiers of Cromwell *who could endure* to enjoy property among Catholics, when a restitution of any part of that property was talked of, entered into a conspiracy which required the vigilance of an Ormond to crush. Thus we see, that one leading principle, the love of power or property, has invariably influenced all, from the barbarous

barous bigot that followed O'Niel, to the enthusiastic fanatic that conquered under Cromwell.

The transient gleam of prosperity under the patrotic Ormond, while it felt occasional interruption from the mistaken policy of the sister kingdom, was soon to be lost in the thick clouds which preceded that storm which was again to lay waste the land. When the misguided James, forgetful of his father's catastrophe, and not contented to reign over the affections of a free people, after a vain struggle to tyrannise over their minds, abandoning a kingdom he was no longer fit to govern, sought amongst the souldering discontents of Ireland to retrieve his desperate fortunes; the intemperate Tyrconnel, by his intolerance and unconciliating measures, soon circumscribed the power of his ill fated master within the limits of the Catholic party; a party, though very numerous, by no means composing the entire strength of the nation. After the memorable and hard fought battle of the Boyne, when James deserted those troops which he should have led to death or victory; what induced the Irish soldier to brave death at Athlone, Aghrim, and Limerick? was it the love of a dastard monarch, or his speculative opinions?—No:—it was his property; to recover which he staked his life:—and when he embraced banishment in an enemy's country, it was with the distant hope that the day might

might come, when the chance of war would again restore him to his native land, and to those possessions which were enjoyed by his forefathers, and which he looked on as his birthright. But length of time and the revolutions of kingdoms have long since put an end to such hopes*; and the possessors of property in Ireland, on this day, have nothing to fear from claimants, whose posterity are long since blended in the mass of foreign nations.

After the lapse of a century, that awful period arrived when the French revolution, exciting the hopes or alarming the fears of civilized society, was not viewed with indifference by the people of Ireland. Renovated by a long interval of internal tranquillity, the country began to shew symptoms of convalescence; and an highly increased population afforded arguments†, perhaps rather specious than solid, that all was well: but that policy

* The invasion of property, by setting up dormant claims, is one of the bugbears held up to frighten Protestants by the enemies of Catholic emancipation; in the opinion of most reflecting men Catholic emancipation would be one of the best securities of property, in as much as its direct tendency would be to prevent a convulsion, which alone can endanger Irish property.

† That the prosperity of Ireland, from the period of the American war to the French revolution, has been rather apparent than real, is a question perhaps not unimportant; the examination of which I must reserve for a future work.

which

which superseded the articles of Limeric by the penal code, grangrened those wounds which time would have healed.

Though a cheap and nutritious food had increased the people of Ireland to five millions; though her corn laws had swelled the rents nearly in an equal degree; though her statesmen had obtained the independency of parliament; still did the peasant feel his oppression amidst his physical privations; and the wealthy, the honorable, and enlightened Catholic, endured that tantalizing and torturing exclusion, which clouded or perverted the noblest effusions of loyalty and of patriotism.

The bill for the relief of the Catholics in 1793, however meritorious in intention, was defective in point of wisdom; and the measure seeming to be the compromise of contending parties, rather than the result of wise and conciliatory deliberation, still retained that invidious line of demarcation which separated the people from the state, when it excluded the Catholic from any one of the rights of the subject. From this disposition to do justice to the Catholic, many augured well, and considered it as the *avant courier* of complete emancipation; while others, disappointed in the attainment of the object of their reasonable and sanguine expectations, received this boon of government with such feelings

as

as the head of Hanno was received in the camp of the Cathagenians—the mournful presage of defeat.

At this critical and awful period, when the untried theories of France, so flattering to the vanity of man, were making their rapid progress through the world, and gaining proselytes in every country, was it to be expected that Ireland, then possessing the British constitution but in theory, should have stood a solitary exception at the very time that England herself was not proof against the fascinating novelty! for even Britain required a dear bought experience to prove the superior practical excellence of her matchless constitution. But, the unsubstantial vision of republicanism has vanished, and has left man to bewail his fallen state, the theorist to see the vanity of his speculations, and the statesman and philosopher to acknowledge, that a pure republican form of government is irreconcilable with the present state of society, and that if ever it can exist in this world, it must first be the consequence of virtue in the people, before it becomes its continuing cause; but, when it mixes with the vices of corrupt society, it soon effervesces into anarchy, and then subsides into despotism.

But the revolutionary principle was not confined to the Catholic of Ireland; the Catholic and the Protestant, the divine and the soldier, the physician

physician and the lawyer, the merchant and the farmer, all swelled that cohort, which, while it talked of saving, would, had not Providence disconcerted some of its deep laid plans, have depopulated its wretched country in the dreadful struggle.

With the movers of the late rebellion, though composed of men of various sects, religion seems to have had no part: from the youthful, inexperienced, and often benevolent theorist, to the gloomy and sanguinary anarchist, though influenced by different motives, variously shaded, still all professed but one object,—a change of or in the government,—and avowed no motives but such as were clearly of a political or a temporal nature. But, when mutual outrages had exasperated to madness the contending parties, when civil war had shewn her terrific front in open day, and with her ægis turned every heart to stone; when Irishmen, like blood hounds, were halloo'd to mutual slaughter, a popular term of reproach was wanting, and that was taken which from its indefinite signification best answered the purpose: then was the word heretic used in Ireland, as the term *aristocrate* was used in France, merely to designate a party, hated, not for their spiritual differences, but for their temporal immunities; and the ignorance of the peasantry, and the conduct of their priests prove nothing to the contrary; though a Murphy encouraged his followers by shewing them he-

retical bullets, which he pretended struck him with impunity, and though the bloody Dixon sacrificed Protestants on the bridge of Wexford. For trace effects to their causes, and we shall find that similar motives influenced Murphy and Dixon, which made the monk Pichegru a leader of armies, and Carrier the detested assassin of Nants.

I have endeavored by a deduction from historical facts to establish this position, that the civil wars and rebellions in Ireland have uniformly arisen from the ordinary motives which actuate man to oppose constituted authority, viz. ambition, or the sense of existing grievances, whether political, civil, or physical; while religious distinctions, being merely instrumental, serve as watchwords and badges of party, and in truth are nothing more than the *orange* and *green* of the contending factions. Supposing this were not the case, but that there existed between the Catholic and Protestant an intrinsic principle of hostility, how deplorable must be the destiny of Ireland, condemned to a perpetual disunion of her people! I say perpetual, because that exclusion, though thought necessary for the preservation of the government, operating like persecution, will prevent all possibility of union in religious sentiment, and keep the Protestant and Catholic for ever separate and for ever hostile. Though the stake and the rack be laid aside, what does it matter

matter if a badge hung at a button hole produce the same effect on the mind? The Jew looks with confidence to the day of his restoration, but Irishmen will in vain look forward to their day of national prosperity, until the Imperial parliament, in its clemency, shall be convinced of the wisdom of catholic emancipation.

In the course of this inquiry I have been led to read a book which was published on the eve of the Union: this work, avowedly an answer to some publications of that day, contains opinions, observations, and assertions, which for the sake of Ireland and of the British empire, I most sincerely hope are not founded either on sound reasoning or on matter of fact, but that they rather spring from that spirit of party, which, notwithstanding the possibly good intentions of the individual, is apt to lead into the wildest and most destructive error. The author, after laying it down as his opinion, in a stile flowing from the apparent consciousness of his *own* infallibility, that the late rebellion was the offspring of Romish incubation, pathetically laments the partial repeal of the penal code; and asserts, that the Catholics are *better used* than they *deserve*, and that the safety of the state depends on their exclusion and restraints. That a Catholic cannot be a loyal subject or a good member of the state, our author concludes, because a Catholic will not take the

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oath

oath of supremacy; i. e. a Catholic cannot be a loyal subject because he is a Catholic; for as a Catholic he cannot swear that the Pope has no spiritual authority. But if we consider this matter fairly, we shall find that the oath of allegiance contains, in a temporal point of view, the essence of the oath of supremacy, which oath of allegiance no Catholic can or will refuse.

The oath of supremacy is as follows :

“ I *A. B.* do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any other person whatsoever : and I do declare, that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.”

The oath of allegiance is :

“ I *A. B.* do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third. So help me God.”

Now, when a subject swears “ not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended the king without defending him therefrom,” does he not virtually

tually deny the temporal jurisdiction and deposing power of the Pope? Surely he does; for the contrary would be incompatible with his allegiance which he has sworn to preserve. The learned author now stepping back six hundred years, conveys his reader into the gothic gloom of the thirteenth century, and groping in the uncertain twilight of that sickly age for monkish materials to exercise his skill on in the use of Aristotle's *conundrums*, presents us with a long extract from the council of Lateran, and proves most clearly, that Pope Innocent the Third was as determined an enemy to all heretics as Dr. Patrick Duigenan appears to be to all Catholics. Could the Doctor's ardent mind have dwelt for a moment on any other object but that of his terror and detestation, his loyalty would, doubtless, have suggested the propriety of reminding his majesty, that as the same Innocent the Third had also excommunicated and deposed a King of England, his Majesty would do well to take care, lest Clement the Seventh should serve him in the same way. At present, indeed, it may be unwise to embarrass the operations of our vigilant and active ministry, by dropping a hint, which, if it were to reach the ear of the First Consul, he might turn against us, by prevailing on his holiness (with whom as a *pious son of the church* he, doubtless, has a strong interest) to make a diversion in his favor, and thus

perhaps oblige us to detach the channel fleet from the defence of our coasts to oppose the *fulmen spirituale* of the Church of Rome. This, however, I shall not urge, it being an idea of my own: the Doctor will excuse me for having *my little apprehensions*, which, with respect to the Pope, I believe to be at least as well grounded as his; but this point must be left to the decision of the candid reader.

Our author further observes on this terrific power of his holiness, threatening as it were the liberties of Europe, that, “ in every Romish state
 “ the sovereign power, whether it be a monarchy
 “ or a republic, being vested in Romanists, its
 “ consent to the execution of the decrees of their
 “ own church, of which they admit the Pope to
 “ be supreme head, is certain. Romish monarchs
 “ and governing members of Romish republics are
 “ by the tenets of their religion bound, not only
 “ to consent to the execution, but to execute the
 “ decrees of their church as well on the persons as
 “ the property of their subjects.” The Doctor here, I fancy, has his eye on the council of Lateran, and has not as yet taken leave of the thirteenth century: I must not suppose that he can seriously mean to apply this doctrine as practical or practicable on the present day. Was it practised in France under the monarchy? Is there a state within the whole extent of Germany where this doctrine

doctrine is received? Is it on this day acted on in Spain, or even in Portugal? and shall this papal phantom be now conjured up from the tomb of ignorance and superstition to divert for an instant the attention of the Imperial parliament from that great and paramount duty,—the salvation of Ireland and the safety of the empire? I trust not; and hope that every member rising from his seat will salute this worthy representative of an Irish county with his own favorite quotation; “Get away, Raw-head and Bloody-bones, &c.*”

Judge Blackstone observes, “That all the strength that either the Papal or Imperial laws have obtained in this realm, (*or indeed in any other kingdom in Europe,*) is only because they have been received by immemorial usage and custom in some particular cases, and some particular courts; and then they form a branch of the *leges non scriptæ*, or customary laws; or else, because they are in some other cases introduced by consent of parliament, and they owe their validity to the *legis scriptæ*, or statute laws.” If then our canon law, deriving its efficacy and borrowing its sanction from the law of the land, is found to be neither offensive to the state nor dangerous to the liberty or the property of the subject, shall we fear oppression from the See of

* The Doctor quoted this classical line of Swift's in the Irish House of Commons in the last debate on the catholic question.

Rome, and are the statutes of *præmunire* to be considered as dead-letter?

If intolerance and persecution have disgraced some nations of Europe, even after the time that letters and commerce had considerably broken the clouds of ignorance, perhaps we are to attribute it to a cruel and tyrannic policy in the governments to shut out that light which they feared would expose their weakness and their crimes. The inquisition, and other oppressions in which the church took an ostensible part, though permitted and at times encouraged by the See of Rome, cannot be said necessarily to flow from its doctrines; if they were, they must be general in every Roman Catholic country: but there are many catholic states in which the mind of man has never been debased, or his body tortured by the inquisition. I wish it may contribute to the Doctor's peace of mind to assure him, that he has no reason to fear (unless it be in his dreams) the stool of the *irreconcilable heretic*, or the *sandenito* of the inquisition, ornamented with inverted flames, and graced by the Doctor's own portrait, *cum aliis similis**.

When our author speaks of the baneful effects which are to arise from admitting Catholics to the legislative franchise, I confess I think, that to attempt an answer would not be using the reader

* See an account of an *auto da fee*.

well: I therefore shall give his own words, which
 burn: "Then," (i. e. after the Catholic obtains
 the legislative franchise,) "the halcyon days of
 " Queen Mary, and the bonfires and triumphs of
 " popery, will return; and the writ *de hæretico*
 " *comburendo* will again receive the sanction of
 " parliament."

After ringing many changes on the oath of
 supremacy and the council of Lateran, and building
 up his formidable sorites, he draws this conclusion;
 that although the temporal power of the Pope is
 very low, his spiritual is as much to be feared as
 ever; and to prove the moral probability of this,
 he tells you what the Popes have done in the days
 of the Henrys and Edwards. I confess I am not so
 expert at mode and figure as the Doctor, and have
 long given up the use of syllogism for that of
 common sense. I shall therefore put a case, and
 beg his opinion.

Two friends go to visit the ancient armory in
 the tower, and after surveying the trophies of the
 Spanish armada with the pride of Britons, and
 having, with a pensive sigh, felt the edge of that
 axe which once was stained with the blood of
 Ann Bullen, they enter the apartment where
 our feudal ancestors stand armed *cap-à-pie*, and
 the Henrys and Edwards, "clad in complete
 steel, bestride their foaming steeds;" should one
 that moment, starting back, say to his com-
 panion,

panion, "Take care, as you value your life, how you enter this place! behold the stern looks of old Edward! see how the Vth Henry threatens with his eye! mark the bloody tyrant Henry the VIIIth, with his sword just ready to strike your head off! see John of Gaunt with his mighty cutlass, with which he will surely cleave you to the chine!" What, Sir, must his friend think of him after such an address? I anticipate your answer,—either that he bantered him, or had suddenly lost his wits:—"Then Nathan said unto David, thou art the man."

Our author argues, that the emancipation of the Catholic would endanger the act of union with Scotland, and quotes Sir William Blackstone, whose sentiments on that subject seem, to my apprehension, widely to differ from those of the learned Doctor. Sir William, in his third observation on the articles of the union with Scotland, observes, it is true, "That any alteration in the constitution of either of the churches (without the consent of the respective churches) would be an infringement of the fundamental conditions, and *greatly endanger* the union." Now the obvious meaning of this passage is, that a change of religion, by exciting popular commotion, might possibly endanger the union, in the same manner as Lord George Gordon's riots endangered the city of London; not that the
change

change in religion would necessarily and by legal operation have the effect of dissolving the union. On this point the learned judge is so very explicit in his note, that I am surprised that the Doctor, who is a lawyer as well as a statesman, could have recourse to such an argument, unless he thought himself in duty * bound to follow the example of a right reverend divine, who once made use of the same argument in opposing a commutation of tithes: but party zeal, like the "*auri sacra fames, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!*" But not to rest on the *argumentum ad vericundiam*, I will refer the reader to the eighteenth article of the union; which expressly says, "that laws relating to public *policy* are alterable at the discretion of the parliament." Here then we have it reduced to a question of policy, the salutary tendency of which, I trust, there will be as few to doubt as there are to believe, that the Imperial parliament can be bound by any species of *political mortmain*, which is to prevent its making laws for existing circumstances.

The next argument in favor of Catholic exclusion, and against a national provision for the Romish clergy, is not a little extraordinary: he says, that in Ireland the numbers may be in proportion of three Catholics to one Protestant, but

* Doctor Duigenan, I understand, is Vicar General of the Metropolitan See.

that

that property is, taking real and personal into account, in the proportion of one to forty in favor of Protestants; that, however, the proportion of Protestants to Catholics in the empire at large is at *least* as six Protestants to one Catholic: and from these facts,—that because Catholics are poorer and more numerous in Ireland, and because Protestants are richer and more numerous in the empire at large, the Doctor draws this notable conclusion, that it would be dangerous to emancipate the Catholic: thus, while like the satyr in the fable he blows hot and cold at the same time, he excludes the Catholic, because he forms the majority in Ireland; and because he forms the minority in Britain, he equally excludes him: This extraordinary logic, which I think deserves to be dignified with the name of the inventor, and to be called the *argumentum Dignonium*, brings to my mind the story I have heard of a certain empiric, a tea-spoonful of whose nostrum the doctor engaged would prove a certain remedy for every complaint: now it mattered not what the secondary qualities or accidents of the tea-spoon were, provided the instrument were but a tea-spoon, that with the doctor constituting its real essence: it signified not, for instance, whether it was silver, block-tin, or pewter; whether it was old or new, battered, or smooth, clean or dirty, large or small, so it was but a tea-spoon; for, according to the doctor, a tea-spoon-*full* was just enough. Just

so with our Doctor's *political panacea*, catholic *exclusion*; let the disease be but catholic, and he engages a cure; with him it is of little import whether the Catholic be a majority or a minority, is loyal or disloyal, is civilized or barbarous, rich or poor, gentle or simple; in this case, as in that of the tea-spoon, a name makes the real essence of the thing, and our concording doctors march *in pari passu*.

The Doctor, after observing, I fear with more truth than delicacy, that "almost the whole beggary of the kingdom are Romanists," urges this as a reason why a national provision should not be granted to their priests; a measure which would have a direct and immediate tendency to alleviate the distresses of the poor, and to promote a decent independence in the clergy: and, at the same time that he attributes the calamities of Ireland for the last two centuries to an oppressed and ill administered popular church, he refuses the only efficient and effectual remedy,—a national provision.

Doctor Duigenan, dreading, I presume, that the removal of one national grievance may lead to the correction of another, expresses no small degree of indignation at one of those gentlemen who have fallen under his lash, for presuming to say with Dr. Adam Smith and every other enlightened writer on œconomics, that tithes operate as a tax
on

on industry; and when the same gentleman observes, "that the great church establishment of Ireland is not necessary or useful to the people in general of the country," he is told in a style certainly more nervous than courtly, "*that it is the lying invention of a malignant Romanist.*" Now, though it is by no means my intention to enter the lists a partisan in defence of any individual, I cannot help observing, that there is a certain licence of language which equally bars our claim to the character of a gentleman or of a man of candor. Whether Doctor Duigenan has observed the decorum of a gentleman to one who is a total stranger to me, can be no affair of mine; but whether he has supported that candor, which should be the characteristic of every man, who, when his country is on trial and her existence at stake, brings forward his evidence, is now the question; here then I enter the lists, happy if my weak shield shall divert a blow aimed at the vitals of my bleeding country.

Doctor Duigenan tells his reader, "that no person in Ireland is better qualified to inform the public in general on the subject of the collection of tithes, and the conduct of the established clergy of Ireland, in particular, than he is." This is a very delicate subject, involving the consideration of individual conduct with the general character of an establishment, which must of necessity

necessity take its complexion from tithes; which, administered as they are, present the never failing source of animosity and discord. But, however the tithe system may influence in misrepresenting or in forming the character of the clergy of the established church, I should do little justice to feelings I must ever fondly cherish, did I not acknowledge, that, even under existing circumstances, there are some justly distinguished for piety and moderation; and that, while the satire of the excellent Cowper will attach to many others, there are who may claim a family likeness to the bright portrait drawn by Goldsmith, their amiable countryman: but while with reverential awe I keep a respectful distance from the latter, I feel no disposition to follow the former any further, whether as his patron's groom he repairs to the race course, or as the pliant agent of his passions accommodates both the law and gospel to his will.

As to the manner of collecting tithes I have spoken already, and without exaggeration. To shew that tithes are a tax on industry, and of the most oppressive nature, being in proportion to the capital and skill of the cultivator, I will beg leave again to refer the reader to the 3d vol. of Doctor Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, where it is laid down, "That the tithe and every other land-tax of this kind, under the appearance of
perfect

perfect equality, are very unequal taxes; a certain portion of the produce being in different situations equivalent to a very different portion of the rent. In some very rich lands the produce is so great, that the one-half of it is fully sufficient to replace to the farmer his capital employed in cultivation, together with the ordinary profits of farming stock in the neighbourhood: the other half, or what comes to the same thing, the value of the other half, he could afford to pay as rent to the landlord, if there was no tithe. But if a tenth of the produce is taken from him in the way of tithe, he must require an abatement of the fifth part of his rent, otherwise he cannot get back his capital with the ordinary profit. In this case, the rent of the landlord, instead of amounting to a half, or five-tenths of the whole produce, will amount only to four-tenths of it. In poorer lands, on the contrary, the produce is often so small, and the expense of cultivation so great, that it requires four-fifths of the whole produce to replace to the farmer his capital with the ordinary profit. In this case, though there was no tithe, the rent of the landlord could amount to no more than one-fifth or two-tenths of the whole produce. But if the farmer pays one-tenth of the produce by the way of tithe, he must require an equal abatement of the rent of the landlord, which will thus be reduced to one-tenth only of the

the whole produce. Upon the rent of rich lands the tithe may sometimes be a tax of no more than one-fifth part, or four shillings in the pound; whereas, upon that of poor lands, it may sometimes be a tax of one-half, or of ten shillings in the pound.

“ The tithe, as it is frequently a very unequal tax upon the rent, so it is always a great discouragement both to the improvements of the landlords and to the cultivation of the farmer. The one cannot venture to make the most important, which are generally the most expensive improvements, nor the other to raise the most valuable, which are generally too the most expensive crops, when the church, which lays out no part of the expense, is to share so very largely in the profit. The cultivation of madder was for a long time confined, by the tithe, to the United Provinces, which being Presbyterian countries, and upon that account exempted from this destructive tax, enjoyed a sort of monopoly of that useless dying drug, against the rest of Europe.

“ The late attempts to introduce the culture of this plant into England, have been made only in consequence of the statute, which enacted, that five shillings an acre should be received in lieu of all manner of tithe upon madder.” Page 275, sec. ii.

Doctor Duigenan next observes, “ That the
G
ministers

ministers of the established church are ready to afford the Catholic spiritual aid." This, I confess, puts me in mind of Yorick's offering a mackaroon to the oppressed ass, when the man of sentiment must have known, that poor jack would have preferred a thistle ; but Stern loved his jest, perhaps so does Doctor Duigenan.

He then proceeds to prove, that the Irish peasant gains by paying tithes; he says, " the peasantry do not pay tithe out of their own property, it is in fact paid by the landlords. The peasant takes a lease from the proprietor, subject to the payment of tithe, and the landlord abates more than an equivalent for the annual tithe, in the yearly rent reserved payable to himself; so that though the farmer pays the tithe, he does not pay it out of his own pocket." Now Doctor Duigenan, leaving out of the question skill, capital, and extraordinary produce, over and above what is necessary to pay the rent, and give the farmer a miserable existence, draws this *dutiful* conclusion, " that the Irish peasantry, in fact, would be in a worse condition if tithes were abolished." As I have already given my opinion on this subject, I shall leave the reader to choose which argument he will adopt, Doctor Smith's or Doctor Duigenan's.

Doctor Duigenan makes the number of livings
to

to be about eight hundred; Bishop Woodward about twelve hundred. As I do not pretend to judge of the respective accuracy of these statements, I have only to observe, that if the bishop were capable of misrepresentation, he could have no motive to induce him to exaggerate; but perhaps, in the opinion of some, the difficulty of the present times may excuse a *pia fraus* in the statement of the Doctor.

With respect to the revenues of the clergy, I profess that my information by no means qualifies me to give a general or an accurate opinion; but, as far as my experience reaches, which is confined to the south of Ireland, Doctor Duigenan's very moderate average of 200 or 300*l.* per annum will certainly not apply; as 1000*l.* per annum but ranks in the class of *good livings* in that happy district, where the tithes of a single parish are sometimes found to exceed the revenues of a bishopric, i. e. 3000*l.* per annum; but, as Dr. Duigenan seems fond of drawing his arguments from the times that are past, I suspect that this average is not meant for the present century.

Doctor Duigenan, in violently opposing an argument drawn in favor of religious tolerance, taken from the practice of Saxony, comes to this ingenious, but melancholy conclusion, that religious tolerance, which though it may be allowed in an absolute government, is inadmissible

in a free state, as destructive of its liberty,—if its liberty be not a name! I would invoke the sons of freedom, from Brutus to Sidney, and ask their spirits to explain this mystery; Why freedom should produce the fruits of slavery, and despotism bear the fair blossoms of liberty? Why the peasant in Saxony should be contented and happy, while the peasant in Ireland is discontented and miserable? Ah! Theory! Theory! thou art a flattering and deceitful goddess; your delusions, like morning dreams, quickly vanish, and are succeeded by others; but what is life without thee! a still, dull round of animal existence.

To moderate our joy, or abate the envy we may feel at the happy lot of the Saxon peasant, Doctor Duigenan relates an anecdote of one, who for killing a deer was tied on the back of a stag, which being let loose in the woods, the man was torn to pieces. This is a sad tale, and whether it happened or not, we have reason to lament that any remnant of feudal oppression should now disgrace Europe. But unfortunately the game laws every where bring a tincture from their original source; even in England, where they feel the influence of a free constitution, and their rankness is somewhat corrected by the spirit of the law, too much is still retained of that mædean power, which while it too often lowers the dignity of the lord, and de-
bases

bases the character of the squire, invariably makes the dependent instruments of their sport, idle sots or worthless knaves. But in Ireland, where offences against the game have generally been punished by a kind of martial law, though I never heard of a man being tied on the back of a stag, I have known of acts where liberty and property were not much respected.

A noble lord, understanding that a man, who had taken the opposite side in a contested election, coursed a hare on his land, had him taken before a magistrate, who happened to be the parson of his parish and a *sportsman*, who committed him to prison, though he pleaded a qualification, while the noble peer had his dogs hung before the window of their imprisoned and insulted master. I had the pleasure of being informed that this outrage did not pass without impunity.

Where the prosperity and safety of the empire are at stake, the British parliament is not like a court of law, to be governed by precedents; though, were they necessary, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, and America, afford enough to prove not only the safety, but the utility of religious freedom.

Doctor Duigenan gives another instance of his extraordinary logical powers in the following argument, which I will beg leave to call *argu-*

mentum numerale, and it may be translated the ready reckoner's argument. This argument very satisfactorily proves, that the *smaller* number exceeds the *greater*, when we compare the Catholic with the Protestant; ergo, that the Protestant makes the majority: his words are as follow: "The truth is, the religion of the people of Ireland, if determined by the religion of the majority reckoned by the poll, would be Romish by a majority of two to one; if reckoned by property, would be Protestant by a majority of forty to one; so that it may be justly established by fair calculation, that the religion of Ireland, exclusive of its being the established one, is Protestant." It would help the curious in calculations, if the Doctor had favoured the public with a table of sects, with the respective value, weight, and measure of each, like the tables of coin, &c. in our vulgar arithmetic; for instance, as one pound makes twenty shillings, one shilling twelve pence, one penny four farthings; so one *sterling* Churchman may be said to make two Dissenters, one Dissenter ten Catholics, &c. This I merely throw out as a hint, feeling as I do the necessity of having some precise ideas on this subject to avoid that confusion which must unavoidably arise from their not being well defined: for instance, you meet your neighbour returning from church, you ask whether there

was

was a full congregation? he answers in the affirmative: you ask who was there? he tells you, only the squire, his lady, his daughter, himself, and the parson and clerk; the servants having gone to chapel, being all Catholics. Supposing you are a novice in those matters, you of course, stare, and ask, if he considers six a full congregation; he, smiling at your ignorance, tells you that on Doctor Duigenan's calculation, the accuracy of which is obvious, there were 120 at the least, which is no inconsiderable congregation for a country church in Ireland.

Doctor Duigenan now mounts the inquisitorial chair, and, after passing sentence on M. Neckar as an atheist, he turns to Mr. Burke, and disregarding the pious maxim, *De mortuis nihil nisi bonum*," enters the charnel house, and gropes for human frailties among the bones and ashes of that man, whose enlightened spirit now enjoys the blessing reserved for the incorruptible and disinterested statesman and patriot. But whatever may have been his merits, to have felt an interest for the Catholics of Ireland, or to have shed a tear over their sufferings, were crimes which nothing could atone!

Perhaps Doctor Duigenan will be able to account for the apparent inconsistency which has been by some imputed to Mr. Burke, if he takes the trouble coolly to reflect, that in justifying the

conduct of America, in resisting arbitrary taxation, he only expressed his attachment to the principles of the British constitution; but that when he reprobated the French revolution, he deplored the adoption of principles, which his philosophic mind enabled him to foresee would lead to moral disorder and civil insubordination. This explanation, I trust, is at least as likely to be well founded as Doctor Duigenan's charitable hypothesis, viz. that an *inordinate love of popery* was the soul of all Mr. Burke's political action.

Doctor Duigenan talks much of the coronation oath, and represents it as an insurmountable barrier to the hopes of the Catholic: before I had seen his book, I endeavoured to shew that it was no bar, i. e. no necessary bar to a national provision for the Roman Catholic clergy: the same reasoning, I conceive, will apply to its not being a necessary bar to Catholic emancipation; I shall only observe here, that in excluding one party you endanger the existence of both; and that the king swears to support, not to exclude.

The Doctor says, " he once heard it roundly asserted, that if the houses of Lords and Commons should agree on a bill for subverting the Protestant establishment in Ireland, his majesty would be bound to give his royal assent." For my part, I confess, I do not like positions which savour so much of mere questions of power: it is
straining

straining the string to try the temper of your bow when there is no necessity: this extreme, I may almost say impossible case, I trust will never be put to the test.

Doctor Duigenan recounts instances of cruelties practised by the rebels. It is not my intention to palliate atrocities which I deplore, by adducing, by way of recrimination, similar acts committed by the opposite party; but, referring my reader to Mr. Gordon's History of the Rebellion in 1798, (a book, though written by a gentleman who appears to have witnessed many of the horrors of that dismal period, is remarkably free from those prejudices and passions which disgrace other publications of that day,) shall confine myself to a few instances given in the notes*.

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* Though I have read with interest Mr. Gordon's history, and admire the liberality of his sentiments, I cannot avoid noticing an inconsistency that possibly his good nature, certainly not his cool judgment, has led him into, in approving of Doctor Duigenan's book, which is in direct opposition to the principles he himself lays down.

Page 343, Mr. Gordon observes, " Though I think that the
 " influence of the Romish clergy in Ireland is at present in-
 " sufficient either to prevent or excite a rebellion of any mo-
 " ment, yet I rejoice to find that government intends, by the
 " provison of a decent maintenance, to render this order of men
 " independent of the laity, since this must augment in their
 " own eyes, and those of others, the respectability of their
 " station, and may incline them to contribute, by the adoption
 " of

The Doctor, in his observations on the penal laws, remarks, that the short terms prescribed by them

“ of a more liberal plan of conduct, to the removal of those un-
 “ christian sentiments of religious intolerance, and those blind
 “ attachments in their followers to foreign powers in preference
 “ to the British government, to which sources are in a great mea-
 “ sure to be attributed the poverty and misery of their country.
 “ Of the miseries occasioned to Irish Romanists by these
 “ causes, a hideous catalogue might be easily collected from
 “ the authentic records of this island.”

Page 93. “ Since the publication of my first edition,” Mr. Gordon observes, “ a pamphlet has appeared, stiled, ‘ A Narra-
 ‘ tive of the Apprehension, Trial, and Execution of Sir Edward
 ‘ William Crosbie, Bart. in which the innocence of Sir Ed-
 ‘ ward, and the iniquity of the proceedings against him are in-
 ‘ dubitably and clearly proved.’ This publication records one
 “ atrocious instance, out of a multitude which occurred, of the
 “ abuse of power delegated by the members of administration
 “ to inferior actors in a time of lamentable distraction. Pro-
 “ testant loyalists, witnesses in favor of the accused, were
 “ forcibly prevented by the military from entering the court.
 “ Roman Catholic prisoners were tortured by repeated flog-
 “ gings, to force them to give evidence against him, and appear
 “ to have been promised their lives upon no other condition
 “ than that of his conviction. Notwithstanding all these and
 “ other violent measures, no charge was proved against him ;
 “ of which defect of evidence his judges were so sensible, that
 “ in defiance of an act of parliament, a copy of the proceedings
 “ was withheld from his widow and family. The court was
 “ irregularly constituted and illegal, destitute of a judge ad-
 “ vocate. The execution of the sentence was precipitate, at an
 “ unusual hour, and attended with atrocious circumstances, not
 “ warranted

them were no discouragement to industry, in as much as the terms they allowed were longer than the

“ warranted by the sentence, and reflecting indelible disgrace
“ on the parties concerned.”

Page 160. “ This bigotry and fury I consider not as attributable to well educated and well informed Roman Catholics.
“ From political causes, which I now hope to see speedily removed, the lower orders are so degraded by superstition, and
“ inflamed with its rancour, compounded with political and
“ personal resentment, that in the hour of triumph their own
“ priests and leaders were unable to prevent the pernicious
“ effects. If the Catholic clergy were salaried by the state,
“ and the arm of the law rendered stronger than that of magistrates and great men of the country, we might hope to see
“ shortly a moral and intellectual improvement in the great
“ body of Irish peasantry, a body of splendid elements very
“ well deserving the attention of a wise legislature.”

Page 237. “ Where any Protestants were murdered by these
“ banditti, or their confederates, a greater number of Romanists
“ were put to death in the same neighbourhood by the yeomen.
“ Thus at Castletown, four miles from Gorey, where four Protestants were massacred in the night by Hacket, seven Romanists were slain in revenge: and, at Aughrim, in the
“ county of Wicklow, ten miles from the same town, twenty-seven of the latter were killed in consequence of murders committed on the former.”

Page 243. “ One species of mischief, was the burning of
“ Romish chapels in the night, of which hardly one escaped
“ in the extent of several miles around Gorey. This, though it
“ evinced a puerile spirit of religious antipathy, little honorable
“ to any description of people, was of a nature far less cruel.
“ I have heard Roman Catholic gentlemen say, that the burning

the generality granted to or required by the English farmer, whose industry, skill, and wealth are made manifest by the state of agriculture, and

“ing of one poor cabin must cause more actual misery than
“of hundreds of chapels.”

Page 258. “I sincerely believe the Irish to be naturally as
“compassionate as any other people, but ignorance and bigotry
“debase as yet the minds of the great majority in the south and
“west. Many instances might be given of men, who at the
“hazard of their own lives, concealed and maintained loyalists
“until the storm passed away. On the other hand, many
“might be given of cruelties committed by persons not natives
“of Ireland. I shall mention only one act, not of what I shall
“call cruelty, since no pain was inflicted but ferocity, not cal-
“culated to, soften the rancour of the insurgents: Some sol-
“diers of the ancient British regiment cut open the dead body
“of Father Michael Murphy, after the battle of Arklow, took
“out his heart, roasted the body, and oiled their boots with the
“grease which dripped from it. From the facts related in
“foregoing parts of this volume I can hardly be charged with
“the futile design of an exculpation of the rebels with respect
“to cruelty; nor am I afraid of an accusation of partiality to
“my countrymen. Though by birth an Irishman, I am wholly
“British by descent; and, my opinion is, that an historian
“ought not to suffer himself to be biassed in his writings,
“however he may in his feelings, by any kind of partiality.
“My natural bias would be to the side of protestantism and
“loyalty; but I should be unworthy the character of an histo-
“rical writer if I should thus be drawn from the line of truth.

“In one point, I think, we must allow some praise to the
“rebels; amid all their atrocities, the chastity of the fair sex
“was respected. I have not been able to ascertain one instance
“to the contrary in the county of Wexford, though many
“beautiful young women were absolutely in their power.”

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the solid improvement of the country. As this subject will probably call my attention in a future work, all I shall say at present is, that the system of husbandry, and the relations between landlord and tenant differ so widely in the two islands, that it is difficult to attain such a juxtaposition as to enable one to draw a parallel.

In speaking on the gavelling clause, on the nonconformity of the eldest son, he observes, "that it could not be considered a hardship, for that it is now the common law of the county of Kent."—Kent preserved her ancient tenure as a privilege, and a memorial of her spirit and independence. Gavelling was imposed on the Catholic of Ireland to break his spirit;—a badge of conquest and subjection;—in Kent it yields to settlements and last wills,—in Ireland it did not.—I should not have gone out of my way, or troubled my reader by the mention of laws which no longer disgrace our statute book, did I not think it my duty to point out the propensity, which manifests itself on every occasion, to draw uncandid conclusions from facts which are served up with so much sophistical art, and pressed with such confidence, that it is seriously to be dreaded lest many of the unwary, at this side of the water, have swallowed the poison of error, expecting the nutriment of sound information.

Doctor Duigenan, deploring the *ill judged* clemency

mency of the Marquis Cornwallis, having first dealt a few parting blows on his political adversaries, turns his back upon a country foolish enough to hail the blessings of returning tranquillity; and on a government so blind as to extend mercy to prostrate and penitent rebels; and teeming with the chivalrous spirit of party, repairs to England, like a most loyal knight, to rid the world of, and execute justice on the Burkists, a set of monstrous giants and wicked sorcerers, who, in league with their grand-master the Pope, have enchanted many of his majesty's liege subjects and faithful ministers, that they may the more effectually accomplish their views on the Protestants, whom they have vowed to devour.

The adventures of our knight, though doubtless they would prove both instructive and entertaining, as they cannot conveniently be introduced here, I must beg the reader to suspend his curiosity for the present, while we examine the cunning arguments the doctor makes use of to disenchant some of his majesty's ministers, who, as he imagines, have fallen under the power of these cruel sorcerers, the Burkists: first of all to prove, that these giants and sorcerers have no legal title to devour Protestants, he gives the following dissertation on natural and political rights, common right, &c.*

* Vide Doctor Duigenan's pamphlet, page 180 and 182.

A noble

A noble peer, distinguished alike for his candor, good sense, and political knowledge, but who could not persuade himself to believe that Burkists were either giants or sorcerers, or that it was wise or political to retain the Catholic any longer in a state of exclusion, which by keeping prejudices alive, but weakened that union of sentiment on which the strength of the nation so much depended, was the first our doctor tried the force of his arguments upon. After first declaring his amazement at his lordship's errors, he recounts the many outrages which were committed by Catholics since the days of Elizabeth, and cites the wise laws which were enacted to restrain them—we have witnessed with how happy an effect! The partial repeal of these laws Doctor Duigenan pathetically laments.

The doctor in his argument, perhaps I should call it his *exorcism*, proceeds to state, “ That Irish
 “ Protestants maintain, that the exclusion of Irish
 “ Romanists had its origin in political right* ; and
 “ in

* A learned and indefatigable antiquarian and linguist of the present day has, if I mistake not, undertaken to prove to the satisfaction of those who possess a sufficient degree of that sublime conception and warm imagination necessary to enable them to taste his erudite and recondite labours, that the *ab-origines* of Ireland are descended from the reprobate son of Noah, who after the confusion of tongues peopled Ireland. Now the descendants of Ham being under a curse condemned to

“ in the very first of political rights, to wit, that
 “ of the state, to preserve its own existence and
 “ independence from all foreign jurisdictions.”

This argument, resting on the assumption of the Pope’s temporal power in foreign states, which common sense and every day’s experience proves no longer to exist, must, agreeable to his definition of political right, fall to the ground.

He next points to the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, the declaration against transubstantiation, invocation of saints, and sacrifices of the mass, these mighty bulwarks and buttresses of the church and state! of true gothic mould it must be confessed, and useful in their day; at present they but encumber a land of liberty, and deform the edifice of our free constitution.

The doctor, now fancying that he has begun to counteract the spells of the *sorcerer*, thus presses his lordship: “ Your Lordship declares it to be
 “ your warmest wish to establish Irish Romanists
 “ in an equality of civil rights with Irish Pro-
 “ testants; King James the Second professed
 “ nothing more; he professed similar designs in
 “ England.” The truth is, that James went on

to be the *servants of servants*, must be considered a cause as satisfactory as those offered by Doctor Duigenan, why emancipation should be refused to the Catholic. I offer the hint with submission, the doctor; if he please, may improve upon it.

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the principle of exclusion, as the doctor does 'in favor of his party, and the Protestant under William fought merely for what the Catholic now demands—emancipation!

In answer to an objection of his lordship, that the exclusion of the Catholic is not conformable to the opinion of the majority of the Irish nation, the doctor again has recourse to his *argumentum numerale*, and proves, I suppose, much to his own satisfaction, that though Catholics may appear to outnumber Protestants in the proportion of two or three to one, it is but ocular delusion, a mere *deceptio visus*, for that the Protestants in reality exceed the Catholics in the ratio of twenty to one. What are the phantasmagoria and invisible girl to this ingenious contrivance?

After this dexterous back-stroke the doctor exultingly proclaims, that he has fairly lopped off the first horn of his lordship's dilemma*, (to wit, one of those redoubtable horns which a wicked sorcerer had caused to grow from his lordship's forehead, to enable him to attack the enemies of Catholic emancipation,) and that he reduced the two-horned bugbear, meaning his lordship, to an unicorn. The remaining horn he threatens to

* Vide the Doctor's own words, page 187, commenting on Lord Minto's speech, "I trust I have fully lopped off the first horn of his lordship's dilemma, and that I have reduced his two horned bug-bear to an unicorn."—Alas! poor Lord Minto!

turn against the enemy, and like the horns of a Staffordshire cow, make it grow into the cheek of its owner, through which, when it has sufficiently perforated, the doctor means to pour such a drench as will quickly make his lordship disgorge any lurking remains of the sorcerer's potion.

The doctor next tells his lordship, that Protestants do not claim a title to property by the right of conquest; for that Strongbow having married the daughter of the King of Leinster, became tenant by the *curtesy*, and his heirs tenants in fee simple. Could the doctor condescend to trace a title from the See of Rome, he might have urged Pope Stephen's grant to Henry the II^d. Whether the first purchasers entered by grant, by force of arms, or by force of love, I think is matter of little consequence at present; and as the possessors of property in Ireland seem satisfied with their titles, I cannot conceive why the question should be mooted, unless it were to spread alarm among the timid and the ignorant. I think his lordship never said any thing to provoke the discussion; the security of all titles rests ultimately on power, and it matters little whether the first purchaser claimed by conquest or by grant.

Doctor Duigenan again sounds his horn,

“ And blows a blast so dire, so dread

“ As ne'er prophetic sound was heard so full of woe.”

Now, Proteus like, putting off the logician, he becomes the prophet, and with an imagination terrified

terrified by phantoms of its own creation, while he foretels the fall of freedom and the return of popery, ignorance, and superstition, already thinks he sees the flames of persecution rising in Smithfield, fancies the Court of Conscience turned into the Inquisition, and the National Bank into the Treasury of St. Peter.

But leaving the gloom of the dark and leaden ages, let us look for the character of the See of Rome, not in what it was, but in what it is; not in the council of Lateran in the beginning of the thirteenth century, but rather in the concordatum with France in the beginning of the nineteenth; there we shall find a modern portrait of the old lion, which, though it may preserve something of the original form, its shaggy mane and awful front, has neither teeth nor claws. On inquiry I think we shall find, however paradoxical it may appear, that the total fall of popery is more dreaded by certain persons in Ireland, who call themselves Protestants, than it is by the most zealous Roman Catholics in Europe; the reason of this is obvious, because the real or imaginary influence of the Pope was the foundation on which they erected the system of exclusion; the bad policy and dangerous tendency of which are even now scarcely sufficient to induce men to abandon a delusive idol, though the worship lead them to their destruction;—I mean the idol power, —a deity, whose influence is extended from the

country justice, snatching at every little opportunity of acting the great man, to the First Consul of France, who, on those occasions which might call forth the statesman and philosopher, can prove him, who in the eyes of Europe has appeared almost more than human, to be at times even less than man.

But to return to the concordatum, which I think may be considered the test or standard of the papal influence, and its *spiritually temporal* authority over the nations of Europe on the present day. The first article is as follows:

“ The Catholic, Apostolical and Roman religion, shall be freely exercised in France. Its service shall be publicly performed conformably to the regulations of police, which the government shall judge necessary for the public tranquillity.”

Here it is to be observed, that the power of regulating the government of the church is vested in the state.

The fifth article gives the patronage of the church to the executive power of the state; the sixth and seventh articles prescribe the following oath to the bishops and inferior clergy:

“ I swear and promise to God, upon the holy evangelists, to preserve obedience and fidelity to the government established by the constitution of the French republic; I likewise promise to carry on no correspondence, to be
“ present

“ present at no conversation, to form no con-
 “ nexion, whether within the territories of the re-
 “ public or without, which may in any degree
 “ disturb the public tranquillity ; and if in my
 “ diocese, or elsewhere, I discover that any thing
 “ is going forward to the prejudice of the state, I
 “ will immediately communicate to government
 “ all the information I possess.”

If these articles be considered sufficiently ex-
 plicit in defining, or rather in declaring the non-
 existence of the Pope's *spiritually temporal* power
 in Europe, (for I cannot admit, though our ally,
 that his holiness has, or need have, greater power
 in England than in France,) to what purpose
 then shall we continue to retain our declaration
 against popery, and the oath of supremacy? Why
 should it not, like the oath of abjuration, become
 a dead letter? since the influence of the Pope is
 as much extinct as the male line of the Stewarts.

Much pains have been taken by others, par-
 ticularly by an ephemeral, though a voluminous
 historiographer of Irish rebellion, to send into
 the world that uncharitable and truly dangerous
 opinion, that there is an innate cruelty in all Ca-
 tholics, and that from their religious tenets they
 must necessarily entertain a rancorous implaca-
 bility to all Protestants ; to support this most un-
 christian doctrine, Doctor Duigenan tells his
 reader to recollect the revocation of the edict of
 Nantz. The disasters of that period, I am con-
 vinced,

vinced, are more to be attributed to the proud and arbitrary temper of Louis, and the intrigues of his ministers, than to any differences in theological opinions.

During the administration of Colbert, Calvinists met with indulgence; all offices, whether civil or military, were open to them, and the state felt the advantage; but when the free spirit of inquiry, which appeared in this sect, had alarmed a luxurious and corrupt court, Louis, who could not bear control in any thing, and jealous that the human mind should have a movement that was not regulated by his own, determined to reduce the Calvinists to the common level of slavery, which then prevailed in France; and, unfortunately for the Calvinist, the Catholic, and the kingdom, he made religious opinions the test of their obedience; but this indefinite and mysterious standard would not apply; the persecutions of Louis were attended with their usual effects, and drove into banishment a million of loyal subjects, who were ready to shed their blood in defence of an ungrateful master, and who had enriched his kingdom by their arts and their industry, affording a lesson which should be attended to by all statesmen, that, (I give the words of Voltaire,) “ Il est
 “ plus difficile d’accorder des theologiens, que de
 “ faire des dignes sur l’océan.” Le Tellier, a minister worthy of such a master, on signing the edict

edict which condemned thousands to death or banishment, though he exclaimed, "Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutem tuam;" was actuated by the desire of supporting the despotism of Louis, and not the truths of christianity. Thus we see the Calvinists of France fly to England, while but a few years before the Catholics of Ireland took refuge in France, each flying from an oppression which he felt, or which he feared. For acts of cruelty and desolation we need not travel to the north or to the south; they disgrace almost every period of time, and stain almost every page of history: but let us, as philosophers and as christians, in wisdom and humility, charge them to the account of fallen man, not to Catholics or Protestants;—both, when christians, are good subjects and good men. Recrimination does not excuse, it but exasperates, and too often occasions the evils it complains of.

Doctor Duigenan observes, that "Romanists acting in a body as a political party, are very different in their conduct from that which they pursue in private life." Why not then remove those causes which occasion the alleged difference? If the difference does exist, are not we ourselves the occasion of it?

I have heard it asked, what do the Catholics want? have they not got *almost* every thing except?—*almost* every thing!—shallow indeed must

be his knowledge of the human heart, who can believe that any mean between exclusion and emancipation will or ought to satisfy the Catholic. The very word *except* comprises every thing to the free and generous mind ; if there is reason to except any thing, you should grant nothing ; this is no ordinary case, it admits of no compromise ; to be your friend, the Catholic must be free ; if your prisoner is guilty, loose not his chains ; but if innocent, why keep a bolt on his right hand to dash your brains out ? Follow not the example of the unwise housewife who fills up her cask of generous liquor with verjuice ; or of the selfish glutton who reserves a dainty for himself to the exclusion of his guests, and tells them that their simple fare is much better than they deserve ; but this is not true Irish hospitality, and those who practise it must expect to lose their character and their guests. Still it seems to be the policy of those who can lament the repeal of the penal code, to support Protestant ascendancy, and to hand it down to posterity fenced and fortified like an Indian cast, by the strong redoubts of national and religious prejudice. Against emancipation they urge objections applying equally to a partial, as to a total repeal, but they yielded to argument and sound policy in the former case ; in the latter, supported by a phalanx of prejudice and passion, they were found too strong for reason and humanity.

ity. Montésquieu, quoting Livy, observes,
 “ That no nation has been longer uncorrupted
 “ than the Romans ; that such was the influence
 “ of an *oath* among them, that nothing bound
 “ them stronger to the laws. They often did
 “ more for the observance of an oath than they
 “ would have done for the thirst of glory, or for
 “ the good of their country.”

The Romans had neither the oaths of supremacy nor abjuration ; neither tests nor declarations ; they loved their country, respected the laws, revered the gods, and observed those oaths as inviolable, which they scorned to prostitute on trivial or unworthy occasions ; but it has been reserved for the ingenuity and industry of more refined times to render the article cheap by increasing the stock.

Doctor Duigenan observes, that if emancipation be granted to the Catholic it will be necessary to repeal certain acts which he enumerates. If the repeal of some of them in toto, and of others in *part only*, (which is all I apprehend that can be necessary,) shall be thought expedient, it may not be improper to enquire if the danger which the doctor apprehends, or whether any danger, is likely to result from the measure. The first on his list is the oath of supremacy, enjoined by the 1st of Elizabeth, and new-modelled by the 1st of William and Mary. I have already shewn that
 the

the efficacy of this oath is contained in the oath of allegiance, and shall here endeavour to prove, not only that as statutes of a temporary nature, they are now unnecessary ; but that their continuation is pregnant with danger, both to the morals of the people and the peace of society. Let us consider for a moment the circumstances which occasioned the 1st of Elizabeth. A reformed religion, which is always most agreeable to the genius of a free people, at that time was eagerly embraced by the English ; and their sovereign, perhaps conscientiously, certainly from sound policy, promoted a spirit which Elizabeth foresaw would be a very powerful defence against Spanish ambition and Papal pretensions ; and thus the Church of Rome on one side, and the Church of England on the other, became the signals of battle : hence arose the oath of supremacy, wise and politic so long as the evil existed which it guarded against, but no longer.

Were the alien bill, which was wisely enacted to preserve England from the republican anarchy of France, to be considered an essential and unalterable part of the British constitution, and to be continued after peace had been restored to the nations, I believe it would be difficult to find a minister hardy enough to justify the measure, though we were to search from the Tweed to the Orkneys.

The

The oath of supremacy, like the alien bill, was once intended as a safeguard to the country against the common enemy; but it has now changed its direction, and operates only on our fellow subjects: but to what purpose does it operate? does it tend to make them more loyal? no! for the oath of allegiance supercedes its necessity in that respect. Supposing Roman Catholics in error, is the tender of this oath likely to bring them out of it? I appeal to experience for the fact; the truth is, that there are many reasons why it must produce, for the most part, effects diametrically opposite to those intended: if the individual be a believer from conviction, he will reject the oath for conscience sake; if he be one of the vulgar, and a believer from habit and accident, he will, if an honest man, reject it for the same reason: should he happen to be a man of family and connections, though his education and habits of thinking may possibly make him indifferent to church tenets, still his pride, his honor, and the respect he owes his family and connections will do the work of conscience, and make him spurn that which would stain his honor or call a blush into the cheek of his friend. On whom then is this tantalizer of tender consciences to act? on the base and the profligate, or those who are not restrained by the sentiments of religion,

gion, or elevated by honor above the contemplation of committing a mean act?

The contest between William and James resembled so much that between Elizabeth and Philip, as to make a continuation of the same policy necessary. The next in order are the 30th of Charles the II^d, and 1st of George 1st, which enact, "That no member shall sit or vote
" in parliament till he hath in the presence of the
" house taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy,
" and abjuration, and repeated and subscribed
" the declaration against transubstantiation, sacrifice of the mass," &c. Now, supposing these statutes repealed, excepting as far as respects the oath of allegiance, I should be glad to know what the good christians and loyal subjects of the empire would lose thereby? As we have already noticed the oath of supremacy, let us now stop to admire the oath of abjuration, that "*sleeping beauty in the wood*," which seems to have captivated the tender heart of Doctor Duigenan, who perhaps in his lively fancy imagines, that like the maid of Orleans, she will one day rouse from her slumbers and spread dismay among the foes of Britain.

For my part, I confess myself unable to conjecture of what use the oath of abjuration can be on this day; and think that Doctor Duigenan might as reasonably lament the repeal of the
brown-

brown-bread act in a season of plenty. As to the declaration against Roman Catholic tenets, I cannot help considering it, at this time, as merely calculated to irritate the feeling and insult the honor of our catholic fellow-subjects,

With regard to the test and corporation acts, though their foliage may have differed somewhat, and although their fruit may, in flavor, have approached nearer the sourness of our indigenous crab, they are evidently suckers springing from the same root with the oath of supremacy, declaration, &c. but as a measure of national safety, and national prosperity, they stand precisely on the same footing with the former. Indeed, they carry the influence of monopoly further, by extending the sphere of exclusion to other sects, and thus strengthen the operations of patronage; this circumstance might once have been a weighty consideration with those who held the reigns of government, but now, when that paramount consideration, the safety of our country, fills every head and warms every heart, it is to be hoped that it will weigh as dust on the balance.

I have already observed on the coronation oath, and I shall add nothing more than humbly to implore Almighty God, that he may be pleased, in his infinite goodness and mercy, so to dispose his majesty, that he, in the *true spirit* of his sacred obligation, may be enabled to advance the peace
and

and happiness of his subjects, his own glory, and the prosperity of the empire.

Doctor Duigenan often quotes Sir William Blackstone in support of his arguments against emancipation ; I beg leave, both for the satisfaction of the reader and the credit of that justly-admired author, to refer him to the 56th and 57th pages of the fourth vol. in Mr. Christian's edition, where the learned judge's explicit declarations in the text will be found a sufficient refutation of Doctor Duigenan's comment.

Doctor Duigenan says, " That he is a man attached to no party ;" (this I believe appeared on *one* occasion in the Irish House of Commons ;) " that he is neither placed nor pensioned, but " that he is a loyal Protestant subject of his majesty." I am not disposed to impeach the doctor's faith or loyalty, nor am I inclined to attach any personal blame to him because he is neither *placed* nor *pensioned* ; as I presume, that the doctor's conscience will acquit him *of this having happened* through any neglect or want of endeavour on his part ; indeed, were I inclined to doubt the doctor's prudence on this point, I should still be induced to draw this inference from the recollection of a circumstance which happened some time ago in Ireland : a fellow, who had very little the appearance of being an object of charity, asked alms from a gentleman, who
questioning

questioning him as to the nature of his claims, asked him if he was sick?—no:—If he was lame?—no:—If he had a wife and children? still he answered in the negative; he then desired to know why he asked charity? the mendicant replied, *because I am a poor loyal Protestant**; the gentleman smiled and bid him go to work. Now that this man considered himself an humble member of the Duignomian school is very probable; a school more hostile to the tranquillity of Ireland than any other, in as much as its first principle is founded in separation and invidious distinction. By the Duignomian school we are taught to believe, that in a moral point of view, the Protestant and the Catholic are distinct and irreconcilable beings, and, of course, in a political point of view, not to be united by time or circumstances. Acting on this principle they strengthen, or rather give birth to that uncharitableness with which the Protestant has long stigmatized the Catholic, and cherish that never-sleeping suspicion, which in every relation of public or private life mars the happiness of the

* It frequently happens in Ireland that you are asked to give *something for God's sake to a poor Protestant*; so that we see this wretched principle circulating throughout the whole mass of society, and influencing every virtuous impulse of the soul, even to the exclusion of that most amiable propensity of the human mind,—charity to our fellow creature!

Pro-

Protestant, while it embitters the existence of the Catholic.

But in the name of the Protestants of Ireland I would thus address the Imperial Parliament :
 “ Legislators of the most free and flourishing
 “ nation in the world, the day is at length arrived
 “ when the Protestants of Ireland, willing to
 “ forget the evil of the past, and desirous to anticipate the good of the future, present themselves at your bar, with ardent hope and anxious
 “ expectation, that, wafted by the breath of fervent
 “ unanimity, their petition may be borne to the
 “ foot of the throne, where paternal affection,
 “ piercing through the mists of error and rising
 “ above the sphere of low or antiquated prejudice,
 “ may whisper to his majesty those sentiments
 “ most congenial to his nature,—the happiness
 “ of his people !—Legislators ! on this day we
 “ feel proud to be the advocates for our Catholic
 “ brethren, while we grieve at the sad necessity
 “ which brings us to your bar ; but hope bids us
 “ smile at the opening prospect, when the gulph
 “ which has so long separated us, shall close for
 “ ever on the last of our artificial distinctions and
 “ forced and unnatural animosities.

“ Two centuries have now witnessed our mutual struggles, affording ample and sad experience, that physical force, though it can brutalize, is unable to subdue or direct the mind
 “ of

“ of man ; and that the soil of Ireland, while fat-
 “ tened by the blood of its children, will ever be
 “ productive of the rank weeds of treachery and
 “ rebellion.

“ Legislators ! in advocating the cause of our
 “ catholic fellow subjects we disclaim the idea
 “ of being influenced by terror,—No,—the Pro-
 “ testant of Ireland has been too long inured to
 “ brave the tempest to allow himself to be now
 “ appalled by lowering clouds or distant thunder ;
 “ we declare ourselves actuated by loyalty and
 “ humanity ; loyalty to our king, whose sacred
 “ person and mild government, are menaced by
 “ a man excentric in his movements, and splendid
 “ in his fortunes, wielding the force of a mighty
 “ empire ; but though Alps bowed their heads
 “ at his approach, and the thrones of Europe
 “ were shaken at his name, still would he find
 “ in the British empire, strengthened by union,
 “ and animated by freedom, obstacles more for-
 “ midable than the Alps, and a throne fixed as
 “ the foundation of our islands.

“ We declare ourselves actuated by that hu-
 “ manity, which, in spite of prejudice, pleads in
 “ every feeling breast for our unfortunate, de-
 “ luded, and suffering fellow subjects. We de-
 “ plore the unhappy circumstances which have
 “ sown discord between us, and we lament, that

“ the rank weed has not been sooner, much
 “ sooner, extirpated ; but the glorious task, we
 “ had almost said duty, is reserved for the Im-
 “ perial Parliament.

“ On you too, the immediate representatives
 “ of Ireland, we particularly call on this solemn
 “ occasion, to rouse your native energies, to dis-
 “ card your prejudices, to call forth collectively,
 “ as legislators, that manly and native benevo-
 “ lence which individually you are wont to exert :
 “ to you we need not present the portrait of
 “ our countrymen ! a portrait alas ! too often
 “ distorted by the broken mirror of discord !
 “ their patience, their toil, their characteristic
 “ attachment, their ingenuity, and their valor,
 “ in happier times the original of this picture
 “ was to be found in the various relations of
 “ society ; you found it in the soldier, the pea-
 “ sant, and the domestic servant ; the ele-
 “ ments, the ‘ disjecta membra’ still remain, tis
 “ for you to animate them with new vigor and
 “ fresh beauty ! listen not then to the renegado,
 “ receive his evidence with caution, suspect his
 “ most plausible arguments as delusive, and his
 “ fairest declarations as the snares of the enemy,
 “ say to him in the words of the poet, ‘ *timeo*
 “ *danaos. & dona ferentes.*’

“ Representatives of the people of Ireland ! if
 “ you would consult the security of the empire
 “ and

" and the tranquillity of your native land, loose
 " no time in bringing forward addresses from
 " your Protestant constituents in favor of Ca-
 " tholic emancipation, and lay them at the foot
 " of the throne."

FINIS.

Houses of the Oireachtas