

Ex-Officio ;

OR,

THE RIBBONMAN'S COMFORTER !!!

CONTAINING

AN IMPORTANT ADDRESS

TO THE

LOYAL PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND,

ON THE

PRESENT TERRIFIC ASPECT OF AFFAIRS.

ALSO,

Remarks on the inevitable consequences of granting political power to the Roman Catholics.—The similarity of the present Politics to those which preceded former Rebellions and Massacres, proved from history.—The *modern* Demagogues unmasked. Mr. PLUNKETT's Official Career reviewed : his late insult to our CITY GRAND JURY particularly considered ; the BOTTLE AND RATTLE-FARCE placed in a proper light : a similar proceeding of an Attorney-General in 1713, condemned by the Parliament.—RIBBONISM first discovered by the Rev. Mr. HAMILTON, of Roscrea, in 1814, &c. &c.

BY THE ORIGINAL EDITOR

Of the late "ANTIDOTE, or CONSTITUTIONAL SENTINEL."—Also, of "THE IRISH PROTESTANT AND FAITHFUL EXAMINER."

"Qui tumultuantur, habent sibi fines propositos, quos, quæta, republica desperant perturbata vero posse se consequi arbitrantur."—CICERO IN CATILINAM.

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TO THE LOYAL SUPPORTERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

On FRIDAY, the 7th February, 1823, will be Published, the first
Number of a *NEW PERIODICAL WORK*, entitled
THE WILLIAMITE'S MAGAZINE;

OR,

PROTESTANT'S ADVOCATE

FOR CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

THIS Work, which will be continued on every succeeding FRIDAY, shall be printed on a fine wove paper; and will contain thirty-two pages, octavo, of closely printed matter, besides the Title-Page, &c. At the end of each Quarter, it will form a volume of about 416 pages.

THE WILLIAMITE is conducted by the same person who was late Editor of the Original, (not the present) ANTIDOTE, OR CONSTITUTIONAL SENTINEL, Newspaper, at the time that it attracted so much attention among the genuine Protestants of the United Kingdom; and who, after the discontinuance of that Print, Edited the IRISH PROTESTANT AND FAITHFUL EXAMINER, during its short, but distinguished career. This, perhaps, will be considered a sufficient guarantee for the close adherence of the WILLIAMITE to the strictest Constitutional Principles.

The reason of the cessation of the "IRISH PROTESTANT," has already been announced. The Commissioners of Stamps conceived that it came under the provisions of an Act of Parliament, which renders a certain class of *small Periodical Works* liable to a Stamp duty of *two pence* per Number. In consequence, they prohibited its publication, unless such duty were paid, which could not be afforded, as it amounted to the entire price charged!

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THE WILLIAMITE has chosen its title, from an entire devotion to those principles which WILLIAM III. of glorious memory, came to establish. HE, as is acknowledged by all men of candour, opposed only *Treason and Intolerance*:—to counteract the baleful effects of these enemies of the human race—to expose their machinations, and defeat their dark designs—is an object which the WILLIAMITE shall ever hold in view.

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TO THE

Loyal Protestants of Ireland.



FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

I HAVE often felt it my duty to address you on political subjects; but never before at a period in which so many circumstances occurred to render the task one of the most awful responsibility. Since the first establishment of Protestantism in Ireland, never, perhaps, was it so completely surrounded by enemies, so decidedly threatened with the fiery trial of persecution, as at the present moment. Not only are thousands upon thousands of sworn assassins linked together for our destruction; not only has it, on Thursday, the 2d of January, 1823, been proved in open Court, that more than 3,000 fanatics hold weekly meetings *in the heart of this City*, to consult on the best mode of annihilating the Protestant Religion, overturning the Government and the Constitution, and of exterminating all Protestants, without any distinction; but the very men in authority, seem to seek how they may most conveniently betray us into the hands of our merciless persecutors, and strive, by every method in their power, to lull us into a fatal repose: that, while slumbering on the lap of false security, we may become the unresisting victims of perfidy and blood-thirsty superstition.

But all the projects of your open and secret foes would avail but little, were ye true to yourselves: were that union, that consistency, that persevering spirit, that vigilance and alacrity, for which your opponents are so remarkable, even in a very inferior degree imitated by you; *with the Constitution for your fortress*, ye might defy their malice, their cunning, and their violence; and preserve inviolate, the blood-bought rights which your valiant

ancestors have handed down to you. But, alas! the poison of deception, and the thunders of intimidation, have not been idle amongst you:—though reason and religion invoke you to rally around the altar and the throne; though concert is your only safety, and temporizing may speedily prove your ruin; still are ye deaf to their admonitions, as well as the memorable lessons which even the history of your own suffering country furnishes you with!

In the approaching Session of Parliament, a more vigorous effort than ever has been witnessed, will unquestionably be made, to admit those to the Legislative Councils of the Empire, the uniform tenor of whose conduct and declarations,—the canons of whose Church,—the very nature of whose principles, must all lead them to subvert a faith which they hold in abhorrence, as damnable, and hateful to God himself; and the Constitution, which has so perfectly twined itself around *that* Faith, *that they must either stand or fall together*.

If a fatal blindness had not seized upon you, it were impossible that ye could overlook the gulph that yawns before you. This is not an hour to trifle away *in silly squabbles*:—the vital interests of Protestantism are at stake—the seeds of a tremendous civil war, (nay, I had almost said, *a war of extermination*,) are springing up on every side—a treasonable Association, of the most formidable description, is organized, and daily extending *through every parish in Ireland*. The only advantage which we, Protestants, possess, to over-balance the numerical superiority of our adversaries, is sought to be wrested from us. And still, do we find a single Petition preparing for the Imperial Parliament? Do we see the slightest symptom of rational apprehension, precaution, or foresight? Should a public meeting be called on any occasion whatever, a few Jacobinical demagogues send forth their furious and declamatory harangues as the voice of the people! The Loyalists uniformly slink into the back ground, as if ashamed of those principles, in which they ought to glory: while their opponents boldly avow those principles for which they ought to blush!

Such is the strange and inconsistent system that has been persevered in for a long series of years. Its effects have imperceptibly gained upon us—like the slow but steady *sap*, they have now approached the ramparts of our liberties; and soon shall we witness an attempt to

storm our citadel. Loyalists, awake! shake off that shameful apathy, that so long has sat like an incubus upon you: your all is at stake! Read your fate in the overbearing tyranny of your adversaries:—mark, how, on every opportunity, they either make use of you as the hateful tools of their ambition, and then cast you aside with contempt, when they have answered their vile purposes with you; or else hunt you down with calumny and violence, and overwhelm you with perfidy and oppression. Yet do ye cringe to them, and crouch before them—tremble to avow your principles, and almost deny your creed!

Where must this end? It is not difficult to determine. If such a course be much longer persevered in, the very shadow of our liberties will pass away, even without a struggle; and we shall sink beneath the foul grasp of civil and religious slavery, deservedly unpitied and despised! I therefore conjure you, Protestants of Ireland, arouse yourselves without delay, and shew yourselves men! The method which your adversaries are pursuing, is perfectly similar with that which they adopted before the bloody massacre of 1641. The same Satanic cant of "*Conciliation*" is on their tongue, while envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, burst from their heart, in spite of the most studied efforts of dissimulation. Far be it from me to counsel you to imitate their conduct: God forbid I should ever advise the abandonment of those principles that are a crown of glory to the truly apostolic Church to which ye belong. But, as ye value liberty of conscience—as ye value the rights of freemen—as ye value one of the brightest of them, *a fair and impartial trial by an honest Jury*, composed of men, who regard with a reverential awe, the solemn obligation of an oath—come forward, ONE AND ALL, and pour in your Petitions to the Legislature. Let not the temple of the Constitution be laid prostrate in the dust, while, by your silence, ye almost assent to the spoliation of your birth-right. Let not the frequent defeats of your adversaries encourage you to hope that the Constitution is, *of itself*, impregnable: it will prove so, indeed, if the Protestants of the Empire, and in particular, of Ireland, resume that attitude which they are entitled to hold: but if they undervalue the proudest gift that ever PROVIDENCE has bestowed on a nation,—a Constitution unparalleled in the annals of the world,—let them beware, lest, as a just judgment on their carelessness and indifference about the

blessings which they enjoy, their exalted privileges be crumbled into ruins, and terror and discord pervade our land!

It is not only disgusting, but actually amazing, to observe the success of the most palpable sophistry, when put forward in behalf of what is vulgarly, though erroneously, called "Catholic Emancipation." Even the most notorious *falsehoods* are pronounced without hesitation, *by its advocates*, and echoed as the perfection of human reasoning, by the organs of intolerance and revolutionary mania; while unsophisticated truth is branded as misrepresentation, and in vain seeks to send forth her wholesome admonitions to the blind and self-destroying dupes of *modern liberality*.

We are told with the utmost gravity, that "Catholic Emancipation" is to be a panacea for all our misfortunes, an allayer of civil discord,—in short, like the wonder-working lamp, it is to raise up a thousand fairy palaces by its magic power! What exquisite nonsense! A moment's sober reflection would rather pronounce, that throwing open the avenues of ambition to Roman Catholics, must, from the very nature of things, be productive of aggravated dissention, of the most intense political excitement, and the acutest party feuds, in a country so circumstanced as Ireland is, and has been, for at least a century. If we judge of things future, by the past, (the only data which the human judgment can avail itself of,) *this* assertion, I am bold to say, is capable of proof, little short of mathematical demonstration. The onus probandi, unquestionably lies upon them, *to shew cause*, why, and in what manner, so inconceivable a contradiction in the moral world should occur, as, that a certainty of the object of our long-cherished hopes, and unwearied endeavours, being within our reach, should diminish the ardour of our exertions to obtain it. We do not see the jockey abate his efforts when he approaches the winning-post; we do not behold the electioneerer less vigilant when the poll draws to a close: and is it not the acme of absurdity to imagine, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland would bestow less pains and assiduity to insure their *own* election to places of trust and power, would be less violent in their menaces, less active in their bribery, less crafty in their manœuvres, when members of *their own* community would be the candidates, than they now are, when even a vague, and perhaps insincere promise of advocacy

is made to them? The same political engines that are now at hand, would then offer their aid:—that powerful one of intimidation, would then be augmented in a ten-fold ratio.—In proportion as Roman Catholics would advance in political importance, they unquestionably would become more formidable as political opponents. Suppose them to be admissible to the office of Sheriff, what kind of a jury might an ardent Protestant elector expect?—Suppose them to become Attorney-Generals, would their *ex-officios* be passive instruments in their hands? Suppose them to become Judges, Chancellors, Chief Secretaries, Lords Lieutenant, Privy Councillors, &c. &c. would it be a less fruitless task to oppose them in their political career, and attended with less risk to the political rival, than it is at present, when really all their political importance arises from our inertness and pusillanimity? If they can almost determine the measures of the executive *now* by their clamour and vociferation; how much more *then*, when they would possess *actual* means of annoyance? Would a protestant candidate for the representation of a county be more fairly dealt with by a Roman Catholic Sheriff, than by a person of his own communion? Would the register of the poll be more accurately kept? Would the wild fury of a fanatic mob be more constitutionally restrained? Would our public meetings be more free to discussion? Would our police be more favourable to the Protestant interests? Would a Roman Catholic Church-warden be more faithful in the discharge of his parochial duties towards Protestants? Would he scruple at shifting the onus from the shoulders of his own fellows, from the consideration that they had a double establishment to uphold?—A consideration which, by the bye, if its consequences were allowed to extend themselves, would speedily annihilate the Established Church, or lay in ruins her supremacy, and claim for legislative support.

But it has been said, “Give the Roman Catholics their bauble, and they will shortly get tired of it, and cast it from them, as a child does his rattle.” I have been told that these words were made use of by one of our Judges! I have only to remark that, however acute the learned Gentleman’s legal knowledge might have been, he certainly was no *judge* of common sense. Such an opinion, however just it might occasionally prove, in reference to individuals, could not apply to a body politic; which will ever find a fresh succession of adventurers in the road to ambi-

tion. He must be a very superficial observer, indeed, who cannot perceive the numerous sources of contention that are furnished in this country between the Roman Catholic population and the Protestant community. Even, if the abstract question of religious differences, and the pretensions of the Court of Rome, were entirely set aside; almost innumerable causes of jealousy and discussion, from the peculiar events that have occurred during the last three hundred years, are to be traced; and these make it utterly impossible to do justice to the mere abstract question of what is termed "Catholic Emancipation," unless we suffer very different items to enter into the discussion, from what could be applicable to any other nation, where Protestants and Romanists are mixed.

The first and chief of these sources of contention, and disaffection, was the confiscation of what are called, "The Forfeited Estates." Against the legality of this alienation of property, the Roman Catholics constantly protest, whenever they *speak out*. Nay, it is well known, that to this hour, deeds of conveyance are made of certain portions of the forfeited estates, even by the poor peasantry; which plainly shews that they would hold themselves perfectly justified in seizing upon the lands, were favorable opportunity to offer. I need not add, that those lands were forfeited by treason, and were in many cases bestowed on the loyal Protestants and English settlers, as an indemnity for the cruel persecutions, dreadful sufferings, and destruction of property, which were so wantonly inflicted on them by their savage tormentors. It was, in short, an act of retributive justice; and, although the Roman Catholics of Ireland, holding, as they do, the authority of the Pope, who sanctioned or originated those rebellions and massacres, to be paramount to any other whatever, and his approval of them even to render them a virtue; still do the laws of God and man, and the practise of every well-regulated State, lay it down as an invariable principle, that the wanton and malicious despoiler of his neighbour's property, shall forfeit his own to indemnify the innocent sufferer.

But whatever might be the original cause of these forfeitures, there can be little doubt, that the titles of the present possessors of them are too firmly established to be shaken by any thing short of a revolution. This is well known by the pretenders to those lands; and, not only known, but freely avowed. The most illiterate peasant is perfectly aware, that the "*Protestant Usurpers*," as he pronounces

them, are acknowledged and protected by the State as the legitimate proprietors of those lands, to which he conceives himself entitled, being constantly told by the *Rustic Historians*, that they were wrested from his ancestors by "lawless oppressors." Hence, a two-fold enmity : first, to the Protestants, as the supposed usurpers of his rights; and secondly, to the Government, as the Patrons and supporters of this imaginary usurpation.

As might readily be conceived, this main-spring of disaffection has ever been worked upon by the promoters of civil discord and rebellion : it is, beyond any question, the grand source of that turbulence which our peasantry exhibit on every favourable opportunity for insurrection ; or, rather, whenever the emissaries of evil thrump up a plausible story, to gull their unhappy dupes. It is also worthy of remark, in confirmation of what I advance, (if confirmation it need, which is notorious to every one who knows Ireland,) *that every insurrection always originates with the peasantry.*

Strange it is, that, in all the discussions that have taken place in Parliament, as to the cause of that habitual tendency to insurrection in the Irish peasantry, few, if any, have attempted to place this matter in a proper light. That many of the Irish Members are not ignorant of the truth of what I here state, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. Two reasons only can be assigned for their so studiously avoiding the true state of the question : first, being themselves interested in *it*, they would be very reluctant to hear a business agitated, which it is their wish should, if possible, be sunk in oblivion ; they, therefore, do not think it good policy to touch upon *it*. And, secondly, most of those who take up the affairs of Ireland, do so rather to perplex the Government, and, in consequence, attribute the distractions of Ireland to causes which they distinctly know the Ministers are bound to maintain—such as tithes, Church property, *Loyalty*, &c. &c. Hence we have a thousand quack medicines ; nay, what are far worse, *deadly poisons*, prescribed every session of Parliament, for our distracted country. while the fertile cause, *and that which keeps its root from withering*, are constantly overlooked.

If *higher engines* were not set to work, the misguided peasant would soon forget the visionary speculation of antiquated folly ; but, unfortunately, there are *others*, more crafty and designing, who render *him* the tool of their ambition, and, *by his agency*, hope one day to gain a political

ascendency both in Church and State. If the lower orders of the Irish were civilized, and reduced or won over to habits of industry and tranquility, with such a transformation must fleet away all the hopes of those demons in human shape, who, having no *merit*, but that of dissimulation; no talent but that of intrigue; owe their political existence to agitation: like the towering waves of the ocean, they would speedily subside to their proper level, were the stormy blast of dissention to cease its rage. Of this circumstance, alone, the people of England are often reminded. Hourly are they told that civil and religious discord is the bane of Ireland—that if *faction* could be put down, we should be, as other nations. All this is very true:—but who are the aggressors?—Where is the remedy?

An intelligent Englishman, or one whose long residence in England had given him all the habits and ideas of a native of that country, came to reside in Ireland about three years since. He arrived here with ten thousand prejudices, being a good deal of the modern Whig, and of consequence, full-freighted with *compassion* for “The oppressed, the degraded, the persecuted, Roman Catholics,” as he called them. Either accident or choice, placed him in a circle composed almost exclusively of Romanists, and these of rather a warm political temperament—great “Emancipation” men. His acute mind, and frequent opportunities of observing the genuine characters of those *patriotic* worthies, soon gave him a true insight into the real state of things. Suffice it to say, that twelve months did not pass over before all his opinions on the subject had undergone a complete revolution; and he is now as firmly convinced of the insanity of conceding political power to the Romanists of Ireland; as of the absurdity of thinking that our Paving Board keep the streets of Dublin in unexceptionable repair!

I have said that *higher engines* than the misguided peasantry are constantly at work, to foment discord and confusion. The most powerful and influential of *these* are the Clergy of the Church of Rome. It is well known—for they now make little or no secret of the fact, that the latter absolutely declare the Established Clergy to be *usurpers* of *their* rights and revenues, in the strictest sense of the word. A leading Prelate of the Romish Church has lately *let out* this *doctrine* in such unequivocal terms, and has been so “*ably*” supported by their confidential Journalist, the

Evening Post, with all the flippant, disgusting, and flimsy sophistry which he could muster for the occasion : For it seems *now* to be quite immaterial how many calumnies and inflammatory libels are published against our Church—how much the infuriate peasantry are spurred on to persecute and plunder our Clergy—all this is a venial, or I should say, no offence whatever : while a few ignorant and intemperate blockheads (I should have called them ruffians) for expressing their dislike to, they scarce know what, are held up as deliberate conspirators against the State, and every method that *legal* ingenuity could devise, strained to the utmost, in order to torture their wild and senseless ebullition into *systematic treason* !!!

Let it not be thought that I am by any means inclined to defend or extenuate the late insult offered to his Excellency : for, that *violence* to his person was intended, *at least by the party accused of it*, I am quite convinced was not the case. I detest a Gallery-mob in every shape and form. Theatrical uproar, which seems to belong almost exclusively to the British Islands, is one of the most barbarous of our national appendages. But in the late one, there was an indelicacy—a breach of the laws of hospitality, and a coarse and disgraceful insubordination, which I witnessed with the most unqualified disgust and indignation. But I must freely acknowledge, that the subsequent conduct of those who have endeavoured to turn this affair to the account of *real traitors* and revolutionists, has, in my opinion, afforded the most serious grounds for alarm to every friend to liberty. We now see too plainly, that the grossest violation of our Constitutional privileges, the most decided invasion of our rights, the most unequivocal advances to arbitrary power,—nay, the utter perversion, or even obliteration of our chartered securities for the inviolability of our lives, our properties, and our *reputation*—would meet with but feeble opposition,—perhaps I might add, *would rather meet with support* from the majority of our countrymen ; provided the acts of tyranny and oppression seemed to emanate from an espousal of *their* party views ! There is in this country scarcely a shadow of that Constitutional jealousy, which the people of England, of almost all creeds and denominations, so nobly maintain. However hostile, or however friendly, to any particular administration, the English may chance to be ; however much they may admire the talents or general principles of individual statesmen ; still, if they

perceive the slightest tendency to a subversion, or even infringement of their Constitutional rights, they instantly catch the alarm,—all party distinctions are forgotten,—all rally around the charter of their liberties,—Whigs and Tories make common cause together,—high-church men and low-church men join hand in hand,—and the rash invader of the established prerogatives of the people, must speedily abandon his project, or resign his situation.—Would to God that we proved ourselves equally worthy of being *a free people*! Alas, how different a spirit do we exhibit! *Our liberty-mongers*, it is evident, only wish to become tyrants in their own proper sphere:—provided *they* could trample on the feelings of those of their fellow-subjects who chance to differ from them in religion or politics, or induce others to do so, they would not care a straw at seeing the law of the land laid prostrate, or frittered away until it became so thread-bare as to afford only a scanty covering for the grossest injustice!

I shall not say what has given rise to these general, but painful reflections: if the judicious reader will ruminate a little on the events of the past year, and extend his observations to the few days that have elapsed, of the present one, perhaps he will not candidly say that my remarks are unfounded.

To guard against misapprehension, I here beg to add another word of explanation, as to my feeling with respect to the late outrage on the Marquess Wellesley.—I have before condemned the *general* practice of theatrical uproar, and personal insult to individuals, be their rank or merits what they may: it is a practice that carries with it utter disgrace to the perpetrators of it: there is something so unmanly, so cowardly, so much of the ruffian, in this mode of wounding the feelings of an individual, without giving him any opportunity, either of defending himself, or of retaliating, that I trust no person who has the least respect for common decency, or the common rules of justice, will presume ever to apologize for it. But I will go farther,—I will say, that in the instance of the Noble Marquess, the insult was shamefully misapplied,—utterly undeserved. This I declare to be my perfect and sincere conviction, founded on as close an observation of his Excellency's official conduct since he came to Ireland, as I was capable of bestowing. I do not mean to say, that the duty in every department was fairly and impartially admi-

nistered: but it must be recollected, that there are several departments over which his Excellency has but a very indirect, if any controul. The Lord Lieutenant has neither the appointment or removal of many of the Irish Officers of State; and though his representation might probably be attended to, still it would be beyond the reach of any individual's exertions, however extended, to superintend all the details of a national administration. Besides, in the professional departments, there is a necessary responsibility, which precludes the interference of the Lord Lieutenant.—The military department, the law department, the clerical department, &c. &c. could not possibly be conducted by one man, however profound and energetic a genius; therefore it would be the greatest folly to visit the *aberrations* of *these*, or any of them, on his Excellency. If we regard the Noble Marquess in those official acts which were peculiarly his own, we shall not, I think, have cause to accuse him of a dereliction of duty. Even in that of prohibiting the decoration of the Statue, it does not at all appear that his Excellency by any means acted from himself, or volunteered the interruption. On the 12th of July, the Noble Marquess evidently forebore to interfere; and on the late 4th of November, it is agreed on all hands, that his Excellency merely followed the course marked out for him at the other side of the Channel. It was therefore the height of folly and injustice, to impute another's faults to the Noble Marquess; and nothing but the most palpable ignorance, and a blind zeal, for they knew not what, could extenuate the crime of the few thoughtless, and probably drunken ruffians, who inflicted such a wound on the exalted mind of the Noble Brother of Wellington.

But, though the insult was marked, and unequivocal, as it was undeserved and indecent; I must in candour declare, that never was a business more shamelessly exaggerated, manifestly to serve party purposes. Even on the first blush of the transaction, no impartial spectator would, I think, harbour the idea that the *bottle* had been flung from the Gallery with an intention of injuring his Excellency. I, for my part, never believed that it came from the Gallery at all: and this opinion, it seems, has been completely confirmed, (if my information be correct,) by the confession of the young lad, who threw it *from the front of the Pit*. The lad who pitched it over the Orchestra against the Curtain, declares he did so, merely out

of a wild frolic, without meaning or anticipating any harm. However, when he found matters likely to assume so serious an aspect, he became alarmed, and kept the matter to himself, until a few days since; fearing that he might suffer inconvenience if it were divulged. He is not, I understand, more than 15 years of age. The person to whom he lately made the disclosure, says he will insist on his coming forward. Every rational man must see the extreme improbability of a bottle escaping a fracture, after arriving at the Stage from the Upper Gallery; but its being pitched against the Curtain, from so short a distance, entirely removes all inconsistency. As to the rattle, it was impossible it could have come from where Graham was sitting; his station was almost at the extreme left of the Upper Gallery, and from the direction the rattle took, it certainly appeared to me to have come from the middle of the Gallery. What made the suspicion fasten on Graham, who is a silly-looking boy, of perhaps 16 years of age, was his having a clapper in his hand, with which he frequently made a noise. It was composed of three pieces, one of which, (the handle part,) was longer than the other two. The pieces were attached together by a cord, which gave way, from the friction, a piece of the clapper flew off, but not with considerable velocity. The missile which struck the box next to his Excellency's, not only appeared to come from a different quarter of the Gallery, but also it is more than probable, *came from a very different party*. No doubt whatever can be entertained, that out of the numerous fraternity of the Ribbonmen—the many thousands that are sworn to in the City of Dublin,—some of the *honest* gentry were stationed in the Gallery that night. No person will question their cordial hatred, not only to the Orange Association, but also to the Marquess WELLESLEY, both for his Excellency's uncompromising Despatches to the English Government, and the part which the Noble Marquess took, in inducing Parliament to re-enact their most formidable opponent, the Insurrection Bill. If death had followed the blow, (which it is, I think, quite farcical to imagine,) it would, beyond a doubt, have been cause of uncommon exultation to the Ribbon Society;—or if by the act, an odium could have only been fixed on the Orangemen, the Ribbonites must have considered themselves well requited for their trouble and risk.—That men, who have combined, and solemnly pledged

themselves, not only to overturn the Government, but to sweep away every vestige of Protestantism, and to exterminate its professors, with all their might, would not be very scrupulous at committing perjury, to injure an Institution, to which they are not only sworn, but also avowed enemies, will not, I fancy, be disputed; and surely, it is far more consistent with reason, that a Ribbonman, who is sworn to direct hostility, would act in conformity with that oath, than that an Orangeman would be guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury.

If a design had been entertained against the life of the Noble Marquess, and if that design had been the deliberate result of a preconcerted conspiracy; would not some means more likely to have accomplished the end, have been arranged? Where would have been the difficulty of placing the "assassins" at the right hand side of the Gallery, where they could have had a perfect view of their target? But, on the contrary, we find that the *knot*, from the midst of which the missiles were rumoured to have come, took up its station at the spot of all others the least calculated for the accomplishment of the imputed purpose!!! This would have been blundering with a vengeance! What a formidable conspiracy! How dangerous to the State!—How systematic—how tremendous! It is perhaps, one of the richest treats that ever the annals of comicality afforded, to see a number of *big wigs*, knocking their *wise* heads together, to get at the *root* of the *plot*! In comparison with this, TOM THUMB is a master-piece of wisdom and gravity! and I have no doubt that the BOTTLE AND RATTLE *High Treason* will one day attract as crowded an audience as the most fanciful burlesque that ever kept a Theatre in a roar! It now appears, that all the laws of projectiles, on which we have been calculating for so many centuries, were absurd and preposterous; and the noted *theory* of the gun that could shoot *round a corner*, is now exemplified most gloriously! It seems likewise, that Orangemen, among their other formidable attributes, have powers of vision which no intervening obstacle, however opaque, can militate against! Thus, it would appear, that our *sagacious* Attorney-General, in addition to that famous discovery, that the Roman Catholic Church, *does not* believe in Transubstantiation! has farther succeeded in upsetting two of our best established sciences, that of *Projectiles*, and that of *Optics*! O NEWTON, where art thou now?

Had those *delectable* marksmen established their *Bottle and Rattle Battery* at the right hand side, instead of the

left, they would have had a *point blank* shot at the *brain-box* of our *profound* philosopher, statesman, and theologian, the Right Hon. WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM PLUNKETT, whose accuracy in logical deduction, abstract reasoning, strict *veracity*, unerring *memory*, unprejudiced *equity*, and unparalleled devotion to our Constitution in Church and State, will, it is to be presumed, form a theme for the admiration of ages yet unborn! I wonder had the learned Gentleman, in addition to all his other claims on our—I had almost said, *adoration*, any hand or part in producing those master-pieces of legislative *acuteness*, which *graced* the last session of Parliament but one? Two Bills, it is said, were then framed, one of which, in providing six month's imprisonment for a specified misdemeanour, decreed "that one-half of it should go to the King!" The other, in order to enable the parishioners, who had to pass through a certain turnpike road to their respective places of worship, to go free on a Sabbath day, enacted, "That double toll was to be paid on a Sunday!"

Since I have touched upon the subject of our enlightened and *trust-worthy* Attorney-General, the great pillar of the Protestant interest in Ireland, it may not be amiss for us to notice a few of the political traits that have lately marked his career; by which we Protestants may be able the better to appreciate the Right Hon. Gentleman's worth and Constitutional integrity.

I shall not attempt to *Gridironize* the learned Gentleman, by travelling from the trial of the unfortunate EMMETT to the Parliamentary discussion on the Manchester business; nothing so far-fetched is within my present contemplation. Let it therefore suffice for our purpose to commence with Mr. PLUNKETT's speech in advocacy of Roman Catholic admissibility to Parliament, &c. and we shall there witness a famous specimen of the Right Honorable Gentleman's political tact, and of the great *candour* and *plain-dealing* for which he is so remarkable. The object in view was to obliterate the "prejudices of the people of England" against Popery; and the Right Honorable Gentleman, who always seems to retain so much of *the shop* as to imagine that he is addressing a Jury, whose decision would be definitive; and to forget that an unfounded assertion on a political subject can rise up in judgment on some future occasion, did not hesitate, in order to effect his immediate purpose, to deny the existence, &c.—or, at least to cast a very considerable doubt over, the existence of the essential doctrines of the Church of Rome!

The next famous *shew-off* which is attributed to Mr. PLUNKETT was, where his friend, DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. was pleased, in his last Annual Manifesto to the "Hereditary Bondsmen," to reveal the closet-discussions which are stated to have occurred between the Barrister and the Attorney-General, and in which the point at issue was (if we may credit Mr. O'CONNELL's yet-uncontradicted statement,) how "The people of England" could best be humbugged out of their Constitution—as I think is very plainly conveyed by Mr. O'CONNELL's declaration, that Mr. PLUNKETT had *convinced* him of his sincere desire to effect their object, "*making as few sacrifices as possible to the PREJUDICES of the people of England.*" A pretty term *this* for a Protestant Attorney-General to apply (if Mr. O'CONNELL's report be true,) to the attachment of the British nation to their pure and Evangelical religion; and their awful recollection of the scenes of anarchy and bloodshed which the monstrous pretensions and conspiracies of the Church and Court of Rome, had for so many centuries entailed upon them!

One mode of gulling them was even stated, and is so charming a sample of the line which will, in all probability, be shortly pursued, that I cannot resist the temptation of bringing it before my readers. The subject was that of the Veto, which the English strangely have been taught to believe would guard them against all danger, and preserve them for ever from the influence and intrigues of the Court of Rome! Strange infatuation! On the same principle, Maynooth College was to protestantize Ireland!! But our present object is to shew how ingeniously Mr. PLUNKETT suggested a method by which the Vetoists might enjoy the *shadow* of their bauble, without in the slightest degree affecting the interests of his *clients*. It was thus—the Government were to be *permitted* to object to a specified number of the Candidates, and the one coming *next* after the *protestable* number was to be considered duly elected! Perhaps, a more laughable description of *Veto* never yet was heard of:—to defeat the end proposed most effectually, it was only requisite to have a standing list of red-hot priests—all men of violent politics, and immediately after *these*, to pop in the person whom they were anxious to have appointed!!! This brings to my recollection the *Constitutional* veto with which the King of Spain has been endowed—he can negative a measure *three times*; but the third *negative* makes an affirmative!

The Special Commission at Cork, furnished two very brilliant exhibitions of Mr. Plunkett's *entire devotion* to the Protestant interest. The Protestants of the United Empire were intensely anxious to know the true nature of the alarming conspiracy which then desolated the South of Ireland. This anxiety was natural: the conspiracy had been very generally declared to have exhibited undeniable symptoms of its being exclusively popish. The preceding current of politics, for a long series of years, prepared every reflecting mind to expect some such *finale*. The insurgents had, from the very commencement of their operations, evinced the malignant character of the rebels of 1798. *It was notorious that none but Roman Catholics were concerned in the outrages*: it was notorious that plunder was not their object—that ulterior operations were contemplated—that no Roman Catholics, except those who hesitated to join in the conspiracy, were exposed to injury: it was notorious that the priests of the Roman Catholic communion, as well as the Newspapers that invariably espoused their cause, made use of the most barefaced artifices, first, to conceal the existence and extent of the insurrection; and next, when they found *these* too palpable to be any longer denied, to turn the eye of scrutiny from *its* real nature and objects: it was well known that, at all the meetings which were called to take into consideration the state of the country, the parish-priests uniformly opposed any measures calculated to crush the incipient rebellion,—that they uniformly represented their respective parishes to be free from the contagion, until acts of the most unequivocal description, rendered their deception unavailing. All this had been witnessed by the resident Protestants, with the greatest alarm. No reflecting mind could doubt that some great and combined political effort was contemplated. A strange alteration in the demeanour of the Roman Catholic peasantry, towards their superiors, was observed; a want of their habitual civility and respect to persons bearing the exterior of a gentleman—a studied attempt to defraud their Protestant landlords—a cessation of those family feuds among themselves—frequent meetings, under various pretexts:—these, and many more unusual symptoms, awakened the suspicions of the Protestant gentry. Besides, the public notoriety of the active and extensive dissemination of *Pastorini's* dangerous work, in many instances, at a price which would never have remunerated the publishers;

the well-known fact, that for many years past, almost incredible sums of money had been collected from the Roman Catholic population, under pretexts evidently frivolous and deceptive; the speeches, and inflammatory writings, threats, inuendoes, &c. of the Roman Catholic demagogues; the political character of several of the insurrectionary notices; the emissaries from different parts of the country, who travelled far and near to organize the population; the *religious* fidelity which the peasantry observed towards their associates; the almost impenetrable secrecy with which the conspiracy was arranged; the occasional discovery of seditious documents, all breathing vengeance against Protestants:—could all this be perceived without a corresponding conviction, that a grand political struggle was at hand, and that hostility to Protestants was the prominent feature in the conspiracy?—Those who consulted the history of former Rebellions, could not but be instantly struck with the close resemblance which the present bore to them; and, as the *former* indisputably were levelled at the Constitution, and Protestantism in general, it was impossible to resist the host of evidence which declared the *latter* to be directed against the same objects.

Now, according to Mr. PLUNKETT's maxim, as declared in open Court, on the 2d day of January, 1823, from which I hope, he will not himself claim an exemption, the country has *a right* to know the nature of every Association which they see extending through society. Therefore, as the Right Honorable Gentleman was supposed, from the nature of his office, as Public Prosecutor, to be the repository of whatever information Government had received on the subject, to *him* the public looked for an *accurate* statement (if any were ventured upon) of what species this alarming insurrection was. I state fearlessly, that Mr. PLUNKETT, as a hired servant of the public, had no right whatever, if he ventured on any disclosure as to the precise nature of the Rebellion, to give any wrong bias to public opinion on the subject.

It cannot be disputed, that the Protestants of Ireland have need of no ordinary precaution, when thousands of sworn exterminators are every where combined against them. It was but common justice, if not to put them on their guard, at least not to lull their well-grounded suspicions, as to the imminent danger which threatened them. But was not Mr. PLUNKETT's most positive declaration, at the Special Com-

mission at Cork, indisputably calculated to dismiss their fears, and to induce them to sit careless and secure, while destruction hovered around them ? Had the Right Hon. Gentleman been silent on the subject ; or had he only seemed to hazard a vague conjecture, public opinion would have been left to draw opposite deductions from passing events : but a positive assertion, made without the semblance of hesitation, and coming from one who was supposed to be so fully qualified to pronounce decisively, was, perhaps, almost sufficient to suspend the operations of reason, and lead the public hoodwinked to their destruction. And yet, strange to say, Mr. PLUNKETT did, (if we may credit the Newspaper reports,) roundly declare, " **THAT THERE WAS NOTHING EITHER RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL IN THE DISTURBANCES !**"

It is by no means my wish to attribute any corrupt or treacherous motive to Mr. PLUNKETT—we should not judge harshly of *motives* ; though we are, both by the principles of our Constitution, and also of religion, entitled to exercise a greater latitude in our opinion as to *consequences*.—Possibly, Mr. PLUNKETT spoke as he thought. This, I must confess, is to me very hard to conceive. If it were the case, a stronger instance could not, I think, be adduced, of the irresistible effect of political prejudice and prepossession. Mr. PLUNKETT has certainly always declared himself well satisfied with the *intrinsic* loyalty of the Roman Catholics of Ireland ! A uniform declaration to this effect must either have proceeded from a powerful bias, or from gross hypocrisy. Courtesy forbids us to say, that the latter dictated the speeches of the Right Honorable Gentleman ; the former, of course, is the only cause to which Mr. PLUNKETT's strange, (need I add, unfounded) assertion, can be ascribed. The Special Commission, it will be recollected, was held in April, 1822 ; *but Michael Coffey was in communication with the Government, and in perfect possession of the nature and extent of Ribbonism, in August, 1821 !* CORNET, the informer, was likewise expressly employed by Government Agents, in December, 1821, to enter the Ribbon Association, for the purpose of acting as a spy upon the conspirators in Dublin. COFFEY was perfectly acquainted with every particular he has since sworn to, as to the objects and ramifications of the conspiracy, previously to January, 1822 : at least so he swears. Was the Government ignorant of it at the time ? No ; nor even in August, 1820 ! Was Mr. PLUNKETT ignorant of the information

which they had received ? The supposition is too absurd to be entertained for a moment. How then came the Right Honourable Gentleman strenuously to maintain a doctrine so utterly repugnant to the explicit disclosures which COFFEY and CORNET had made ? This is a point, I must confess, by far too abstruse for my comprehension. Was the *declaration* meant to favour Mr. CANNING's *Constitutional* attempt to annihilate at a stroke, the most powerful barriers of our Protestant Constitution ? and were our eyes to be kept bandaged, until the fatal blow was struck ? Suppose a general massacre of Protestants in the mean time to have been determined upon—suppose their false confidence in the hypocritical assurances of their intended murderers to have left them defenceless, and without precautions—how could the Right Honourable Gentleman answer to his GOD and his Country the having lent his aid to strengthen so deceptive a reliance ? The artifices of the enemies of the Constitution were quite enough to encounter—the false and Jesuitical statements of a corrupt press, and of *Clerical hypocrisy*, were fraudulent enough in all conscience—the Protestants of Ireland were already sufficiently gullible—without Mr. PLUNKETT's official *congratulations* being thrown into the scale. I do, from my heart believe, that, were it not for Mr. PLUNKETT's unqualified assertions at the Cork Special Commission, and afterwards in his place in Parliament, that Religion or Politics did not enter into the machinery of the Southern Insurrection, almost all the Protestant population of Ireland would have immediately formed armed associations for their defence. But the excitement instantly began to subside, on the Right Honourable Gentleman putting forward as his opinion, “That the insurgents had no definite object in view:” that is, that it was merely a wild and unorganized ebullition of the peasantry, which could be formidable only for a moment. For my own part, I read the report of Mr. PLUNKETT's speech with the most inexpressible surprise—not, that it in the least shook my firm conviction that the insurrection was the preparatory scene of an attempt to overthrow the Government and extirpate protestants—this, I uniformly maintained, both before and afterwards ; but it appeared to me most unaccountable that Government should, in 1822, be ignorant or incredulous of what I had good reason to know as early as 1819 ; and I could not bring myself to think that, had Mr. PLUNKETT been aware of the nature of Ribbonism, he would have had *brass* enough to speak as he did.

I shall not pursue this unpleasant topic any farther.—No doubt, the Protestant inhabitants of England and Ireland will place the most perfect reliance on Mr. PLUNKETT's future declarations; and feel quite secure, while this *staunch* and *sagacious* "defender of the faith," is fencing their Church and Constitution from the inroads of their foes!

The second extraordinary, and, to me, most unaccountable act of the Right Hon. Gentleman, at that Commission, was his indulging Priest *O'Sullivan* in a resistance to the laws, which to my mind, had a direct tendency to encourage Rebellion. I need not take the slightest pains to prove, that the Constitution,—or the *laws*, if the term should be more agreeable, suffered a direct violation in this instance. This, Mr. PLUNKETT himself confessed, in his place in the House of Commons. But the species of justification which the Right Hon. Gentleman pursued in this case, should never escape our recollection. He passed over the priest's absolute refusal to give evidence against murderers and rebels, to avail himself of the *holy* man's assistance in tranquillizing the country!!! *O'Sullivan* had previously proved himself, either destitute of influence or inclination, in this respect. He failed, or did not endeavour, to save the life of a loyal subject, from the savages composing his own flock! In his laboured epistle there is not the least vestige of loyalty to be found. And still, because he was a nondescript character in our Constitution,—a Roman Catholic priest,—the law of the land fell pointless at his feet,—the statutes of *premunire* remained a dead letter, and the *loyal* Ecclesiastics of the Church of Rome, had a practical proof that *they were without the pale of the Constitution!!!*

All this might have been very *politic*; but I can scarcely call it "the reign of the laws." I have my doubts whether Europe has regarded this act, as exhibiting a very striking specimen of the triumph of our Constitution; and I have still greater doubts of its being calculated to restrain the secret machinations of treason. In my humble judgment, priest *O'Sullivan* himself, even judging from his own statement, had much reason to tremble for his own individual acts, having proceeded for miles at the head of a large assemblage of armed rebels, and merely decamped, from an apprehension that a considerable detachment of the King's troops was marching to attack them! Was this a man to be selected for a "*tran-*

quillizer?" How different the system of the Irish Houses of parliament, in 1661, when they addressed the Lords Justices to the following effect:—"That, as priests, jesuits, and friars, have been the constant incendiaries in the Rebellion in this kingdom, therefore, *they, and those who have been the chief heads of the Rebellion*, together with all disaffected persons, be secured."

Now, if we take a view of the events which elicited this address, we shall discover a striking similarity between the complexion of affairs at that period, and at the present. "The popish lawyers," we are told, "had, (*then, as well as now,*) excited the populace, *by an outcry of pretended grievances*; and the popish clergy had been as industrious agents, and ministers of destruction. From the Chapels they announced, previously to the Rebellion, 'a great design, tending to the advancement of the Catholic cause.' And throughout, they denounced the Protestants as "heretics." But one of the most efficient baits held out to tempt and excite the common people, was the possessions of the Protestants: and the poor ignorant deluded dupes, to the hypocritical and infernal stratagems of their leaders, were assured, "that a consultation was held, for extirpating all of their communion from Ireland."

Such was the language of men awake! Such the spirit of our sturdy ancestors, whose *theory* was founded on experience—who legislated on facts, not on the shadowy premises of misrepresentation—who endeavoured to prepare a code for men, such as they really are,—not such as they should be, if human nature were immaculate. All this will be pronounced illiberality and intolerance, for such are the terms applied by our modern *liberality men*, to the manliness of truth, and rational precaution; and by such artifices have error and revolutionary malice, for many years, covered their approaches, and erected a masked battery against our Constitution. But shall we suffer ourselves to be tricked out of our civil and religious liberties? Shall we resign the charter of our rights, because our mortal foes, and their *avaricious and self-interested abettors*, think proper to raise an outcry against us? Let us not be any longer deterred from our sacred duty, which we owe to ourselves and our posterity, by perverted language and the treacherous cant of "*Conciliation*." The laws of society are equally binding on all; and the man who will not be amenable to them, should be compelled to

submit, be he priest or layman. If any one be permitted to plead exemption, surely all may:—our Constitution knows no difference; and the popularity, continuance, or *stage-trick* of any administration whatever, are “trifles light as air,” when compared with the vast importance of genuine liberty and the REIGN OF TRUTH!

The “impartial Leland,” who will not be suspected of giving a very high colouring, thus states the artifices made use of, to excite the Roman Catholics of this country to insurrection, on a previous occasion:—“The Romish clergy had that influence, even over the gentry of their communion, with which they are vested by the tenets of their religion; the ignorant herd of papists they governed at pleasure.—Full fraught with those absurd and pestilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion professed to abominate; of the universal monarchy of the pope, as well civil, as spiritual; of his authority to excommunicate and depose princes; to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to dispense with every law of God and man; to sanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and essential differences of vice and virtue. With this, and other impious trumpery of schools and councils, they filled their superstitious votaries, ‘contrary,’ saith Walsh, the Irish Franciscan, ‘to the letter, sense, and design of the Gospel, the writings of the apostles, and the commentaries of their successors; to the belief of the Christian Churches, for ten ages; and moreover, to the clearest dictates of nature.’

“Ecclesiastics of such a spirit, and of such principles, were suffered to erect a spiritual jurisdiction in Ireland, exercised under the papal authority, generally *with connivance*, sometimes under the protection of popish magistrates, (for such men had, in some instances, been admitted to magistracies, without taking the oaths of supremacy.) The State connived at the private exercise of their religious rites and devotions, but their imaginations were forcibly impressed with that pomp of religion which they had seen in foreign countries.

“It were fruitless and absurd to attempt the gratification in any way, but that of *arms and insurrection*. The old Irish, proud, querulous, violent, unemployed, were *easily roused to any desperate attempt*. Consultations were held, correspondencies carried on, schemes of insurrection, rumours of conspiracy lightly propagated,

“and attended by no apparent consequences, served to confirm the confidence of the Irish Government, and to render it insensible to real danger. The spirit of rebellion was restrained, but not suppressed.”

Leland next proceeds to describe the manœuvres of a lay conspirator, who, while the Government was trifling with the danger, wound up the business nearly “to the point of final execution.” “The artful conspirator exaggerated the insults which the nation had sustained—enumerated all the grievances, *lamented the tedious and ineffectual measures taken for redress—condemned the supineness of his countrymen, who, instead of making a brave effort, worthy of their valour, at a juncture the most favourable to such a purpose, waited with submission until the puritanic party of England and Scotland should utterly extirpate the Roman Catholic religion from every quarter of the King’s dominions ! !*”

Those instruments, as in our time, were all set to work ; nor did the conspirators forget to cloak their designs under the pretext of sterling loyalty ! though the historian remarks, that—“*It appears, (with all the clearness which can reasonably be expected in historical evidence,) that their real objects were, the subversion of all the late establishments of property ; restoring the native Irish to all they had lost by the rebellion of their ancestors, or the decisions of law, and the procuring an establishment for the Romish religion, with all the splendour and affluence of its hierarchy.*”

It is worthy of remark, that of all the conspirators, the Romish Clergy, at that time, were the most sanguinary in their plans. At one of their secret meetings, in the County of Westmeath, “It was debated what course should be taken with the English, and other Protestants of the Kingdom, when they should be at the mercy of the insurgents.” A few more moderate than the rest, would have been content with simple banishment of them ; but this was over-ruled, on the ground, “That to dismiss them unmolested, were but to give them the opportunity of returning with double fury to regain their possessions, and execute their revenge ; that a general massacre was therefore the safest and most effectual method of freeing the kingdom from such fears.”

All this just preceded the dreadful rebellion of 1641.—The existing Irish Government of that day, as Leland adds,

“ had ever affected to administer their government on *polar principles*.” It would therefore have been a breach of “ *conciliation* ” to take the necessary precautions for the safety of the loyal Protestants ! In consequence, *these* were left not only to themselves, but also in almost utter ignorance of the dark designs of their enemies. What the result was, I need not inform my readers.

At the present moment, I should recommend to the serious consideration of every rational protestant, whether he can discern any resemblance between our own times—(“ the great march of events,” as DANIEL O’CONNELL, Esq. terms it,) and the manœuvres and system of policy which ushered in the rebellion of 1641. A book, which will be referred to in future ages, “ SPEARING’S TRUE STATE OF THE QUESTION,” now lies open before me. It was published in 1816, and contains a historical sketch of the struggles between Protestantism and Popery, from the earliest period : but, in particular, a copious and faithful account of the proceedings, manifestoes, speeches, &c. of the “ Emancipation ” gentry—their correspondence with the Court of Rome—the awkward disclosures sometimes *let out* in the effervescence of the moment ; and their repeated declarations, that no change whatever has, or ever can take place in their sentiments towards Protestantism. Mr. SPEARING has discharged his duty to the Protestants of Ireland, with an intelligence, an industry, and a fearless zeal, for which they never will be able sufficiently to reward him ; and at this awful crisis, I cannot do a greater service to my Country, than to recommend the book to the attention of all who have a spark of patriotism still unextinguished. It will, on a review of the *modern politics* of the party, as developed by Mr. SPEARING, from authentic documents, be evident to every impartial examiner, that the spirit of 1641, is again at work. This, there would have been reason to imagine, even though the *Green-street* tale were yet untold. But, when the frightful system for our extermination, there stripped of its disguise, is taken into connexion with the *predictions* of the *Board* orators—when we find, by the Newspaper reports of the year 1814, that the Ribbon Association was *foretold* in the “ Address ” of the General Catholic Board to the people,—when we hear Dr. Dromgoole declaring, that “ The columns of Catholicity *are collecting*, WHO CHALLENGE THE POSSESSION OF THE ARK ”—when we find in the public Resolutions of a Roman Catholic Meeting, such an expression as the following : “ *We*

“*should doubt of the being of Providence, if we doubt of success*”—when we discover such daring language, in another Resolution, as—“That it is our duty, as well as our *glory*, to struggle against this bondage. That we will not be willing slaves.—That we know our religion not to be the reason, but the pretext of hypocritical tyranny, for enslavement.—England may oppress, but she shall not dupe us.”—When we read in a pamphlet published by one of their “*Illuminati*,” the following preparatory statement of the overwhelming power which the Romanists of Ireland could put forth, if necessary: “In every point of view, they form a truly important subject of enquiry and reflection. In numbers they have prodigiously increased, and they are continually increasing beyond example in any country. Already they compose *the far greater part* of the trading and manufacturing interests!! The agricultural class, so powerful and influential throughout Ireland, the *landholders* farmers, peasantry, are almost *universally Catholics!!!* They occupy the most VALUABLE POSITIONS, whether for commercial or for MILITARY purposes; the boldest coasts, most navigable rivers, and most TENABLE PASSES; the most fertile districts, *the readiest supplies of forage*, the readiest means of ATTACK AND DEFENCE: numerically, they constitute full *five-sixth parts* of the Irish population; and, compared with the members of the Established Church, they are at least *ten to one*;—a proportion of late years rapidly advancing!—*The open country is in their almost exclusive occupation.* The gross population of Ireland is moderately estimated at five millions of inhabitants. Of this number we may, without exaggeration, state the Catholics as amounting to *four millions two hundred thousand.* In fine, *the Catholics are emphatically the people of Ireland*”—When we take all these *well-digested hints*, and the concatenated *results of them* into account, shall we deem it politic either to add to the already almost unbounded sway of those who lead “THE EMPHATIC PEOPLE,” captive at their will; or to disgust or disarm the loyalty of those who, for centuries, have been the only faithful supporters of the British Government?

The next curious particular in the last year's *politics*, to which I would direct attention, is the *hushing* of Mr. STEPHEN EGAN's arrest. It is, perhaps, fresh in the memory of my readers, that this Roman Catholic Gentleman is son to a

person worth, or generally reputed to be worth, more than £1000 per annum. It seems that Mr. EGAN, the father, was about to bestow, or, I believe, had actually bestowed, a fine farm of upwards of five hundred acres on his son Stephen, at the time of his apprehension. As to the political feeling of other individuals of the family, it had, I am credibly informed, been exhibited on many occasions; but in particular, in the active part some of Mr. EGAN's nearest relations are said to have taken, a few days before the arrest of the zealous *itinerant*, to prevent the payment of Tithes, which they prohibited under pain of death! When Mr. STEPHEN EGAN was arrested, he was proceeding on his *mission*, with Ribbonite documents in his pocket, which, it would appear, he had recently received, and was going to communicate to his committee; probably, on a change of *system* taking place. The murderous, nay, the infernal spirit which those documents betrayed, excited general horror. The sensation which they created was long before it subsided. The disaffected press, indeed, with its accustomed zeal for "the cause," did not fail to represent the whole business as an "*An Orange Plot!*" A very intelligible hint was even thrown out, that the treasonable paper was forged by Mr. HAMILTON of Roscrea, a Gentleman who, in repayment for his indefatigable exertions in preserving the peace of the country, and detecting and defeating the machinations of traitors, has been loaded with all sorts of scurrility and detraction; and constantly left *in the lurch*, even by the Government itself, *though the very proceedings that he took had been dictated by them!* In return, they have suffered this exemplary magistrate to incur, not only calumny and risk *in performing their business*, but also pecuniary expences, which his finances could by no means afford. Such are the rewards of devoted loyalty in this land of "Conciliation!" Had Mr. HAMILTON been a rotten-hearted hypocrite, who would have lent himself to any dirty work that shuffling Ministers might have fancied, while playing a double game; had he neglected his duty to his own character, and omitted to defend himself with a manliness and candour which will raise him in the estimation of every man whose good opinion is worth possessing, far above trimming Attorney-Generals, and such like rubbish; had he passively made a stepping-stone of himself for *manœuvres* to retreat over; had he acted as special constable to prevent the commemoration of our deliverance "FROM POPISH TYRANNY AND ARBITRARY POWER;" then might Mr. HAMILTON have

reapt more *visible*, though not more sterling rewards, for his labours in defence of his King and Constitution, than the gratifying reflection that he has done his duty as a brave and honest loyalist. Circumstances, indeed, have come out, which prove that Mr. EGAN's manuscript contains the essence of the Ribbon System. I myself was favoured by a Correspondent from the North of Ireland, several months before Mr. EGAN's arrest, with a Ribbonite Catechism, not materially different from that found on Mr. EGAN's person; to it I accordingly gave publicity in the *late* ANTIDOTE, OR CONSTITUTIONAL SENTINEL. But still such is the predilection of the majority of the public for the gross falsehoods of the Jacobinical school, that I have heard many protestants declare their conviction that Mr. HAMILTON had really forged the Egan-document, "to help himself out of his former scrape," as they called it!

Late occurrences have rendered it only an act of common justice to a loyal man, to bring this affair again before the public. There are events which go for naught at the moment when they happen, but which obtain irresistible weight when future circumstances offer their corroborating testimony. I would therefore call on an impartial public—I *would solicit the Government itself*, to review the conduct of Mr. HAMILTON, and the return he has received.—Justice is imperative on every human being; the claims of mercy, though strong, admit of more discretion. If Alderman Smyth Fleming merited the most flattering and public attentions, for so ably *drilling* the horse-police at *College-Green Riding-School*, and putting their *chargers* in wind for the next Orange campaign, by *forty-eight hours* walking-exercise; if the *renowned* Mr. MILLIKEN merited the being published through the empire as the favourite of one of the greatest Statesmen in Europe, for having the *amiable* quality of instantly volunteering an oath about an expression, which it was quite immaterial whether it had been made use of or not—an expression, which was both natural and perfectly just, if it had occurred—an expression which all the ingenuity of faction could not torture into any more than this, "that, from the aspect of the riot at one period, consequences more serious than what had been witnessed, were to have been apprehended"—perhaps, a few broken heads, fractured limbs, people thrown from the gallery into the pit, a regular "set-to between the Orangemen and Ribbonmen, &c.—If such *mighty* services to the *State!!!* deserved the most decided countenance, and perhaps will bring after

them *still more substantial*; rewards what does the magistrate merit, *who was*, if I mistake not, “the very first to detect the Ribbon conspiracy,” shortly after the arrival of the “*Soldiers of Jesus*,” (as they are impiously called) in this country? Mr. HAMILTON detected and disclosed a deliberate plot, framed with all possible system, to co-operate with the arch-enemy of the British empire, on his return from Elba. The very uniforms of the Rebel Officers were found; the faithful “Sons of the Shamrock,” were every night *at drill*; the plan of insurrection, to operate as a diversion in favour of Bonaparte, and keep our troops at home, was all arranged. But all this was defeated by the resolute and incorruptible loyalty of Mr. HAMILTON. Not only did he “cast his life upon a die;” but he had to bear up against the obstinate incredulity of an infatuated public—“to stand in the breach,” and, while other magistrates became “*Conciliators*,” to dare to be honest, and save his country from the yawning gulph of the most malignant disaffection!

Let us suppose, for a moment, that the rebels carried their designs into effect—who could calculate on the consequences? Had we been compelled to keep even five Regiments at home, at that time, **THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST!!!** My Lord WELLESLEY, I doubt not, but you owe your Noble Brother’s life, though not his fame, (for that was firmly established before that distinguished day,)—still I do maintain, that, almost to a certainty, you owe his brightest wreath to *the Rev. John Hamilton, Curate of Roscrea!* a man who has had to struggle against almost overwhelming adversity, from the persecutions he has sustained for his true devotion to his country’s cause.—My Lord, we owe **OUR HERO** to his vigilance! He is still struggling with the waves of adversity, My Lord; he has merit, he has talents, he has an honest heart, my Lord, I know him well. **HE IS STILL UNREWARDED!!!—His country is still his debtor.**

Let it not be said that I am romancing: No; I was myself favoured by Mr. HAMILTON with a perusal of the informations which he had received on that occasion. My Regiment, some time after its return from France, sent a detachment to Roscrea. I was quartered there, and had an opportunity of making local enquiries into all the circumstances. The result was an irresistible conviction, that rebellion was smothered by Mr. HAMILTON’s magisterial

exertions. This was in the beginning of 1816. But, as I have before noticed in the *Antidote* of 5th January, 1821, the dying confession of *Kiely*, who was executed last year, sufficiently corroborated all Mr. HAMILTON's statements.

Now, it would, I think, have been but a very small portion of what is due to Mr. HAMILTON, for the Crown Lawyers to have defended that gentleman's character from the malicious slanders of our corrupt Press, by bringing Mr. STEPHEN EGAN to trial. But this would have militated against the *doctrine* of Mr. PLUNKETT, "that none but *Coal-porters*, and such like gentry, were concerned in Ribbonism!"—yet I would beg to remind the Right Hon. Gentleman of another ground which he himself very recently laid for such a proceeding. "The public were particularly anxious for an enquiry"—their curiosity ought to be gratified. Such was the *irresistible motive* that appeared to sway Mr. PLUNKETT, to issue, or announce, his *ex-officio* against those, whom an enlightened, and, I firmly believe, truly honest Grand Jury, declared, by their solemn verdict, *not liable to suspicion*;—such the ostensible, or avowed cause, that is said to have induced the Right Hon. Gentleman to call into action, what, in my mind, appears to be the only remnant of arbitrary power that attaches to our Constitution.

I am not qualified to determine, whether the issuing of an *ex-officio* in direct opposition to the verdict of a Grand Jury, be unconstitutional, be actually illegal, or not. But this much I will venture to assert, that, if "*Common Law be Common Sense*," as some of our most renowned lawyers have maintained; *an ex-officio information* brought forward against an individual, after the decision of a tribunal, whose finding, most people have been in the habit of considering *definitive*, has pronounced him ABOVE SUSPICION, does, in my humble judgment, render a Grand Jury a very unnecessary and cumbersome appendage to our Courts of Justice. I, until my eyes were opened by the brilliant *reasoning* of Mr. PLUNKETT, was always of opinion, that Grand Jurors, so far from being a parcel of *live lumber*, occupying the time and space of our Law Courts, were the particular guardians of the *reputation* of their fellow-subjects,—the security that a man should not be frivolously and vexatiously dragged before the world, and charged in open Court, with being a disturber of the public peace, and a deliberate violator of the laws, ("*well knowing the premises, but being a*

wicked and ill-disposed person.") I, in my profound ignorance, had always thought, with the immortal Shakespeare, that to be "*above suspicion*," was even placed above *innocence itself*. I looked upon the Constitution, as affording protection, not only to the fortune and person of the subject, but also to his *reputation*: for *reputation* is often *a fortune*, as Mr. PLUNKETT can prove by experience! Now, the very oath of secrecy that is administered to a Grand Juror,—the very mode of proceeding adopted with respect to Bills,—the very expression made use of in rejecting them: "*IGNORAMUS*," *we are ignorant of any such accusation having been preferred*; the individual goes back to society without a *stain on his character*,—he has been calumniated,—let his name not be so much as mentioned, lest it should furnish materials for the tongue of slander to comment upon."—All these, and many more considerations, led me to look upon a Grand Jury as one of the proudest bulwarks to the liberty of the subject, and not a mere *gew-gaw*, whose decision was overturnable by the caprice of any man! However, the Attorney-General has rectified all my *false* notions of our jurisprudence; it now appears that HE "*can assume the functions of a Grand Jury*," whenever he thinks proper,—and not only this, but that *he*, in the plenitude of his power, can *actually, at his pleasure*, deny their finding, and when they say "*Ignoramus*," his high-mightiness can exclaim, "*but I say, A true Bill!*"

Why has this important discovery so long been hidden from us? Why have we so long indulged the vain idea, that our reputations, as well as our fortunes, were provided with protectors, who had a common interest with ourselves, in checking *ambition*, malice, and slander?—Surely, if the decision of a Grand Jury be not definitive, and if his Majesty's Attorney be the omnipotent controller of their verdict,—if, after having produced all the evidence that *he* deemed requisite for their consideration, he can *virtually* say to them,—"*You are not competent to decide*;" then are they an inferior tribunal to the Attorney-General, and little, *if any thing*, better than mere ciphers! It ought to be remembered, that all criminal prosecutions, without any exception, are carried on in the name of "*the King*;" therefore, the Attorney-General, as head of the public prosecutors, may, if he please, take every criminal prosecution into his own hands! Here is a subject for deep reflection. If the King's law officer please,

he can *virtually* demolish all the findings of *twenty-three* of those, reputed to be chosen from among the first men of the county—at least as far as criminal indictments are concerned! Why, I ask, summon them at all?

These are most important reflections, in which *all*, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, are deeply concerned. I do not say that the Attorney-General has over-stepped his prerogative,—on this I acknowledge myself incompetent to decide: But I will boldly assert, that if the Constitution have vested in the Attorney-General the power of *nullifying* the verdict of a Grand Jury, (which I am much inclined to doubt,) no time should be lost in petitioning the Legislature to have so crying a grievance remedied; and if the Attorney-General in this respect, have overstepped the power with which he is entrusted, (which I am not exactly prepared to maintain,) the inhabitants of Ireland, *one and all*, should petition his Majesty for the Right Hon. Gentleman's removal from office.

I am aware that the Attorney-General has, in particular cases, the power of originating a prosecution without the intervention of a Grand Jury; but common sense declares that there must be determinate bounds to this prerogative. Some offences, such as libels against the State, and a few others, which carry, (if I may be allowed the expression,) *presentable* evidence along with them, may, perhaps, bear to be distinguished from the common mass of crimes, and the public prosecutor might be permitted to bring them directly before a petty jury, on extraordinary occasions. This, *possibly*, might be consistent with the liberties of the subject; although I, for my part, cannot see any necessity for it. But if the unlimited scope which Mr. PLUNKETT seems to claim, be really legitimate, so absurd a farce as impanneling a Grand Jury, I can hardly conceive!

I doubt not, but our law annals furnish precedents which may approach very near to the case in point; but it should be remembered, that "*two blacks never made a white.*"

A case that bears some analogy with the present one, occurred in Dublin, in the reign of Queen Anne, year 1713, when Sir Constantine Phipps was Lord Chancellor. On King William's birth-day, Tamerlane was acted at the Theatre, and Doctor Garth's prologue to it, announced to be spoken. The Actor, however, *refused* to speak the prologue; and Dudley Moore, Esq. conceiving it only a hand-

some encomium on King William, got on the Stage, and there repeated the prologue. He was indicted for a riot on the informations of J. Ashbery, C. O'Brien, J. Leigh, and James Mac Kenna, and examined before Mr. Justice Coote, a few days afterwards. The Grand Jury returned *Billa vera* on the indictment *by mistake*, and were discharged. After this, Alderman Ralph Gore, foreman of the Grand Jury, came into Court, and made oath, that *billa vera* was endorsed by mistake, instead of *ignoramus*. The whole of the Grand Jury afterwards came into Court, and made oath to the same effect; notwithstanding which the application was rejected by the Court, and Moore bound over to appearance! The Attorney General afterwards moved for a trial, which was granted. The next day, the indictment was by consent quashed, and a rule enacted for Moore's discharge. After this the Attorney-General filed an *ex-officio* information against Moore for the same matter. The Attorney-General being asked whether he had any directions to file said informations, and from whom?—answered, he did not think himself obliged to discover what passed between him and the Lords Justices.

One of the Lords Justices was the then Chancellor Phipps. The Lord Mayor and twenty Aldermen were summoned to the Castle. Phipps made a speech to prejudice and influence them against Moore, and against the prologue spoken, which he called *sedition*. He likewise proceeded to tamper with them about the description of persons to be returned on the Juries fit for his purpose; namely, the conviction of Moore.

A judicious writer observes, "That this unconstitutional prosecution, or rather persecution of Moore, was connected with other extended designs against the protestant religion and establishment, the resolutions of the Irish House of Commons, passed on several days subsequent to the discoveries therein alluded to, sufficiently prove."

One Resolution states, that a most daring and systematic attempt was made to intimidate the Electors, to insult and offer violence to the upright Sheriffs, and by actual force, by means of armed "papists," and others who were likewise unqualified to vote, to procure the election of certain candidates; and that the confidential servant of the aforesaid Lord Chancellor "was a chief fomentor of, and instrumental in, carrying on, and putting in execution, the riotous "design and force used to obstruct the poll."

A subsequent Address was sent by the House of Commons to the Queen, praying the removal of Sir Constantine Phipps; and stating, among other grounds, "That the said Chancellor *encourages Papists to traduce Protestants*;" next, the Chancellor's oppressive conduct to Dudley Moore, Esq.

Other Resolutions state, "A design formed and carried on to subvert the Constitution, and alter the Government of the City of Dublin."—An attempt made to corrupt the Lord Mayor by bribery.—The vexatious rejection, by the Lords Justices, of several loyal men, who were elected to the office of Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, &c.

This is what I am able to collect, concerning the only *ex-officio* that I am aware of an Attorney-General having issued in direct opposition to the finding of a Grand Jury.—It appears, indeed, that Mr. PLUNKETT *has a precedent*; but whether such an example will entirely satisfy the public, and furnish a good *quotation* for the Right Hon. Gentleman, is what I will not take upon me to prophesy. However, I have strong doubts of the success of the present system of tactics, and something like a foreboding that it will terminate in the utter defeat of those who employ it. The task of taming an Hyena, has, I believe, often been undertaken, but never yet has succeeded!

It has frequently amused me to see a learned Judge listening with all due gravity to the *quoted* opinion of some one of his predecessors, and actually resigning his own individual judgment, because another had ruled differently! We laugh at the pretended infallibility of the Bishop of Rome; but I almost think that some of our *Big-Wigs* have very nearly as great a propensity to perpetuate error. If a *precedent* can be elicited from cases determined, ninety-nine times out of a hundred, it is allowed to settle the point! Hence, I conclude, that even the case of "The King against Moore," may prove a quietus for any scruples that may hereafter arise in the proposing a similar mode of proceeding!

I was wonderfully edified at the last Commission in Green-street, by the very luminous distinction which the learned Judge made between the advantage which a man's character has by an acquittal before a petty jury, over what it would receive by being pronounced *free from all censure* by nearly double the number of Gentlemen, who have a fair chance of being a far more intelligible description of

persons. Before I had the pleasure of hearing his Lordship *discuss* the point, it had appeared to me that the proposition or argument which carries with it its own refutation, and presents, *prima facie*, features of falsity so strong, as to cause its own rejection, without the aid of an opponent, is by far more effectually extinguished, than that which seems to need a reply. Before a petty jury, a thousand circumstances frequently occur, to render error the victor. The quibbles of Counsel, knotty points of law, which sometimes the learned Judges themselves appear to be so puzzled with, as by their comments merely to make "darkness visible;" the patience of the jurors completely exhausted by layer upon layer of turgid nonsense, which keep the real question entirely out of view.—But a Grand Jury have the advantage of an uninterrupted enquiry; and if the witnesses for the prosecution cannot substantiate their cause before them, where they have all the story *their own way*, and no contradiction to apprehend; is it not a fair inference to draw, *that truth is not at their side*? We all know that informations, as drawn up in police offices, are sometimes by no means the real declarations of the deponents. Few, if any magistrates, or magistrates, clerks, take the trouble fully to explain the tendency of every expression of their lax and slovenly phraseology; and the witness too often makes his deposition of what he does not perfectly comprehend. A cross-examination, however, elicits a very different sort of story; and when there is a desire to deceive, it often happens, that "in the *multitude* of witnesses there is safety" to the accused. No doubt, the over-ardour of the down-looking tribe, that flocked to execute vengeance on the "detestable heretics," made them overshoot the mark, and clearly pointed out at which side the genuine conspiracy was to be sought! Hence their discomfiture; which operated so powerfully on the Attorney-General, that I am told he "rent his mantle in twain," when unrobing!

I am very sorry to perceive, that either the learned Judge has imperfect hearing, or I am quite ignorant of the import of words. In reply to the manly, temperate, and dignified remonstrance of the Grand Jury, and their just expression of their wounded feelings, his Lordship denied that the Attorney-General, "in his hearing," had at all reflected on them! I was within four feet of Mr. PLUNKETT, when, in speaking of the verdict of the Grand Jury, he termed it—"the *idte finding*;" I took down the words

at the time, and am ready to swear, before any tribunal that Mr. PLUNKETT positively made use of them!

Whether such a designation, were, or were not, a severe reflection on that Jury, will best appear from an examination of their oath, which is as follows:—

“ You shall well and DILIGENTLY enquire, as well on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King, as the body of the County of the City of Dublin at large, and true presentment make of such articles, matters, and things, as shall be given you in charge; your own counsel, and that of your fellow-jurors, you shall not disclose; you shall present no person, matter, or thing, from malice, hatred, or evil will; nor shall you leave any person, matter, or thing, presentable, unpresented, through fear, favour, or affection; but in all things you shall present the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, according to the best of your skill and knowledge.—So help you God.”

I put it to any man of common sense, whether to charge men, who have taken such an oath, with “ *idle finding*,” be not casting “ an imputation ” on them? One who has sworn “ *diligently* ” to discharge his duty, if, on the contrary, he relax into *idleness*, has been guilty of perjury.—There cannot be two words more opposed in their meaning than *diligence and idleness*; and it is a gross trifling with the understanding of a man, to say that such a censure, *if well-founded*, would not send every individual of the Grand Jury into society *with the deepest stain on his moral character*. It was particularly galling, when accompanied by so marked, so unequivocal a comment.—Mr. PLUNKETT could not expect that three and twenty intelligent Gentlemen would overlook the crying fact of his having declared his disapproval of their verdict, by announcing a determination to try the very men whom they had fully acquitted; and, of course, the words which he offered in justification of *his* conduct, were obviously a cutting reflection on *theirs*. The *act* itself, was quite sufficient to justify even a stronger remonstrance than that of the Grand Jury; and I know not how either his Lordship or the Attorney-General himself, could expect men *so deeply wounded* to forbear from expressing their injuries.

No sophistry can explain away the expression which I declare Mr. PLUNKETT to have made use of. If he were to say, it referred to the impossibility of *two* persons having committed what the law calls a riot, and the absurdity of the Grand Jury having found a true bill against

them for such a crime: I reply, that if the Grand Jury saw sufficient proof of the *two* persons against whom they returned "*billa vera*," having, *with others*, committed a riot, they could not do otherwise than record their opinion to that effect; though, through a point of law, an actual conviction might not take place. But was it to be argued, as a matter of course, that because *two* out of the *six* appeared to them to be guilty, or charged with the crime in such a manner as to demand further investigation, they were, in order to insure the conviction of the *two*, to *present four*, against whom no ground for impeachment seemed to exist? The learned Judge went into a very *explanatory* argument, to prove that the evidence against the prisoners exhibited "a manifest conspiracy." So the Grand Jury seemed to have thought, when they found a *true bill* against two of the parties: his Lordship's *explanation*, therefore, was superfluous. But was this a reason why innocent persons were to be sacrificed to *technicality*? Was it a matter of "*surprise*" that *all* were not involved in one common guilt, because actual guilt appeared to attach to *some*? Had the Attorney-General merely wished for an *expose* of the whole business, in order to gratify public "*curiosity*," such an end might have been obtained by putting the *two* persons on their trial, as well as the *six*; for, the evidence would have been produced on both sides, and the circumstances developed through the trial might have terminated in an acquittal. But it would appear that *something farther* was contemplated!

It is by no means generous or manly to attack those who are debarred the privilege of defending themselves, and therefore I am convinced that parliament will not deny the City of Dublin Grand Jury that Constitutional protection to which they are entitled. But the cause of the Dublin Grand Jury, *is the cause of the Nation*; and no time should be suffered to pass by, without a *general preparation of Petitions* for an investigation of what appears to me to strike at the very root of our most invaluable privileges. This is the age of innovation: let us, therefore, *all* be at our posts, and assert our rights with a firmness and intrepidity that will give a profitable lesson to those who would invade our liberties! I shall take an early opportunity to resume this subject.

Ere long, I propose to place in contrast Mr. PLUNKETT's *commendable* moderation and forbearance towards the

Armagh delegates; of whom, though no possible doubt could exist of their being guilty of high treason, only *one* has as yet been brought to trial; and His intense anxiety to prosecute even those unfortunate young men, who were acquitted by *twenty-three* honest men on their oaths, of having any reasonable cause of suspicion against them. — Mr. PLUNKETT well knows the overwhelming expense of the law; he well knows that the sum it will cost those young men, to defend themselves against a charge, of which a Grand Jury *unanimously* has pronounced their apparent innocence, will, in all probability, prove their ruin, even though they obtain a verdict of acquittal. And still he persists in his determination!

At the worst, what was their crime? A foolish and indiscreet display of their want of confidence in some members of the administration; a jealousy of their rights and privileges; and apprehension that their sworn murderers, and the well-known enemies of the Constitution, were more favoured by Government than those who would shed their blood in defence of the Laws. The late events were undoubtedly calculated to excite such suspicions in the minds of the thoughtless and sanguine. Perhaps a more absurd oversight was never witnessed, than the omitting to probe the affair of the Bank Guard to the bottom. — *Seven individuals*, on that occasion, were bayoneted in the most unconstitutional and unwarrantable manner, without any public enquiry having since taken place, — at least, so as to give the public the satisfaction of knowing that their interests were watched over. No doubt, some of those individuals, who had wantonly been wounded, were at the theatre on the night of the riot; no doubt, their friends and companions were indignant at such treatment: was it then to be wondered at that an ebullition of dissatisfaction burst forth? It was to be lamented, I admit; for, such agents are not likely to advance any cause: yet they were not the one-half so much to blame, as those who *drove* them into such apprehensions. But their excesses would have passed off in a few groans and hisses, were it not for those murderous villains, the Ribbon-men, who profited by the occasion, and gave a malignant character to the whole affair. Even the placards that were thrown into the pit, what were they, but clumsy and ill-constructed puns? — *probably the handy work of one of those seven who were wounded by the Bank Guard*. This, I am strongly inclined to think, will turn out to be the case. Let the business be properly

and calmly considered, and those who, by their double-dealing policy had given cause of suspicion of their being indifferent spectators of the insults and injuries that Protestants are hourly suffering, should bear more than half the onus of this affair on their own shoulders. I am sincerely sorry that it happened, as I should prefer seeing Protestants using the more Constitutional weapons of petitions to the King and the Parliament ; but I hope the lesson will not be lost.

Unfortunately, Protestants want that union of enterprise which their foes possess. I trust, however, that they will see their error before it is too late, and join heart and hand to protect themselves from EXTERMINATION. The Rebellion of 1640 was *seven* years in preparation. *The coming one* has been fully as much, if not more.

The following extract from the Viceroy's speech, at the close of the Session of 1709, is worthy the attention of Protestants at this awful moment. The instruction which it conveys should sink deep into their hearts ; *and be weighed by their Rulers :*

“ I make no doubt,” said his Excellency, “ but you understand too well the true interests of the Protestant religion in this kingdom, *not to make all such Protestants as easy as you can, who are willing to contribute to defend the whole against the common enemy.* It is not the law now passed, nor any law that the wit of man can frame, will secure you against popery, *while you continue divided among yourselves ;* it being demonstrable that, *unless there be a firm friendship and confidence among the Protestants of this Kingdom,* IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU EITHER TO BE HAPPY OR TO BE SAFE.”

Loyal Protestants of Ireland ! your very existence depends on your following this counsel—the fruits of doleful experience ! If you be united, all will be well. Let not the exaggerations of your foes terrify you. They tell you they out-number you by six to one. It is false !—You are in the proportion of five to seven. Even by the calculation of one of their own writers, Doctor Burke, Titular Bishop of Ossory, the numbers of the Irish Romanists in 1762, were only one million three hundred thousand ; while the Protestants were by him stated to be seven hundred and seventy thousand—that is, about 13 to 25. Subsequent events have greatly altered this proportion in favour of Protestants ; such as the rebellion of 1798, together with the incessant transportation of the lower orders of Romanists, for the innu-

merable crimes to which their lax morality exposes them—their great emigration to the United States and to Canada—the mortality amongst them, owing to the typhus fever, which did not extend its ravages considerably among Protestants—the unwearied efforts of the Methodist preachers to reclaim them from the paths of error, and which have been crowned with wonderful success; together with the tyranny of their priests, which, as in a late instance, in Mullingar, often drives entire families to put themselves under the protection of the protestant church.

In 1782, their own advocates, Mr. Walshe, Mr. Grattan, and Sir Boyle Roche, estimated their numbers at only two millions. I now imagine it to be almost three millions and a half; and that of the protestants to be two millions and a-half. I will venture to assert that I am not 100,000 over or under the mark. Let any one reflect for a moment; and not suffer himself to be borne down by Jesuitical artifice—do not the Presbyterians of Ireland amount to nearly a million? And will not the other Protestants, including Methodists and Sectarians, make up more than one million and a-half?—There are two large and populous towns in Ireland, Derry and Bandon, in which the Protestants are more than ten to one to the Romanists. Many other towns, especially in the North, are chiefly protestants. And it will be found that in those districts in which the Romanists chiefly preponderate,—such as Kerry, and some parts of Connaught, the population is by no means so dense, as where the protestants are more largely intermixed amongst them. It is quite preposterous that protestants will be carried away with the swagging falsehoods of Romish demagogues:—They have nothing to fear, except from *their own disunion*. I sincerely hope, however, that their eyes are nearly opened to the designs of their enemies; and that they will no longer be terrified at their own shadow. A very little firmness will put all to rights.

It is worthy of notice, that an artifice similar to that used before the massacre of 1641, is now employed. The Rebels, at that time, pretended at first to direct their hostility against the English protestants, and to leave Scotch colonists unmolested. By this means they retarded that warm co-operation, which otherwise would have taken place on the first appearance of danger. But as soon as they had pretty well disposed of the English colonists, by either murdering them, or driving them naked, and like wild beasts, into the mountains and bogs; then they paid their compliments to

the Scotch, and let them feel the heavy hand of popish intolerance !

In like manner, *now*, they would have it believed that their enmity is solely against Orangemen. If the remaining protestants could be prevailed upon to stand neuter, while a persecution was carried on against Orangemen ; the former would be *rewarded* with a *reprieve*, until murderous fanaticism had disposed of the tried friends of the Constitution—" *whose only fault*," (as Mr. Peel declared in the House of Commons, on the 14th of July, 1814,) "*is an exuberance of loyalty*." Afterwards, the tragedy would be closed by the more deliberate operations of fire and faggot !

There are three matters of which I will again remind the public, as parliament will shortly meet : namely, 1st, the violence which the Blessington priest offered to the poor, but incorruptible widow *Mooney*, in consequence of her refusing to abjure the protestant religion:—*of which no notice has been taken by Mr. Plunkett*, as far as I could discover. 2d. 'The disaffected ruffian, who, some time since drank "Success to the Ribbonmen of Ireland," together with various other treasonable toasts, in a public house in Crampton Court; but who is said to be retained in an official situation in the Castle of Dublin. I have before offered, and I still offer, to produce the man who heard him make use of language, every syllable of which breathed the most ardent wishes for the extermination of protestants!— 3d. 'The diabolical villians who were imprisoned for assaulting a protestant congregation, when coming out from early service on last Christmas morning, and shockingly abusing and wounding some of them, were, if I be rightly informed, let off without trial !!! If Mr. Plunkett be anxious to indulge *these* gentlemen with an *Ex-officio*, (to teach Romanists that the protestant Church is not *yet* prostrate) he can obtain their names, and ascertain their residences by applying at the head police office. But *they* are not Orangemen ! and no other *game* seems now worthy of notice !

Protestants of Ireland ! cause your grievances, and your well-grounded apprehensions to be heard, without delay—Petition from every City, every town, every parish ! Let Parliament know the truth—let them know of the violence, the intimidation, the persecutions, which are directed against you. Let them know that you are *now* forbidden to express your veneration for the Constitution under which it *would* be your happiness to live ; or to bring

to recollection **THE HERO THAT GAVE YOU THAT CONSTITUTION!** Your complaints will not be fruitless! Your enemies have long profited by your silence: Let them do so no longer!—Petition!—

At this moment you need every possible aid. I, therefore, intend to publish, *on every Friday morning*, a periodical Work, in which your interests shall not be lost sight of: Its Title will be "**THE WILLIAMITE:**" its motto, "*Magna est Veritas, et prevalēbit,*"—"Great is Truth, and it will prevail." In the first Number, some thoughts on the *Croisade* against Orangemen, shall be offered; the subject of Tithes discussed; the progress of your enemies more minutely traced; and their former artifices more fully displayed. The sufferings of your ancestors also shall be brought before you, to remind you of your danger, and stimulate you to exertion.

FINIS.

The following ERRATA occurred in a few copies of this Work.

Page 36, line 26, *for* and read *though*.
— 38, — 14, — 1640 — 1641.

to know that the hero that gave you that
GOVERNMENT! Your country will not be helped!
Your country will not be helped by your silence: let
them hear you! — (Loudly) —
At this point you may every possible aid. I, therefore,
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THIS

The following HANDBOOK contains a full and complete
list of the 25,000 and over troops
— 25,000 — 15,000 — 10,000 —

