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THE VETO.

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A COMMENTARY

ON

The Grenville Manifesto,

BY

CORNELIUS KEOGH, Esq.

(LATE OF MOUNT JEROME IN IRELAND), A CATHOLIC,  
AND A MEMBER OF SOME LITERARY SOCIETIES.

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“ Oh! turn awhile, and though the shamrock wreathes  
My homely harp, yet shall the song it breathes  
Of Ireland's slavery, and of Ireland's woes,  
Live, when the memory of her tyrant foes  
Shall but exist, all future knaves to warn,  
Embalm'd in hate, and canoniz'd by scorn!”

INTOLERANCE, a Poem

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PATER-NOSTER ROW,

1810.

THE NETO

A COMMENTARY

THE CRIBBLE ABANDONED

CORNELIUS GEORGE Esq.

(LATE OF GREAT BRITAIN IN IRELAND) A CATHOLIC  
AND A MEMBER OF THE FIFTH SOCIETY

My honest heart, and all the love  
Of Ireland's laws, and of her  
Live, when the enemy of  
shall be ever, and the  
Episcopal in law, and

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Houses of the Oireachtas

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Houses of the Oireachtas

# DEDICATION.

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## TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.

NATION, lately so grand and so powerful! Nation, still so magnanimous and so interesting; so like Carthage in her fall!—can you tamely and stupidly gaze on the perspective of your own destruction, until the book of your history shall be closed for ever?

Or will you spiritedly rally round your King, to prop his tottering throne, and to chase from behind it those evil counsellors, who are traitorously sapping its foundations? Will you crush those perfidious advisers; who, rather than relinquish their own rapacious, selfish, momentary ends, would deliberately expose your aged King, with all his numerous family, to wander adrift upon the world;

a wretched emigrant pretender, hunted from country to country, at the insolent whim of an usurping successor?

It is unavailing, as it is unmanly, to keep scolding at Buonaparte, and whining over his hapless victims. The great anti-Anglican potentate will invade you, if he can; and so he ought, in reason and by every law of nature. Invasion, in your misruled country, can only be the forerunner of subjugation. When once you are invaded and overrun, there can arise no good from your bustle and your well-meant bluster. Your young highmettled men of fashion may *row* in the theatres, according to their native custom, some individual French officers unskilled in boxing: aye, and they may soundly thrash them, whenever they gain the opportunity. Less generous nations have made ample experiment on the efficacy of vindictive personality. The stiletto of the Italian, the knife of the Portuguese, have brought many a brave, and, as chance would have it, many a worthy Frenchman to bite the dust. But these outrages, as paltry as

sanguinary, are unproductive of political result. The nibbling bite of the mouse gnaws, in vain, the claws of the cat; nor can the petty pecking of the pigeon prevail against the beak of the kite. And even so shall it be, while Buonaparte devours you, if your weakness should tempt his deadly grasp.

Mistake not your disorder. It is not a palliative it requires, but a prompt and efficacious remedy. Behold the catalogue of the menacing symptoms of your approaching dissolution!

ABROAD,—few ambassadors; many generals. Treaties, entrapping the too feeble ally to provoke the gripe of the unrelenting conqueror, dearly purchased by subsidy; ill-ominous bribe, destined to be remitted, as a war contribution, to swell the treasury of France! Triumphs, worse than the victories of Pyrrhus, more ruinous to the army than defeat to the enemy. A single won battle, the barren consolation for the lost campaign, unrecorded even by a tomb sacred to the memory of the slain. Maïda, Vimiera,

Corunna, Talavera, Flushing! Fields, big with the bones of departed heroes; where shall the traveller find the stone of their fame? The blooming laurel of the surviving soldier, bravely forced from the fiercely-fighting foe, quickly withering on his wearied brow, blighted by the impure breath of a rotten government.

In the WEST INDIES—the gentle and amiable aborigines inhumanly extirpated. The last of the Maroons hunted, by bloodhounds, from their last retreat! The natives replaced by a black and savage race, imported in prison-ships and in chains, from the African coast, by the Spanish trafficker in human cattle. And that ugly ferocious race, unattached by any ties, social, religious, or political; tempted by the alluring example of a revolted Negro-colony; and in the neighbourhood of snarling, envious AMERICA.

In the EAST INDIES—the immense Mahometan and Hindoo population lately exasperated, even to local rebellion, by tyranny whimsically original; by assaults at once childish and cruel, upon the di-



stinctive marks of their race and religion; by the clipping of their whiskers, and the washing away their cuticular stains! Later still, the European officers of the native troops driven to mutiny, and thence to open rebellion, by a system of vexation, insult, and arbitrary oppression: as if the tenure of that widely-extended dominion were not already, through the disaffection of the natives, sufficiently precarious! The anarchical state of Persia the only interruption now screening Hindostan from a RUSSIAN invasion.

In IRELAND, a late rebellion, costing the king 20,000 red-coated, and 50,000 grey-coated subjects; all gallant hardy fellows, capable of becoming as fine soldiers, as the best picked corps of victorious France; and amounting, in joint number, to an equal force, with what won, for the arch-duke Charles, the memorable battle of Aspern. On fortune blessing his majesty's arms with signal success, the Irish ear regaled, on martial bands of music, by airs more significant, more impressive than language: *William*

*over the Water*, to recall the lost battle of the Boyne; *The Protestant Boys*, to commemorate the religious feuds of the oppressor and the oppressed; *Croppies lie down*, to revive the recollection of the rebellion. All these tunes, by the way of loyalty! Consequently the sublime anthem of *God save the King* sharing the odium they inspire; and only now tolerated in a public theatre, through an understanding of the instantaneous succession of the gay national melody of *Patrick's Day*, to indemnify the feelings of the disapproving audience. The peasant, to pay (as he humourously paints his poverty) the full produce of his land, in rent, tythes, and taxes; and to live upon the remainder. The peasant, the mechanic alike, vindictively bent on revolution; and listening impatiently, if at all, to those who prefer a less galling, though more insulting servitude. The title of the illustrious house of Brunswick to the crown of Ireland brought in question, by the breach of the solemn social compact, under which they derive their tenure;—by the non-

performance of the articles of Limerick. An invader looked for, not as a despoiling conqueror, but as a welcome deliverer. And FRANCE, how near; how fearfully near!

At HOME,—an ill-counselled king; a coachman-like, pugilistic, profligate peerage; a factious commons; in each department of church, state, or army, intrigue, venality, every species of corruption. The good, the disinterested, the patriotic, any who attempt to serve or save the country, branded with the imputation of disloyalty; subject to the frowns of the court; the insolence of office; the slander of the sycophants of power; the false witness of paupers, of whores, of whores' bullies,—of all that is low or infamous, and all industriously raked up, parroted, and paid as for a public service. The enemies of justice, of œconomy, of social order, of the liberties of mankind, and above all, the foes of the original rights of Englishmen, caressed, patronized, promoted, often aggrandized. Every variety of vicious

deportment,—from the canting fawning hypocrisy of the court, to the intrepid parliamentary contempt of principle and of public opinion; every antimoral propensity, — countenanced, justified, rewarded. Virtue, independence of mind, love of country, calumniated, derided, and punished.

There is the faithful exposure of your disorder. Cure it, while you can: if you tarry, your doom becomes inevitable. In your own hands is the specific: rouse your energy, and take courage to employ it, as you value the continuance of your political existence.

Will you then, by a generous effort, worthy of your ancient glory, deliver at once your King and yourselves from the connected, persevering, and successful conspiracy of hirelings, jobbers, peculators, perjurers, panders, and prostitutes? Will you loftily demand the prostration of usurped borough-mongering power; the reform of abuses; the restoration of your pristine constitution? Thus, and thus only, can you escape the universal ruin,

in which the degeneracy of old governments is involving every other nation of the earth.

You are on the eve of undergoing a change of ministers, ushered in, as is usual, by an augmentation of peerages; pensions; impositions, presently, on the public, remotely, on the private purse. Beware of the delusion of believing, that any measure of regeneration, any system of organization, which can enable you to resist the gigantic force of your enemy, is intended, or even contemplated by the expectants of office. They have already committed themselves on that branch of policy, which I best understand; on the claims of the country which gave me birth. They are agreed on the plan of perpetuating the discontent of Ireland, and thereby of securing the ultimate overthrow of England. These few following observations, on their own recent document, are offered to your consideration, in the earnest hope of bringing you to a sense of your pressing peril; whence your only chance of escape is doing im-

mediate and substantial justice to Ireland. I love my own country from habit, and from the force of early impressions. I love yours,—good and liberal people,—from reflection; and from that approbation, which, living and mixing among you as I do, I could not fail to imbibe. The desire to serve both countries, if possible, is the spirit which directs this first appearance before you, of

Your most sincere well-wisher,

CORNELIUS KEOGH.

LONDON,

16 Feb. 1810.

## PREFACE.

LORD GRENVILLE'S Letter is addressed to lord Fingal, as chairman of the Catholics of Ireland. I plead my inherent right, in common with every member of the Catholic body, to make what comments I think fit upon a letter thus addressed to me through my representative.

Lord Grenville, I have never seen. From fame, I understand him to be a very elevated character; and as much my superior in fortune and station, as he holds himself inferior to the King. To this nobleman, it would be presumptuous indeed, and peculiarly unbecoming, to offer any personal disrespect or mortification. But his lordship's letter is in fact, as appears from its very first paragraph, a declaration of the party he leads. I feel myself therefore at liberty to treat this document with as little deference, as the noble lord himself would bestow on the King's speech, or on a state paper: and so, without the least ceremony, I shall do my endeavour to tear it to pieces. Excepting the accidental circumstance of my knowing, by sight, the persons of M.M. Grattan and Ponsonby, the same explanation applies to both these distinguished gentlemen.

Of lord Fingal, who is here but little known, it is proper I should give some account. In private life, he is one of the most virtuous and amiable of men; and

he is far from deficient in good sense and information. His ostensibility, as a public character, is a result of the dispersion of the catholic councils since the passing of the Convention bill. The affairs of the Catholics were formerly managed, with great order and consistency, by their committees. Since 1793, the apprehension of appearing to constitute an unlawful delegation has deterred the Catholics from nominating committees, except for special purposes. The public business is now generally transacted, in an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland. The unnatural constraint of the law imposes the necessity of adopting the quaint fiction, that four millions of people are often assembled in a room, which can hardly accommodate as many hundreds. The confusion inseparable from such a system, and the frequent disinclination of men of talents to take part in a scene almost of riot, allow an opportunity to a horde of young lawyers and other schemers to obtrude themselves into notice. If a petition is ordered to England, all these self-created statesmen are clamorous to be named ambassadors. The usual way to get rid of their importunity is to intrust the matter to the sole care of lord Fingal, who is commonly called to the chair. Thus, from habit, this nobleman is in possession of being the official channel upon every occurrence of importance.

In some respects, my lord Fingal is not-unlike the King. Like him, his station exonerates him, from the troubles attendant on talent, consistency, and responsibility. Like him, he is surrounded and courted by sycophants, bigots, and place-hunters. Like him, he is bequibbled and bewildered by a cabinet of lawyers.

It may perhaps appear audacious or ridiculous to



compare lord Fingal to the King of England. But let it be remembered, that the great dispenser of kingdoms is crowning and dethroning kings faster than a careful artist can paint their portraits. Without any supernatural hypothesis; nay, by very ordinary, and, as things go, very probable means, lord Fingal might wield a sceptre, even before lord Grenville recovers his seals of office. Only let lord Chatham be replaced at the head of an army; lord Gambier, of a fleet; marquis Wellesley, of an embassy; lord Cambden, of Ireland, with Mr. John Claudius Beresford in the whipping department; sir George Barlow, of India, with sir John Craddock, in the shaving department; and last, though not least, let Mrs. Clarke be judicially protected in her commodious *rights* and her *darling* patronage: Who then can predict the strange things that may come to pass? Who can tell, for example, whether in the conjunction of these luminaries, Buonaparte might not calculate the political horoscope of a natural daughter of one of his imperial sisters? His stars might direct him to offer her to lord Fingal, as a spouse for lord Killeen, with the crown of Ireland for a dower; and he would hardly scruple at annexing the alternative, of wringing his lordship's neck in twain! I have a high opinion of the noble lord's loyalty; and yet I know not what irregularity he might be prevailed on to assent to, rather than undergo the nerve-trying operation.

I do not mean, in this writing, to offer any vindication of the Catholic religion. Such a task, to which I am but little suited by inclination, would interfere with the province of the preachers and teachers charged with the duty of expounding the doctrine. Far be it from me to embarrass myself in any polemical discus-

sion. An implied investigation of its validity is by no means the apology I propose for the Irishman, as a member of the Catholic church. I merely urge, that he is justified, because he is born one; because it is the general religion of his country; because it is prominent, among the characteristic marks of the Milesian or more ancient race of Ireland.

If the Irish Catholic usually regards the Protestant with an eye of hostility, it is not on account of his tenets, which the former does not profess to understand, and which he always excuses when ornamented by liberality. The Catholic too often beholds, in the Protestant, the offspring of a race, new and intrusive in the island; established by confiscation; upheld by monopoly of privilege and of court favour; and, in every act or feeling, inveterately anti-Irish. But neither his creed, nor his origin, would render the Protestant an object of popular aversion, if once detached from his oppressive political ascendancy. The well-known synonymy of the language demonstrates what I advance. *Sasenagh* (a Saxon) means indifferently an Englishman, a Protestant, or an enemy: while Turk, Jew, or Pagan, Frenchman, Spaniard, Asian, African, or American, are never used, in Irish, as terms of reproach. Thus the Irishman, naturally indulgent and kind to all nations and to all religions, entertains an exclusive dislike to one race and to one religion; in as much only as connected with a yoke he bears with daily augmenting reluctance.

# THE VETO, &c.

## INTRIGUE OF THE OPPOSITION.

WHEN that celebrated ministry came into office, which unprecedentedly arrogated to itself *all the talents* of this country, the Irish looked for a general redress of their grievances, in conformity with the multiplied pledges of the party. The Irish, like all those who counted upon that *promising* administration, were disappointed.

“ To place and power all public spirit tends,

“ In place and power all public spirit ends ;

“ Like hardy plants, that love the air and sky,

“ When *out* 'twill thrive, but taken *in* 'twill die !”

CORRUPTION, a Poem.

It is needless now to recal the prevarication, by which the repeal of the Union was got rid of. The scandalous transaction of the Insurrection-bill may be also passed over. The question of the catholic claims acquires a peculiar eclat, from being the ostensible cause of the dismissal of that remarkable cabinet, and the only point on which they now explain themselves, preparatory to their regaining their authority.

A curious instance of cunning overreaching itself, was the famous bill of lord Howick. The ministry intended to gull the Irish, to whom they were largely committed in professions, by granting a boon without a value. They hit upon the expedient of extending to England the Irish military law, by which Catholics, beneath a certain rank, may worship God in their own church and in no other. Now in England, it seems, the action is penal, and subjects the transgressor, if an officer, to a fine of 300*l.* for the first offence, and so forth; if a private, to whipping at the halberd, or even to death! But what is all this to the Irish? Whoever does not like to take the consequences, need not enlist in the line, nor volunteer from the militia. Now myriads of Irishmen are joining the marching regiments; and what more is wanting to prove that the increased hardship of the English military law is merely nominal? The fact is, the Irish soldier is fully as ill-treated at home, as he can fear to be in England or in any other country. His commanding officer beats up for parade at the hour his clergyman should expect him at mass; and many a tenacious martinet will march him to the established church, in open defiance of the statute; while he shelters his own responsibility under the articles of war. And how was the matter to be mended by my lord Howick's clap-trap bill? The trick was the object of general derision, throughout the Irish

Catholic body. In short, all that prodigious fuss ; the King's scruples ; the change of ministry ; the dissolution of parliament ; and the *no popery* racket ; was essentially, in its object, of much less importance, moral or political, than the O. P. hubbub in Covent Garden.

Next appeared a ministry so combined, as if it were intended to devote the English name to infamy. How must they now appear to the world, loaded with disaster and disgrace, when their greatly boasted, because their only complete, success, far from attracting esteem or applause, brought contempt upon themselves, and dishonour upon their country ? The indignation of Ireland on learning the piratical expedition to Copenhagen, that eternal stain upon the English character, cannot be better exhibited, than by citing a popular little poem, frequently reprinted.

### THE TRIUMPHS OF JOHN BULL.

*A Fragment from the Scandinavian.*

John Bull's praise demands my song,  
 John Bull stout, and John Bull strong,  
 Fairest flower of Mammon's stem,  
 The Pedlar's shield, the Chapman's gem !  
 John heaps up his brooded stores,  
 Nor one drop profusely pours ;

Lord of every thrifty art,  
 Grasping hand and greedy heart,  
 But stout, to make whole kingdoms weep,  
 If he can catch them—*fast asleep*.

Big with deeds of mighty name,  
 And high to raise *his own dear* fame,  
 John Bull, to war with all the world,  
 His ships unmoor'd, his sails unfurl'd:  
 But sailing up the river Plate,  
 John Bull—he got a broken pate.  
 Don Bishop lying on the lurch,  
 Mounting great guns upon his church,  
 Shower'd iron hail on Pedlar John,  
 And taught him how to fight a Don:  
 But bloody tears shall that Don weep,  
 If John can catch him—*fast asleep*.

Angry and sore, and black and blue,  
 John Bull from Plata's banks withdrew,  
 Swearing to find a tamer foe,  
 Ere he to loggerheads would go.  
 Then Gallia's shores he sails around,  
 And cautious sounds the *dangerous ground*.  
 The chief of Gaul's *awake* and ready;  
 His eye is keen, his rifle steady;  
 And John Bull, thrash'd by *waking* Bishop,  
 Dreads, as he ought, a second dish-up:  
 But John, by one sly northern peep,  
 Finds out old Lochlin—*fast asleep*.

See John Bull now with care advance,  
 Lest he disturb old Lochlin's trance;  
 Lochlin disarm'd, in peaceful nap,  
 Is caught in John Bull's wooden trap.

Old Lochlin snores—for warfare drest,  
 John raises high his pedlar crest ;  
 Now the thund'ring strokes begin ;  
 There the press, and there the din ;  
 Where Lochlin's orphans cradled lie,  
 There John Bull's bombs in blazes fly ;  
 Where Lochlin's matrons humble bless  
 The hand that softens life's distress,  
 There John Bull's cannon loudly roars,  
 There John Bull's valour proudly soars,  
 And infant blood and women's cries  
 Raise John Bull's glory to the skies :  
 And bloody tears did wretches weep,  
 For John Bull caught them—*fast asleep*.

Strike the string, and breathe the lay ;  
 Give John Bull's praises to the day ;  
 Is there a woman lying in,  
 Deserted infant, born in sin,  
 Or sinking age, or helpless youth,  
 Or maiden love, or matron truth,  
 Or man disarm'd, with guileless mind  
 To John Bull's wiles, or deaf or blind?—  
 There John Bull points his purple spear ;  
 Hasty, hasty rout is there,  
 There confusion, terror's child,  
 Conflict fierce, and ruin wild,  
 Agony, that pants for breath,  
 Despair, and unexpected death,  
 These to John Bull's glory given,  
 These his fame shall waft to Heaven :  
 And bloody tears shall wretches weep,  
 When caught by John Bull—*fast asleep*.

*Dublin Evening Herald.*

In justice to this now falling party, it must be avowed, that their predecessors are actually more disapproved of by the Irish public. The former, from the abundance of their professions, are blamed for every good they have failed to perform. While the latter, from an audacious abnegation of principle, derive the obvious benefit of acquiring gratitude for every mischief they have left undone. And really, in detail, there are some points on which they deserve commendation. Several of their appointments to office are worthy of a better cause. The duke of Richmond is by far more fitted than the taciturn viceroy who preceded him, to please in a land of conviviality: he is good-humoured, good-natured, social, and jovial. Lord Manners, as chancellor; Mr. Saurin, as attorney-general; Mr. Bushe, as solicitor-general; sir Charles Saxton as under-secretary to the lord-lieutenant; can never be replaced, without exposing their successors to appear at a disadvantage. Not to speak of the men alone, several of their measures are well calculated for conciliation. The insulting celebration of the anniversaries of the Irish subjugation by William III, is put out of fashion. The sheriffs of Dublin have been induced to call a proportion of Catholics to the two last city grand juries; from which, though legally admissible, they were hitherto factiously excluded. The duke of Richmond, in his late vice-regal tour, did much to repress the



turbulent insolence of the Orange conspiracy. The Catholic body affronted the duke, on his landing in Ireland, by a refusal of the accustomed complimentary address. Whenever he may be recalled, it is likely that his entire conduct will be acknowledged by the Catholics in a sincerely amicable farewell.

The ex-ministers, in the true spirit of intrigue, have done more to distract and perplex the Catholic cause, than the united efforts of its avowed enemies could ever accomplish. The entire scenery, machinery, and stage effect of the *Veto*-farce, with the singular denouement of the plot, render it a most finished piece of political depravity.

In 1793, Mr. Pitt felt himself obliged to concede to the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland the restoration of the elective franchise, and of other valuable rights of the people. He resolved, however, to neutralize the benefit by a tantamount injury. To paralyse the laity, he immediately enacted the Convention bill; which, by its disorganizing operation, has converted the Catholic body into an enormous unwieldy mob. To pervert the clergy, he founded in 1795, as a bribe, the college of Maynooth; where ten prelates, being appointed trustees, were brought into frequent official and infectious contact with the vice-regal castle. The clergy had heretofore depended on foreign universities for their education and degrees;

and they generally came home accomplished scholars. From receiving the rudiments of their religion in the seats of its splendour and dignity, their spirit ill brooked the reviled, degraded, persecuted state in which they found it on their return. But the total contrivance of the institution at Maynooth is for the manifestly intended purpose of replacing the clergy by a set of ignorant, pedantic, unpatriotic priests. Such is the *esprit de corps* of that anti-Irish servile seminary, that a principal of the ecclesiastical college is known to have prevented, during three years, the instruction of the students in their matricular tongue, by resisting the filling of the vacant Irish-professorship! The ill-disguised purposes of the hireling masters, in opposition with the native unsophisticated feelings of the scholars, have produced a moral fermentation, and an absolute subversion of subordination throughout the college. Young as the establishment is, no less than ninety expulsions of ecclesiastical students have occurred! And after all this clipping and paring, young priests are, through necessity, ordained; (to the honour of the national instinct be it recorded;) young clergymen are reluctantly promoted, who cannot be disciplined into a surrender of their love of country.

Recently after the Irish rebellion, while the recollection of the reign of terror was fresh in the public mind, and while martial law was still the order

of the day, Mr. Pitt caused it to be signified to a meeting of the ten prelates, functionaries in Maynooth, that the clergy should receive a salary from the treasury; and that His Majesty would exercise the power of a *Veto* upon the future ecclesiastical promotions. To these propositions, the prelates gave a private, dastardly, and partly insincere partly corrupt, consent. They well knew it was then, and must always continue, impossible to bring the people of Ireland to acknowledge the king of England as their virtual Pope; or to allow their clergy to derive their maintenance from any other fund than the contribution of their own flock. Afterwards, Mr. Pitt, feeling the necessity of reconciling the Catholics, abandoned these two measures; which were both *bonâ fide* intended as acts of oppression, fit to be comprised in his general and cruel system of coercion. It is this very plan of a *Veto*, invented by a persecuting, and dropped by a relenting enemy, which is now revived by the feigned friends, by the busy parliamentary advocates of Ireland.

A political adventurer, the right reverend Dr. Milner, whose erudition and persuasive powers would do credit to a purer character, made a tour in Ireland in 1807 to win the unwary. He was a traveller of the *Carr* school, bepraising all he found in his way:—if he met but an Irish hen, she unquestionably laid the freshest eggs of all the galinaceous tribe. Through the patronage of the Irish bishops, this gentleman had been previously

nominated in Rome a bishop *in partibus*, and apostolical vicar of an English district. During the tour, he was named, in the castle-hack episcopal junta, in the Maynooth convocation, and by the Lord-knows-what authority; agent of the Irish prelacy near the English government. What construction is one to put, supposing it authentic, on this unparalleled appointment? A foreigner, an Englishman, is to represent the Irish church; not in Rome, where alone it has any business for an ecclesiastical agent to transact; but near the cabinet of St. James. It requires no great strength of reasoning to understand that a charge, which has no visible and immediate, must have some hidden and ultimate end. Here is the first overt act, intelligibly indicating a treacherous intrigue.

During the spring session of 1808, lord Fingal arrived in town as the bearer of a petition of the Catholics. It was in his lordship's discretion to intrust the care of the petition to such members of parliament as he might find it most advisable to select: and he received no further instructions. He held some conferences with lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby, to whom he confided the petition. So far all was right. But lord Fingal thought fit to trespass beyond his powers: and while his lordship played the envoy extraordinary, Dr. Milner acted the resident ambassador. It appears that this coterie of five gentlemen, of whom one was authorized to carry the petition,

three others to support it, and the fifth was an officious interloper; this self-appointed Junta thought fit, without any the least sanction, or even suspicion on the part of the people, to conclude upon a *Veto* for the king in the election of Irish clergymen, from the parish priest to the primate. And this changeling *Veto*, thus ignobly hatched in the dark, was imposed upon parliament, (if the newspapers deserve belief) by lord Grenville, Mr. Grattan, and Mr. Ponsonby, each in his respective place, as the genuine and spontaneous offspring of Catholic Ireland. The immediate object of the fraud was to pother the ministers, and to strengthen their own party, by an unexpected argument. The remote intention of the Opposition was, in their great generosity, to grant emancipation to the Catholics of Ireland; but not until Ireland should have previously ceased to be a Catholic country.

After this cheat was passed upon parliament and the English public, Dr. Milner was dispatched to Dublin to meet a national synod of the Irish prelacy; and in the full expectation of ensnaring them into a confirmation of his treaty. The discussion was preceded by a piece of craft worthy of the rest of the juggle. A pamphlet of the right reverend Doctor was circulated among the superior clergy only, and with an injunction of secrecy, in order to surprise them into acquiescence without the knowledge of the laity. One honest ecclesiastic,

indignant at the attempt to cheat his country, forwarded his copy to a newspaper; and immediately the whole manœuvre was blown up. The synod, awed by the menacing sullenness of the people, rejected the *Veto*, by a majority of 23 to 3. Their resolutions, dated 14th and 15th September 1808, and published unofficially, were these:

“It is the decided opinion of the Catholic prelates of Ireland here assembled, that it is inexpedient to introduce any alteration in the canonical mode hitherto observed in the nomination of Irish Catholic bishops, which mode long experience has proved to be unexceptionable, wise, and salutary.

“The Catholic prelates pledge themselves to adhere to the rule by which they have been hitherto uniformly guided; namely, to recommend to His Holiness only such persons as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct.”

Of the 10 prelates who had formerly agreed to the *Veto*, 7 excused themselves on the ground of delusion and fear, expressed their compunction, and voted against it: the other 3, more consistently corrupt, composed the minority. And after all this, (so prone to trick are church dignitaries!) the synod passed a vote of thanks to Dr. Milner; recognized him, and to this hour continues him in an agency which can have no other possible object than some further intrigue which time will bring to light.

Many Catholic aristocrats would like well to barter the *Veto* against emancipation. Ashamed to make an avowed recantation of the faith of their ancestors, they would willingly betray it by drawing along with them into a schism their unwary countrymen. Seats in parliament, and consequent ministerial jobs and court favour, are sweets they would relish at the expense of the national interest and character. Actuated by these selfish views, the aristocracy seriously set about counteracting the decision of the synod.

Their first scheme was to procure from the different counties complimentary addresses to lord Fingal on the discharge of his late mission; and thus, by a side wind, to *finesse* the people into an implied approval of his *Veto* negotiation. The goodness of disposition and the suavity of manners of this nobleman, render him a favourite among all classes of society. In deference to his private worth, not only his numerous and egregious political sins are forgiven, but he was never even called on to account for his conduct. Kilkenny was selected as the most favourable county where the measure could be originated. In Kilkenny it was likely to receive countenance from a splendid show of aristocracy just then attracted by the annual private theatricals. Without dwelling upon the conflict of opinions which arose, it suffices to mention, that instead of the *Veto*-address to lord Fingal, the peo-

ple adopted the following counter-address to the synod.

“ We, the Catholic inhabitants of the county and  
 “ city of Kilkenny, deem it expedient in duty and  
 “ in gratitude, to make you the sincere offer of  
 “ our thanks, which we accompany with the feel-  
 “ ings of our hearts, no less than with the assent  
 “ of our judgements. In your temperate, yet firm  
 “ disapproval of any innovation in the mode of per-  
 “ petuating that Divine Hierarchy, (which covered  
 “ with the glories won out of a rude and lingering  
 “ struggle, we look up to as the LAST UNDE-  
 “ STROYED MONUMENT OF OUR FAITH, AND AN-  
 “ CIENT NATIONAL GRANDEUR), we solemnly  
 “ recognise the succession of those virtues by  
 “ which your sainted predecessors were ennobled ;  
 “ and in your steadiness we as solemnly anticipate  
 “ the unimpaired transmission of these virtues to  
 “ future times \* \* \* \* \* And—we  
 “ hope that Catholic Ireland has but one voice and  
 “ one opinion on this momentous national ques-  
 “ tion.”

Signed (for the Catholic Inhabitants of the  
 County and City of Kilkenny),

“ RICHARD O'DONNELL,”

R. C. Dean of Ossory, Chairman.

The aristocratical address obtained 50 signatures,  
 of which 46 were afterwards through shame re-



tracted. To ascertain the numerical support of the popular address, a conformable declaration was sent round the county, and 40,000 names were speedily annexed.

#### DECLARATION.

“ We, the Catholic inhabitants of the county and  
 “ city of Kilkenny, think it incumbent on us to  
 “ express the great pleasure we feel at the decision  
 “ of our venerable prelates in their late national  
 “ synod. We have ever looked up to them with  
 “ reverence, as the guardians of the faith and dis-  
 “ cipline of the Irish Catholic church; and we de-  
 “ clare it our decided opinion, that, in particular on  
 “ the above important occasion, they gave a last-  
 “ ing pledge of dignified disinterestedness, enlight-  
 “ ened zeal, and profound wisdom.”

The fate of the Kilkenny address deterred the aristocracy from convening any further county meetings. Their next scheme was to fritter away the decision of the synod, by interpretations in favour of their own design. Nine gentlemen wrote from Rokeby-hall in the county of Louth, the seat of lord Southwell, a letter to the archbishop of Armagh, *supposing* his abjuration of the *Veto* was owing to *existing circumstances*. The primate's reply was precisely the explanation they sought to elicit.

This correspondence, savouring so rankly of

mental reservation, roused the county of Louth, which assembled at Dundalk on the 5th January 1809, and reprov'd it in terms as energetic as the proceedings at Kilkenny. The Dundalk resolutions have upwards of 5,000 signatures.

Thus doubly foiled, the aristocracy gave up the *Veto* as a lost cause. So universally is it now exploded, that a Mr. Boyle having proposed something about it at a late county and city meeting of the Catholics of Cork, he could find no gentleman to second his motion.

To console himself for his failure in Ireland, the right reverend Dr. Milner writes a second tour on his return; which, as might well be expected, proves a tour *à la Twiss*. His lordship's eyes are now widely open upon Irish imperfection. He makes the wonderful canonical discovery, that in the 9th century the Irish children were baptized in buttermilk! It is really not easy to bring one's self to sympathize with the sagacious doctor, about how the Irish were baptized 1000 years ago. And so leaving the buttermilk in charge of his reverence, I proceed to the more important features of my narrative.

Sir John Cox Hippisley is prominent among the parliamentary advocates of catholicity. He printed last year, and privately distributed among his party, the annexed draft of an extraordinary Catholic bill.

SKETCH OF THE PROPOSED REGULATIONS  
 CONCURRENT WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT  
 OF A STATE PROVISION FOR THE ROMAN  
 CATHOLIC CLERGY OF IRELAND—1809.

“ IN the event of a state provision for the Roman  
 “ Catholic clergy becoming a measure of parliamen-  
 “ tary regulation, it is suggested that regulations to  
 “ the following purport should *also* receive the sanc-  
 “ tion of the legislature.

“ The preamble of the act to state :

“ That whereas it is expedient, that on the legal  
 “ admission of the Roman Catholic clergy to the exer-  
 “ cise of the functions of the episcopacy of the Roman  
 “ communion in Ireland, the most adequate security  
 “ should be afforded of the eligibility of such persons  
 “ as are proposed for election to fill the vacant Roman  
 “ Catholic see :—and as it may occur that His Ma-  
 “ jesty’s government may entertain a persuasion of  
 “ the ineligibility of a candidate, arising from the  
 “ knowledge of facts, which may be unknown to the  
 “ electors themselves ;—or from other considerations,  
 “ which may reasonably constitute either a temporary  
 “ or permanent objection against the election of  
 “ such candidate on the actual vacancy ;—

“ And whereas, it is also expedient that no undue  
 “ influence or interference, direct or indirect, should  
 “ be assumed or exercised by the servants of the

“ crown, in favour or to the prejudice of any individual candidate in such elections;—the following provisions are suggested:—

“ 1st, That on every vacancy, by the death or removal of a prelate exercising the functions of a bishop of the Roman communion in Ireland, a list shall be prepared containing the names of not less than four, nor exceeding eight persons, subjects of His Majesty; from whom it is proposed to elect a successor to the vacant Roman Catholic see.

[Note.—“ The mode of preparing such list is not prescribed, but left as a measure of internal regulation, to be governed by the established discipline, as obtains on such occasions among the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland.”]

“ 2d, That the list so prepared shall be transmitted by the president of election (who is usually the Roman Catholic metropolitan, or senior bishop of the province) to the chief secretary, in order that it may be laid before His Majesty’s government in Ireland; and within one calendar month of the receipt of such list, it shall be returned to the said president of election, accompanied with a certificate of the chief secretary or his representative to the following purport: viz.

“ “ That whereas the names of A, B, &c. &c. have been transmitted to His Majesty’s government, under the signature of N. N, president of election of a Roman Catholic prelate, from

“ ‘ which list it is proposed to elect a successor to  
 “ ‘ X. X. — late of ———, agreeably to the pro-  
 “ ‘ visions of the statute in such case made and  
 “ ‘ provided :—and no cause being known to exist  
 “ ‘ which can be deemed valid to exclude either of  
 “ ‘ the persons, whose names stand on the list  
 “ ‘ aforesaid, from being elected to supply the  
 “ ‘ said vacancy ; I do hereby certify the same, and  
 “ ‘ under my hand and seal affixed to the said list, in  
 “ ‘ order that the said election may proceed without  
 “ ‘ further delay.’ ”

“ ‘ I do also certify and declare, to the best of  
 “ ‘ my knowledge and belief, that no means what-  
 “ ‘ ever, direct or indirect, at the instance of any  
 “ ‘ servant of the crown or by any other person  
 “ ‘ connected with His Majesty’s government, have  
 “ ‘ been used in order to influence the voice of any  
 “ ‘ elector, in favour or to the prejudice of any  
 “ ‘ person whose name stands on the said list.’ ”

(Signed)

Z. Z.

L. S.

Chief Secretary.

“ 3d, —That in the event of an objection being  
 “ taken by His Majesty’s government against any  
 “ person, whose name stands on such list, the form  
 “ of certificate shall be varied to the following pur-  
 “ port : viz.

“ (After the words ‘ in such case made and pro-  
 “ vided, &c.’ the following shall be substituted) :

“ ‘ His Majesty’s government is of opinion, that

“ it would not be expedient in the present in-  
 “ stance, that F. F, (whose name stands in the  
 “ said list,) should be nominated to fill the said  
 “ vacancy;—and I do hereby certify the same, &c.  
 “ &c.’” (to conclude in the form preceding.)

[Note.—“ In the original sketch of this head of re-  
 “ gulation it was stated that the cause or ground of ob-  
 “ jection should be invariably notified by the chief secre-  
 “ tary of government to the president of election; in  
 “ like manner as it is understood to be the practice of the  
 “ see of Rome; but it has been very properly suggested  
 “ by a noble lord, that cases might occur in which such  
 “ notification might possibly be attended with injurious  
 “ consequences.—It seems therefore advisable, that the  
 “ provision in this case should be thus qualified—viz.

“ That the cause or ground of such objection should  
 “ be communicated by the secretary of government, if  
 “ required by the president of election, except in those  
 “ cases wherein such communication might possibly be  
 “ attended with injurious consequences to the state.’”

“ This head of provision must therefore necessarily  
 “ involve a discretion on the part of government, which  
 “ cannot be subject to specific regulation, and at any  
 “ rate it may become a matter of ulterior consideration.

“ Cases may be easily imagined, where the objection  
 “ to the nomination of a particular individual may be of  
 “ a temporary nature, and not personal.]

“ 4th,—A clause to be introduced containing the  
 “ form of an oath, to be taken by the president of elec-  
 “ tion, and by him also to be administered to his col-  
 “ leagues, to the purport that they will not give their

“ suffrages in favour of any person but one who is  
 “ known to be firmly attached to His Majesty, and  
 “ the civil constitution of the realm.

“ Also the form of an oath to be administered  
 “ to the prelate elect, (and in such terms as  
 “ may be hereafter advised,) which several oaths  
 “ are to be subscribed with the signatures of the  
 “ several electors, and transmitted, under the hand  
 “ and seal of the president of election, to the chief  
 “ secretary of government in order to be enrolled.

“ 5th,—A clause also to declare, that no person  
 “ to whose nomination an objection shall be certi-  
 “ fied to the president of election by the chief se-  
 “ cretary of government, shall be competent to be  
 “ elected on actual vacancy.—The objection may  
 “ afterwards be removed, and in that case certi-  
 “ fied as no longer existing to the Roman Catho-  
 “ lic metropolitan or senior prelate of the province.  
 “ — electors offending against this provision, to be  
 “ subjected to the penalty of PRÆMUNIRE or ———  
 “ and the election to be void to all intents and  
 “ purposes whatever, as to the effect of conferring  
 “ any legal authority on the person so elected, to  
 “ exercise the functions of a Roman Catholic bi-  
 “ shop *within the realm*.

“ 6th,—As the deans of the Roman Catholic  
 “ communion in Ireland are elected nearly in the  
 “ same manner as their bishops, and receive insti-  
 “ tution alike by bulls from Rome; it is sug-

“gested, that a similar provision should be enacted  
 “respecting the election of deans—So also, with  
 “respect to the election of the warden of Galway,  
 “who exercises an episcopal jurisdiction in spiri-  
 “tuals with some exceptions.

[Note.—“The concluding regulation proposed by  
 “the Roman Catholic clergy to government in January  
 “1799, states “‘That the prelates are satisfied, that the  
 “‘nomination of parish priests with a certificate of  
 “‘their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified  
 “‘by government.’”

“This in part is consonant to the invariable practice  
 “in the united provinces, where the arch-priest (for there  
 “was no bishop) presented each priest nominated to a  
 “parish, to the civil magistrate for approbation—‘*pour*  
 “*être avoué.*’ Perhaps some regulations with respect  
 “to these appointments may well have place on such  
 “a parliamentary arrangement. The preceding regula-  
 “tions are principally applicable to the state of the Ro-  
 “man Catholic clergy in Ireland. They must neces-  
 “sarily be varied with respect to the appointment of the  
 “Roman Catholic prelates in Great Britain.]

“(It is submitted that these provisions will ob-  
 “viate every reasonable objection, that can be  
 “raised by the opponents of the measure proposed  
 “by the four Catholic metropolitan and six senior  
 “bishops in January 1799,—though many of the  
 “objections which have been urged against that  
 “measure are untenable, and pressed with an acri-  
 “mony of discussion, very little suited to the sub-



ject and occasion; the proposal nevertheless seems to have been made with less circumspection than might have been expected.

The presentation of the candidate to government *after a canonical election* had taken place in his favour as proposed in 1799, necessarily placed such person in a painful state of degradation if rejected. This is obviated by the regulation now proposed. Those who are apprehensive of undue influence of government, will probably consider the freedom of such an election better secured by the measure now proposed than by the mode prescribed in the proposal of the Roman Catholic prelates; which, in fact, afforded no security.

*The extended number of candidates is calculated to conceal from government the individual, on whom, if not objected to, the choice of the electors is most likely to fall:—*

*And the solemn attestation proposed to be officially given by the chief secretary in the name of government, affords also a pledge, as high as the nature of the case can possibly afford.*

The apprehensions of Mr. Burke expressed in his letter to Dr. Hussey, ‘of the too frequent intercourse of the Roman Catholic bishops with the Castle,’ were founded in a persuasion, as he avows, that it might terminate in an absolute appointment by government. Against such appoint-

“ ments, the mode suggested may be considered  
 “ as providing a more adequate guard, than any  
 “ hitherto practised or proposed. If ever a Catho-  
 “ lic prelate was to be considered as a virtual  
 “ nominee of the Castle, Dr. Hussey himself was  
 “ assuredly that individual. If he had not been  
 “ patronized by the ministers of the crown in the  
 “ appointment to Maynooth, there was but little  
 “ probability that he would have been recom-  
 “ mended to Rome, for the Roman Catholic see  
 “ of Waterford. The electors, apprised of the sen-  
 “ timents of the King’s ministers, doubtless consi-  
 “ dered his election *as a graceful act towards go-*  
 “ *vernment.* In the event of a repeal of the re-  
 “ maining disqualifying statutes, and the establish-  
 “ ment of a state provision for the Roman Catho-  
 “ lic clergy, the circumstances of the great mass  
 “ of Catholic population and condition of society  
 “ *would be so materially changed,* as to render  
 “ this concert between government and the Catho-  
 “ lic prelacy, a measure of prudence if not of ne-  
 “ cessity. If the Catholic is to be secured against  
 “ the undue influence of the minister of the crown,  
 “ as affecting the Hierarchy of his communion,  
 “ the Protestant is not to be denied the security  
 “ he claims in favour of the establishment. The  
 “ avowed object of the measure proposed, is  
 “ to give energy to both. To unite the Catholic  
 “ with the Protestant, in ascertaining by the best

“ means the loyalty and general eligibility of the  
 “ candidate proposed to be elected to fulfil the  
 “ duties of a high and sacred office, possessing  
 “ great influence, as respecting Ireland, on the  
 “ minds of a vast majority of the people.

“ The possible objection to be raised by govern-  
 “ ment in the case of any individual candidate, it  
 “ has been stated, may be considered as *permanent*  
 “ or *temporary*. As the late Dr. Hussey’s name has  
 “ been introduced, of him also may it now be said,  
 “ that if the ministers of the crown, who were so  
 “ friendly to his nomination; or the Catholic elec-  
 “ tors, who were so much disposed to gratify the  
 “ King’s ministers in the instance of his election,  
 “ had been aware of his conduct in the latter part  
 “ of his mission to the court of Madrid, in the  
 “ year 1780; (the circumstances of which are now  
 “ before the public)—it may be assumed that he  
 “ would not have been advanced to the see of  
 “ Waterford. Neither is it probable that Dr. Bellew,  
 “ whatever testimonials he might have borne, and  
 “ justly been entitled to, for his approved loyalty,  
 “ would have been selected for the see of Killala at  
 “ the moment when his brother, under the style of  
 “ General Bellew, appeared in arms against his  
 “ country, as he did on the descent of Humbert  
 “ at Killala, in 1798. In both these cases govern-  
 “ ment might have had information of the facts,  
 “ before they could reach the knowledge of the

“ electors, and these instances may be cited as cases  
 “ of tenable disqualifying objection, either *perma-*  
 “ *nent* or *temporary*, as applicable to the objects  
 “ of this arrangement. Indeed, in the instance of  
 “ Doctor Hussey, the notoriety of his being con-  
 “ fidential chaplain to the Spanish embassy to  
 “ London, might in itself have constituted a tenable  
 “ ground of objection.

“ It is assumed that the right of the imperial  
 “ parliament to legislate in the spirit of these pro-  
 “ visions will not be questioned. The authority of  
 “ almost every state, of whatever established com-  
 “ munion, Roman Catholic, Greek, Reformed, &c.  
 “ &c., is to be adduced in support of the principle.  
 “ Nor can a concordat with Rome, under the cir-  
 “ cumstances suggested, be deemed necessary, even  
 “ on Catholic principles, although the concurrence  
 “ of the Roman Pontiff was considered by the  
 “ Catholic prelates, in 1799, as an indispensable  
 “ sanction of the measures then proposed. The  
 “ distinction is obvious. The presentation of the  
 “ candidate for the approbation of government, by  
 “ the proposal of 1799, was to be subsequent to a  
 “ canonical election, when the usual faculties were  
 “ only wanting from Rome for his institution. By  
 “ the mode now suggested, the names of certain  
 “ persons are to be transmitted to government mere-  
 “ ly as candidates for election, unknown possibly to  
 “ themselves, and the objection, if taken to any,

“ may be equally unknown : it will rest much with  
 “ the discretion of the electors.

“ The various documents in the Appendix are not  
 “ cited as perfect models for imitation. Many of  
 “ the regulations are known to have been influenced  
 “ by caprice or spleen, especially in the instances  
 “ of Austria and Venice : nevertheless many are  
 “ the result of a sound and liberal policy. And all  
 “ confirm the principle, that the sovereign power in  
 “ every state, of whatever religious communion,  
 “ has considered itself armed with legitimate au-  
 “ thority to legislate in ALL matters of ecclesiastical  
 “ arrangement within its dominion.)”

Thus the bishops of any province where there was a vacant see, on proving refractory to the supremacy of government, were to incur the penalties of a *PRÆMUNIRE*, or \_\_\_\_\_ a long stroke, *à la Sterne*, possibly meaning whipping, half-hanging, or other gentle modes of persuading the Irish. That insulted people may now see and admire the favour intended them. They may contemplate at their ease, and free from alarm for the safety of their church, on the gratitude they owe their parliamentary friends. The prospect of a change of administration, opened by the continental reverses, has made it convenient for the Opposition to steer another course, and the Cox Hippiſley *præmunire* toleration is superseded.

On the vacancy of the chancellorship of Oxford,

lord Grenville, warily apprehending lest *No popery* might exert her baneful influence in prejudice to his election, deposited a letter explanatory of his intentions about the Catholics, with the principal of Brazen-nose college. The trust reposed in the reverend gentleman was to read it on the requisition of any of lord Grenville's Oxonian friends; but not to allow a copy, nor even a sight, of the sacred epistle. It would be hazardous to assert any thing positive about the contents of this dark document. It is the third *hocus-pocus* paper which disgraces the transaction, and a recent and unequivocal proof of a pending intrigue.

On their arrival in town to meet the parliament, the ex-ministers find a pretext in the disturbance their own *Veto*-scheme has excited, to break off their connexion with the Catholics of Ireland. Thus these high-spirited and constitutional counselors, who retired from office stalking with dignity, haughtily denying to their King a pledge to refrain from pressing the Catholic Question; these pure, exalted statesmen now pick a bully-like quarrel with the Catholics, hoping to sneak back to their places, delivered from the incommodious impediment to court-favour, emolument, patronage, and power.

And finally, lest the treachery should be incomplete, there is an awkward recurrence to the trite maxim of tyranny so hackneyed in the Pitt and Grenville school, *Divide et impera*. For there is here too in England a little handfull of

Catholics. If, on a dark night, it pleased the angel Gabriel to carry them all off to heaven, their neighbours should not miss them next morning from the face of this country. One would scarcely be aware of the existence of this body, did not the penal laws give it a factitious consequence. It has lost its hierarchy; and its orthodoxy appears equivocal from its late metamorphosis into a club called the *Cisalpine*, and from its styling itself *the Protestant Catholic Dissenters*, in hopes of being confounded with the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and other important congregations. And this amphibologically constituted sect, like the bat in the battle of birds and beasts, must intrude its ill-defined form, to be owned by neither party, and to be buffeted by both! Strange, that the puny dwarf should think of meddling in political disputes! To be sure, if lord Grenville should condescend to pencil a resolution for the use of their board, and if lord Grey should take the pains of inking the other lord's marks, how could the board decline the high honour of subscribing the joint dictate of the mighty ex-ministers? However it happens, (and it is not worth much investigation,) the English Catholics now declare for the *Veto*. Dr. Milner himself is ashamed to go on with them, and he is even hesitating whether he shall cry *peccavi* to offended Ireland. (*See Appendix, No. II.*) Away with the weak, wavering, worthless auxiliary! But let the apostasy be visited on the seducer, as the *ne plus ultra* of perfidy.

## COMMENTS.

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“LETTER FROM THE *RIGHT HONOURABLE*  
 “LORD GRENVILLE, TO THE EARL  
 “OF FINGAL.”

THE title is worthy of the pamphlet; the work has insolence for its frontispiece. Why not lord Grenville to lord Fingal, or else the right honourable lord Grenville to the right honourable the earl of Fingal? Two branches, it is true, of the Plunkett peerage have legally forfeited, on account of their attachment to their country, a part of their titles. But how is *LOUIS XVIII* qualified in his visits to Stowe? The Grenvilles have the reputation of excelling every English family in urbanity. This most un-Grenville-like superscription is merely noticed, as an instance of the reluctance of the *toleration* party, to treat a Catholic functionary with becoming respect, or even with common decency.

*Camelford House, January 22d, 1810.*

“ My Lord,

“ I have the honour to address this letter to your  
 “ lordship, in reply to that which I received from you,  
 “ respecting the petition with which you are charged.  
 “ This form of communication I consider as most sa-  
 “ tisfactory to your lordship. It is also best calculated



“to do justice to the sentiments of some of the *most*  
 “*distinguished advocates* of your cause, in concurrence  
 “with whom my decision has been taken.”

Hence the production must be considered as a document of the party.

“I must, in the first place, assure your lordship,  
 “that my opinion remains unchanged as to the object  
 “of your petition. It would, I think, be an act of  
 “undeniable wisdom and justice to communicate to our  
 “fellow-subjects professing the Roman Catholic reli-  
 “gion, the *full enjoyment* of our civil constitution.  
 “Such a measure, accompanied by *suitable arrange-*  
 “*ments* maturely prepared, and deliberately adopted,  
 “would, I am confident, above all others, give strength  
 “and unity to the empire, and increased security to its  
 “*religious* and civil establishments. Your lordship is  
 “well aware, that on this conviction only have I sup-  
 “ported it. To those establishments I am unalterably  
 “attached; their *inviolable* maintenance I have ever  
 “considered as essential to all the dearest interests of  
 “*my* country. But they rest, I am certain, on founda-  
 “tions much too firm; they are far too deeply rooted  
 “in the affections of that community to which they  
 “dispense the blessings of religion, order, and liberty,  
 “to require the adventitious and dangerous support of  
 “partial restrictions, fruitful in discontent, but for se-  
 “curity wholly inefficient.”

And really, my lord Grenville, do you figure  
 to yourself any fellow-feeling of my lord Fingal,

about the increased security of *your* religion? Can England entertain the absurd notion of exciting the sympathy of Ireland, in wishes for the *inviolable* maintenance of *her* religious establishments? Indeed this is too glaringly ridiculous!

It is a well-known physiological maxim, that a monster (a creature with two heads and one stomach) may live for a while, but cannot attain maturity. Each respective head has a distinct volition; and the extra-natural being is eventually starved, through its unproductive because inconsistent efforts in search of aliment. Is not this new-fangled *united* kingdom a political monster? Ireland absolutely *will not* be Protestant: and indeed, in common sense she ought to be Catholic, if she allows any religion to be established. But the public opinion in that island is decidedly in favour of an absolute liberty of conscience; of a government unencumbered by any extrapolitical ties. England holds firmly to her Protestant establishment: and unquestionably she ought to continue protestant, strictly protestant, as such appears to be the will of her people. Ireland has a right to oppose, and by every legal effort to upset, any internal religious ascendancy injurious to the great mass of her own population. Happily she claims for her prevailing tenets nothing approaching to political sway. Let the question at issue be fairly understood. As long as these two Islands are

bound together in one united kingdom, England will seek to oppress the religion of Ireland; while Ireland will aim at the subversion of the religious establishment of England. People of England, as you love your own church, and as you prize the integrity of your empire, take into your serious consideration the repeal of that unpropitious union, fruitful in present disaffection and in future disaster!

\* The contradiction in this paragraph, between the *full enjoyment* of the constitution, and the *suitable arrangements* which are to clog and fetter that enjoyment; this and various other inconsistencies are to be expected in a paper, wherein a dereliction of principle is attempted to be justified by a confusion of ideas.

“With respect to the present application to parliament,  
 “*I knew not*, except from public report, that such a  
 “measure was in contemplation; or that it was the wish  
 “of the petitioners to place their petition in my hands.”

It was indeed most indecorous in the managers of the petition, to nominate, without his knowledge or consent, the leading parliamentary character on whose support its fate was to depend. Such are the fruits of allowing the best interests of a people to be jumbled by a committee of meddling, briefless lawyers; a cabal possessed by the cacoethes of never-ending gabble; moving, seconding, amend-

ing, opposing, or repealing every public proceeding from the insatiable, egotistical ostentation of eternal talk; importunately craving for official, or even officious conspicuity, and little caring if their incapacity is involving their baffled country in a *nonsuit*.

In this occurrence, lord Grenville was extremely ill-used. The penance he is now doing for his former political sins is an example of poetical justice. He was a member of the cabinet which passed the Convention bill, that greatest of national grievances, that mortal blow levelled by an oppressive government at the right of effectual petition against public wrongs. To that very Convention bill, to that perpetual bar to the steady, consistent transaction of the public business of the Catholics, is to be attributed the imbecility which pervades their councils. In that bill is the origin of the headlong presumption which charged lord Grenville with a measure he knew nothing of, except from rumour alone. There is the real cause of that unwelcome appointment, which now urges the self-degraded statesman to a tergiversation, which even the sale of the pass at Aughrim does not surpass in infamy!

“ I have twice already, at the request of the Catholics  
 “ of Ireland, moved the house of lords to take the sub-  
 “ ject into consideration. I did not in either case think  
 “ myself responsible for your determination as to the  
 “ time of agitating the question : a determination which

“ in the first instance I had not suggested, and which  
 “ in the last I had in my place in parliament publicly  
 “ dissuaded: but recent events had in both cases im-  
 “ posed upon me a peculiar duty, not merely for my  
 “ own honour, but in justice also to your cause, to  
 “ prove by my conduct, on the earliest occasion afforded  
 “ by yourselves, that no change of public situation,  
 “ no prejudice, no calumny, no clamour, could either  
 “ vary or suppress my opinions on this great national  
 “ question. This duty has, I trust, been fully satisfied.  
 “ Deeply impressed with the importance of the measures  
 “ which I recommended, I have *spared no sacrifice*,  
 “ omitted no exertion by which I could contribute to  
 “ their accomplishment; and if I could now *deceive*  
 “ *myself* with the hope that a renewal of my weak  
 “ efforts in the present moment could expedite or faci-  
 “ litate their ultimate success, it would be my highest  
 “ gratification once more to stand forward as the chosen  
 “ advocate of national conciliation.”

And did lord Grenville heretofore *deceive him-  
 self* with a hope that his weak efforts could expedite or facilitate the ultimate success of the Catholics? Or was he *deceiving* England and Ireland, while he was himself acting his part in a solemn state farce, fit to be copied into the jubilee tragedy of Tom Thumb?

As to *sacrifices*, it is indeed most curious to assume merit for a piece of legerdemain, intended to wheedle into complacency at once the King and the Catholics, while the state charlatans were specu-

lating upon the credulity of both. The deceit was detected and punished: and now the blunderers are busily boasting, like forgers of the coin, when dragged to Bow-street, that they have *spared no sacrifice* in their endeavour to make fools of all parties.

“ *Circumstanced* as this question now is, both in England and in Ireland, it is on the contrary my deliberate opinion, that no motion, grounded on your petition, could at this time, in any hands, *certainly not in mine*, be brought forward without great and permanent disadvantage to its object.”

Here the overrated statesman formally announces his defection: and mark the excuse he assigns. Existing *circumstances*, that hackneyed apology of every swindler, that rank weed transplanted by Pitt from the police-office to the senate, is now diligently cultivated by his disciple and successor lord Grenville!

And whose is the fault, if those *circumstances* now exist? Lord Grenville, in concurrence with Mr. Pitt, originated the *Veto* in 1799; and after a lapse of ten years, lord Grenville, abetted by M.M. Grattan and Ponsonby, revives the dormant demand. He first dupes England and parliament into the belief that the Catholics are ready to tender the *Veto*; and next he sends to apprise the astonished Catholics that parliament and England expect their acquiescence in his arrangement!

“ This opinion is founded, not only on the present  
 “ known dispositions of government and parliament,  
 “ but also on the *unexpected difficulties* which have  
 “ arisen in Ireland, on the impressions which they may  
 “ too probably create, and on the embarrassments which  
 “ they unavoidably produce.”

This is at best but an attempt to excuse delinquency by ignorance. Before he risked the Catholic cause and his own character, lord Grenville should have first ascertained the sentiment of the people of Ireland. How can he pretend to rule over a country to whose opinions he is, by his own account, an utter stranger?

“ It would be an *invidious task* for me to recapitulate  
 “ *in this place*, the transactions of the last three years,  
 “ or to describe the spirit and temper, *the language and*  
 “ *the conduct of His Majesty's ministers* towards your  
 “ body ; nor would it become me to censure, though I  
 “ may be permitted to *lament, the decisions of the le-*  
 “ *gislation.*”

What is it that lord Grenville is here lamenting? Why surely the several *decisions of the legislature* against unconditional emancipation. Was there ever a paper so strangely at variance with itself?

In speaking of *the language and conduct of His Majesty's ministers*, the first idea which would force itself upon the mind of a constitutional patriot would be their violation of the King's infallibility in

their pleading his conscience and his coronation oath in opposition to the Catholic claims. What! shall ministers refuse to execute that treaty on which His Majesty's title to the crown of Ireland is founded? Shall they be the advisers of a perfidious breach of public faith, and elude the responsibility the constitution imposes on them, by heaving the odium upon their Royal Master? Shall they conspire to turn out their Sovereign, like the Jewish scape-goat of the wilderness, loaded with their heavy sins, and a butt for the public execration? In fine, that King, whom it is their bounden duty to uphold as the father of his people, shall they represent him as the sworn enemy of his Irish Catholic subjects? This crime of the cabinet was the most base, treacherous, unprovoked disloyalty that England ever witnessed! And what says my lord Grenville? That he will bring forward in parliament an impeachment against ministers, for their flagitious infraction of the first principle of the constitution? Oh no! He says no such thing. He says it would be an *invidious task* for him to discuss *in this place*, (out of doors,) those topics about which honourable and noble members in their places make such a theatrical parade!

“ To these two topics it is *sufficient briefly to have*  
 “ *adverted*. The obstacles which in the present mo-  
 “ ment they oppose to any favourable consideration of



“ your cause, and the advantages which they afford to  
 “ the misrepresentations of your adversaries, are too  
 “ obvious to require explanation.”

Here now is my lord Grenville's loyalty! To the treasonable sacrifice of the constitutional guarantee of the King's personal security,—to the compromise of his infallibility,—he thinks it *sufficient briefly to advert*. He hastens from the importunate topic, to commence a long wrangle about a prerogative the constitution never intended for the King, because this display is suitable to the purposes of his party:—to dupe the monarch and to foil the people.

“ Many circumstances compel me to speak to your  
 “ lordship more at large of the recent proceedings in  
 “ Ireland; with reference both to their *origin* and to  
 “ their *consequences*. For this purpose, I must beg  
 “ leave to recall to your lordship's recollection, the  
 “ grounds on which the consideration of these petitions  
 “ has uniformly been recommended to parliament.  
 “ That which you have asked, and which has been sup-  
 “ ported by the greatest statesmen of our time, now no  
 “ more, is not in its nature a single or unconnected  
 “ measure. Its objects are, the peace and happiness of  
 “ Ireland, and the union of the empire in affection as  
 “ well as in government. *Vain indeed, would be the*  
 “ *hope of accomplishing such purposes, solely by the re-*  
 “ *peal of a few partial disqualifications, remaining by*  
 “ a strange anomaly amidst the ruins of a whole code

“ of proscription. To impute to you this visionary  
 “ pretension, has been the artifice of your opponents,  
 “ The views of your friends have been more enlarged.”

The *origin* of the recent proceedings in Ireland is lord Grenville himself; and he and his party are altogether responsible for the *consequences*.

*Vain indeed would be the hope* of reconciling Ireland, *solely by the repeal of a few remaining disqualifications* of the Catholics. Here lord Grenville speaks truly to the point; for they are in fact rather an affront than an injury. Emancipation, if an isolated measure, must be undesirable both to England and Ireland. Emancipation taken by itself, means for lord Fingal a seat in parliament, for Mr. Bryan a troop in the guards, Now really England has her *quantum sufficit* of peers like my lord Fingal, and of troopers like Mr. Bryan: instead of lengthening the list, she had better look to diminishing her stock on hand. To gratify the little personal objects of such gentry, would be to injure the popular cause of Ireland, by detaching from it an aristocracy, which evinces a most promising vocation for court favour and ministerial jobs. To satisfy the people of Ireland, there must be means adopted, which the poor man will feel in his cabin: there must be a change not merely of the men, but of the total system of government.

“ With the just and salutary extension of civil rights  
 “ to your body must be combined, if tranquillity and  
 “ union be our object, other *extensive and complicated*  
 “ *arrangements*. All due provision must be made for  
 “ the inviolable maintenance of the religious and civil  
 “ establishments of this united kingdom: *much must*  
 “ *be done for mutual conciliation, much for common*  
 “ *safety, many contending interests must be reconciled,*  
 “ *many jealousies allayed, many long cherished and mu-*  
 “ *tually destructive prejudices eradicated.*”

My very good lord, pray quicken your pace! Bonaparte is at your door, and you seem to be taking it as composedly as a Spanish Junta. And while you are debating all these desultory topics, what will be the occupation of Napoleon? I know not what he may do: but I will venture to foresee what he will leave undone. The French Emperor *will not* spend his time and miss his opportunities in framing such regulations concerning the *Protestants*, as may affront his Dutch and German subjects, or his Danish and Swedish allies.

Depend on it you will only tamper with the tranquillity of Ireland, if you go on discussing your *extensive and complicated arrangements*. You had better turn your mind to *arrangements* at once *extensive and simple*. It is time to lay the axe to the root of the evil. If you sincerely feel that love of England, and that loyalty to your King, you are so forward to profess: if, in a word, your purpose

be to save Ireland to the empire,—let her experience an eternal divorce between religion and politics, including the abolition of tythes, and the suppression of every species of public plunder upon pious pretences.—Let her see her corporate bodies, including the University, annulled; for they are all organized accomplices of old errors and of old vices, against every moral, political, or physical improvement.—Let her peasantry be freed from the pressure of rack-rent, not by inoperative statutes, but by bringing into market fewer bidders for more arable land; by discouraging her grazing, and by encouraging her domestic manufactures.—Let the progressive accumulation of her taxes be terminated. Their amount indeed must remain enormous to pay the interest of her debt, for alas! the money is squandered. But if the series of robbery, from the tax-gatherer to the exchequer both inclusive, were guarded against; and if the immense misapplied revenues of the intrusive church, and of the corporate bodies, were resumed by the nation; Ireland might wage a war which would last till the end of the world.

“ Such at least has always been my own declared opi-  
 “ nions. When this matter was last under the consi-  
 “ deration of parliament, I had occasion to dwell with  
 “ particular earnestness on this necessity; *I invited the*  
 “ *suggestions of others* for providing for it; and I enu-  
 “ merated several measures, which eight years before

“ had been in the contemplation of the government of  
 “ which I then formed a part, and in conjunction with  
 “ which I had cherished the vain hope of rendering this  
 “ great service to my country.”

It were wiser to *invite the suggestions* of Ireland herself in convention assembled, than to get puzzled by the misstatements of those gentlemen who *misrepresent* her in parliament.

“ Among these measures I pointed out, the proposal of vesting in the crown an *effectual negative* on the appointment of your bishops. That suggestion had previously been brought forward in the House of Commons, to meet the just expectations, not of any bigoted or interested champions of intolerance, but of men of the purest intentions and most enlightened judgement,—men willing to do all justice to the loyalty of your present bishops, but not unreasonably alarmed at any possibility by which functions of such extensive influence might hereafter be connected with a *foreign interest* hostile to the tranquillity of your country: A *danger* recently very much increased by the captivity and *deposal of the head of your church*, by the seizure of his dominions, and by *the declared intention of that hostile government, to assume in future the exclusive nomination of his successors*. The suggestion thus opened to parliament, produced there impressions highly favourable to your cause; it was received as the surest indication of those dispositions without which all concession must be nugatory, and all conciliation hopeless. To my mind it had been

“ recommended by long reflection. It had formed a  
 “ part of the original conception of those measures as  
 “ consequent upon the Union. It was now again  
 “ brought forward with the concurrence of *the two in-*  
 “ *dividuals, from whose opinions those generally preva-*  
 “ *lent among your body might best be inferred; of the*  
 “ *agent of the very persons to whose office it related;*  
 “ and of *your lordship*, to whom, in addition to every  
 “ other claim to respect and confidence, the exclusive  
 “ charge of the petition had recently been committed.  
 “ What I said on the subject in the House of Lords,  
 “ was spoken in the hearing of both, and I received  
 “ from both, while the impression was yet recent on  
 “ your minds, the most gratifying acknowledgements  
 “ of your satisfaction in all that I had stated.”

An *effectual negative* is somewhat more than  
 papal authority. The usual practice of His Holiness,  
 is to institute the *first* clergyman in the list  
 of candidates sent from Ireland.

The grand argument against popery was heretofore  
 the political inexpediency of allowing a sovereign  
 pontiff to influence the subjects of a temporal  
 sovereign, with whom perchance he might some-  
 times go to war. It was reserved for my lord  
 Grenville to discover, in the *deposal* of the Prince  
 of Rome, an augmentation of the *danger* with  
 which the bishop of Rome was said to menace  
 Transalpine territories! And because your ally the  
 poor old Pope is pillaged by Bonaparte of his tem-  
 poralities, shall England's King gratefully hasten to

strip him of his spiritual prerogative? Will you proclaim the mutualities of Princes to be the very morals of the rats? As soon as one of these vermin utters the cry of pain, the remaining tenants of the hole attack and mercilessly devour the squeaking sufferer.

But lord Grenville stands aghast at the distant danger of a *foreign interest*, and at the *declared intention of that hostile government to assume in future the exclusive nomination of the Pope's successors*. It is true, Cardinal Fesch is confidently mentioned as the Pope elect. And lord Grenville wants Ireland to be in a consternation, lest his future Holiness Pius, or Clement, or Benedict, (or whatever nice meek name he likes) Fesch should nominate more obnoxious prelates than those, who would be patronized by the right honourable Doctor Paddy Duigenan! Whenever my lord Grenville may be troubled with a relapse into these fits of panic, I shall beg leave to prescribe for his lordship's mental consolation that fable of Æsop, where the driver urges the ass to hasten from the enemy. "Will he put two pairs of panniers on me?" says the ass. Æsop's ass was no fool!

The *agency* of Dr. Milner (lord Grenville knows it well) was at that period only an opposition humbug. The right Reverend Plenipotentiary, like the *Persian Ambassador*, shipped hither to amuse the mob, was nothing else than a state

puppet. But even supposing that Dr. Milner authentically communicated the consent of the unanimous hierarchy to a *Veto*, does lord Grenville pretend to believe the act would be valid? Are the laity of Ireland to be forgotten in a political negotiation concerning a new statute, and an immense extension of the prerogative? How would lord Grenville like it, if the English Convocation took it in their heads to depute an agent to treat with Bonaparte?

The mission of lord Fingal was not liable to any misconception. *His lordship's* instructions, printed in all the newspapers, allowed him no discretion beyond the choice of the members of parliament who were to introduce the petition.

These gentlemen not only had no powers to treat, but they are by no means *the two individuals, from whose opinions those generally prevalent among the Catholic body might best be inferred.* When the opposition had their own dear interests to forward, when the elections of their partisans were put to hazard, they never made the mistake of applying to lord Fingal and to Dr. Milner, or of supposing these gentlemen competent to answer for Ireland, or even for any county, city, or borough in Ireland.

“It was never, I believe, imagined by any of us, that what then passed could be binding on the opinions of the petitioners. The Roman Catholics of



“ Ireland are *not a corporate body. They speak through*  
 “ *no common organ.* Their various wishes and inter-  
 “ ests, like those of their fellow-subjects, can be col-  
 “ lected only from general information; and any opi-  
 “ nions erroneously attributed to them, they, like all  
 “ other persons, are fully entitled to disclaim.”

The Catholics *speak through no common organ,* and hence, according to lord Grenville, the present misunderstanding: and hence, he might more truly add, they must be liable to disagreements with all future ministers and ex-ministers, as long as the two Islands remain united. The Catholics *once spoke through a common organ.* Their general committee performed its duty towards the people, by procuring the repeal of most of the penal laws; and towards the government, by dispatching deputies to appease the aggrieved peasants called *Defenders*, wherever they showed a disposition to insurrection. Since the Convention bill has deprived Ireland of her general committee, no more oppressive laws are repealed by government; insurrections and even a formidable rebellion have occurred; and the Catholic body is reduced to that state, that my lord Grenville tauntingly assigns it a place beneath the *Corporation* of every rotten borough.

The policy of muzzling the discontented is a question worthy of the serious reflection of a statesman. The United Irish were originally a club

among the Dissenters of Ulster. When its open assemblage was prohibited, it was thereby metamorphosed into a conspiracy. The discontinuation of their committees drove the malcontent Catholics into the revolutionary confederacy, which, by their accession, acquired competent strength to make war upon the government. I do not believe that Lord Grenville, who participated the crime of deliberately bartering for the Union a mountain of gold and a deluge of blood, can boggle at acknowledging the accuracy of this sketch of one of the scenes in his own tragedy. But if his lordship demurs in admitting the aptness of the colouring, and denies to my untried intellect a *coup d'œil* adequate to the picture, he can make inquiries from a gentleman of no inconsiderable descriptive powers, latterly of no mean ostensibility, and who possessed the same opportunities with myself of observing the rise and progress of the united Irish system:——*Mr. Secretary Croker!*

“ I learnt, however, with deep and heart-felt regret,  
 “ the subsequent proceedings which took place in Ireland,  
 “ in consequence of this suggestion. To *discuss the*  
 “ *grounds* of those proceedings would be foreign from my  
 “ *present purpose*. Their effect obviously must be not only  
 “ to revive expiring prejudices, but to clog with fresh  
 “ embarrassment every future discussion of any of the  
 “ measures connected with your petitions. To myself  
 “ unquestionably the difficulty of originating at this time  
 “ any fresh discussion respecting those measures, does,  
 “ in such circumstances, appear almost insuperable.”

Lord Grenville will not *discuss the grounds* for the proceedings in Ireland against the *Veto*. And why not? Because, if he were compelled to avow their *grounds* to be good, it might serve to baulk his *present purpose* of resuming his office.

“Let me not, however, be misunderstood. When I speak of the necessity of combining with the accomplishment of your wishes, provisions of just security to others, I am no less desirous of consulting every *reasonable apprehension* on your part.”

And may not Ireland entertain a *reasonable apprehension*, lest the blandishments of another darling should attest the unction of some profligate impostor? A scandal as yet unheard of in the ancient church of Ireland.

And is it not a *reasonable apprehension* to foresee that an immense church patronage thrown into the hands of government might be employed as an useful tool to influence Irish parliamentary elections? All those who have witnessed the political subserviency of the established clergy, can easily supply this question with an answer. Let Englishmen beware, lest a government like that which pawned the reversion of the Protestant bishoprics of Ireland to purchase votes in favour of the Union, might not, at no very distant day, pledge the reversion of Catholic parishes, vicarages, sees, and primacies, to insure some equally atrocious innovation against the liberties of England!

And would it be an *unreasonable apprehension* of Ireland to shudder with a misgiving *presentiment*, that in the selection of her episcopal candidates an exception might be taken against the great O' before certain of their names, or against such feelings and sentiments as would become a name graced by that symbol of antique genealogy? Or is one, by alternative, to suppose the Irish callously insensible to an ungenerous hatred against their name and nation?

While general O'Neil was a cadet in the army of Spain, he returned to the war office a commission of His Catholic Majesty, appointing him a sub-lieutenant in his service. His unusual petulance was reported to the King, as an affront offered to his royal dignity. His Majesty ordered it to be inquired what could induce the young soldier to reject his commission? It appeared that through inadvertence, he was styled Mr. Neil in the official paper. It was His Majesty's pleasure that a new commission should be made out, in which, as well as in all future documents, this gentleman should be qualified by an O prefixed to his name, AS LARGE AS THE CROWN OF HIS HAT.

Statesmen of England! have you heads to appreciate the condescension of the Spanish Monarch? have you hearts to feel why (whatever penal statutes you may enact or repeal), *why* the Irish do not participate your antipathy to *foreign*, even when it becomes *hostile influence*?

“ To the forms indeed of those securities I attach  
 “ comparatively little importance. A pertinacious ad-  
 “ herence to such details, in opposition even to ground-  
 “ less prejudice, I consider as the reverse of legislative  
 “ wisdom. I look only to their substantial purposes ;  
 “ the *safety of our own establishments*, the mutual  
 “ good-will of all our fellow-subjects, and the harmony  
 “ of the united kingdom.”

You are mighty anxious about the *safety of your own establishments*. They must be maintained *in-violable*. Why then so angry with the Irish, for endeavouring to secure the safety of their church ? Why so pertinaciously exact from them what you spurn at the idea of conceding, even before any body has thought of making the demand ?

“ That adequate arrangements may be made for all  
 “ these purposes, *consistently* with the strictest adhe-  
 “ rence on your part to *your own religious tenets*, is the  
 “ persuasion which you have long been labouring to  
 “ establish, and of which I have uniformly professed  
 “ my own conviction.”

It may possibly be very true, (for I am no theologian,) that the *Veto* is just as *consistent* with the Catholic *religious tenets* as the Insurrection bill, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, or free quarters. It does not precisely follow, that an excessive increase of the influence of the crown is *consistent* with the Irish *political tenets*. This is the real point at issue, and not the discussion of my lord Grenville's lectures on Catholic discipline.

“ Were it otherwise, I should indeed despair. But  
 “ that these objects may be reconciled, in so far at  
 “ least as respects the appointment of your bishops, is  
 “ known with undeniable certainty. It is proved by  
 “ the acquiescence of your church in similar arrange-  
 “ ments under other governments, by the sentiments  
 “ which many of yourselves still entertain as to the pro-  
 “ posal suggested in 1808, and most of all by the ex-  
 “ press consent formerly given to that proposal by *the*  
 “ *most considerable of your own bishops.*”

Can there be a more cogent argument adduced to the Irish against their suffering any court influence in the appointment of their clergy, than this very delinquency of the *most considerable of their bishops*, in the intrigue to which lord Grenville alludes? What will be their slavish spirit, when once their promotion depends on government, if they are already so time-serving under their present institution?

“ I see, therefore, in the present state of this sub-  
 “ ject, much unexpected embarrassment, and many  
 “ difficulties which renewed discussion, in the present  
 “ moment, must, instead of smoothing, inevitably ag-  
 “ gravate. There is, however, *no ground for ultimate*  
 “ *discouragement.* The sentiment of reciprocal confi-  
 “ dence, the spirit of *mutual conciliation* would sur-  
 “ mount far greater obstacles.”

Can lord Grenville be serious in asserting, that there is *no ground for ultimate discouragement*: and that Ireland may yet be frightened or wheedled

into a sacrifice of her principles, at the delusive shrine of *mutual conciliation*? And the decision of the synod, the prompt and vigorous proceedings of Kilkenny and Louth (the only counties where it was attempted to carry the *Veto*), the various recent declarations of counties and cities for the independence of the Irish church,—are all these testimonies of the determination of Ireland insufficient? The high-spirited people of Kilkenny once more come forward to set their country an example of firmness, in reply to the unexpected attack of the parliamentary deserters.

“ At a general meeting of the ROMAN CATHOLICS  
 “ of the county and city of KILKENNY, convened  
 “ by public notice, and held at the Tholsel  
 “ on the 2d of February, 1810,

“ MICHAEL LANGTON, Esq. in the chair,

“ The following Resolutions were unanimously  
 “ adopted:—

“ That, as Roman Catholics, and as Irishmen,  
 “ governed by conscience, and prompted by the  
 “ sacred love of country, we yield to no descrip-  
 “ tion of His Majesty’s subjects in loyalty to his  
 “ august person, and in attachment to that consti-  
 “ tution, in the full enjoyment of which it is our  
 “ great ambition, as it is OUR RIGHT, to partici-  
 “ pate.

“ That we are immutably attached to the deci-  
 “ sion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland,  
 “ assembled in their national council in September  
 “ 1808, against giving any control, much less an  
 “ *effectual* one, to the crown, on the appointment  
 “ of their successors ;—a decision originating in the  
 “ purest patriotism, and in the most enlightened  
 “ and disinterested respect for religion. For we  
 “ are convinced, that the power to be conveyed  
 “ away to government, by the measure of a VETO,  
 “ would be a disgraceful barter of things spiritual  
 “ for things temporal—that it would in process of  
 “ time eradicate the Roman Catholic religion from  
 “ this country, and operate to the disadvantage of  
 “ the state ;—nay, perhaps, eventually endanger its  
 “ existence, by destroying the confidence of the  
 “ people in their priests, who are the great incul-  
 “ cators and supporters of Irish loyalty.

“ That the plea of withholding our acknow-  
 “ ledged and imprescriptible rights, in consequence  
 “ of the Pope’s authority over us, and his sub-  
 “ jection to a hostile power, is inadmissible ;—  
 “ whereas our allegiance is secured by that solemn  
 “ test, beyond which any government, without in-  
 “ curring the charge of intolerance, can reason-  
 “ ably demand or expect nothing ;—whereas the so  
 “ much exaggerated jurisdiction of the Pope is in  
 “ its nature *purely spiritual*, and cannot trench  
 “ upon the temporal rights of any state, as we



“ have repeatedly proved by the most convincing  
 “ assurances ;—whereas the ill-treatment experi-  
 “ enced at present by the Pope, was, according to  
 “ the averment of the Ruler of France himself,  
 “ partly occasioned by his partiality for our most  
 “ gracious Sovereign and his allies ;—whereas tole-  
 “ ration and liberty of conscience are proclaimed  
 “ by the most despotic states on the Continent, and  
 “ are now resisted only in these countries ;—whereas,  
 “ in fine, foreigners, who, as Roman Catholics, are  
 “ as much under the influence of the Pope as we,  
 “ have been, notwithstanding, intrusted with some  
 “ of the most important and confidential military  
 “ situations in the empire.”

“ But nothing, permit me to remark it, can in the  
 “ mean time be more injurious to your cause, than any  
 “ attempt by partial and precipitate decisions to *pre-*  
 “ *judge its separate branches, or to limit its unreserved*  
 “ *discussion.* No course can be more grateful to your  
 “ opponents, none more embarrassing to your sup-  
 “ porters.”

Supposing the Catholics did not *prejudge* the  
 question of the *Veto*, but left it open to *unreserved*  
*discussion*, would not lord Grenville and all his  
 parliamentary supporters argue from the silence of  
 the Catholics, that lord Fingal and Dr. Milner, re-  
 maining uncontradicted, were justified in their ne-  
 gotiation? Would they not both loudly and justly  
 complain, when their arrangement was ready for

conclusion ; if, after their own credit was so far committed, the Catholics withheld the ratification ?

“ To parliament, when any more favourable conjuncture for this discussion shall arise, every information may properly be supplied, every wish imparted, every apprehension communicated. *There only*, by a systematic and comprehensive arrangement, can all the various difficulties be surmounted, which on every side embarrass this extensive subject. To be effective and permanent, such an arrangement must be mutually satisfactory.”

“ Yet say, could e'en a prostrate tribune's power,  
Or a mock senate in Rome's servile hour,  
Insult so much the rights, the claims of man,  
As doth that fetter'd mob, that free divan,  
Of noble tools and honourable knaves,  
Of pension'd patriots and privileg'd slaves !  
That parti-colour'd mass, which nought can warm  
But quick corruption's heat—whose ready swarm  
Spread their light wings in bribery's golden sky,  
Buz for a period, lay their eggs and die !”

CORRUPTION, a Poem.

To illustrate the confidence the Irish repose in parliament, it is enough to recall the refusal of the Catholics to petition during the last session. There was indeed an aggregate meeting summoned on the 23d of May 1809, with that intention. But instead of adopting the petition, the Catholics agreed to the following amendment :—

“ We, the Catholics of Ireland, have made re-  
 “ peated petitions for the relief of our grievances.  
 “ The greatest and wisest of men, both in and out  
 “ of parliament, were decidedly in favour of the  
 “ expediency and justice of our claims; and they  
 “ further insisted that it was necessary to the very  
 “ existence of the empire to interest in its defence a  
 “ population of from four to five millions of Catho-  
 “ lics, constituting more than a fourth of the united  
 “ kingdom. We are now unhappily and experi-  
 “ mentally convinced, that no principle of justice,  
 “ no force of reasoning, is sufficient to counteract a  
 “ malignant influence which threatens the empire  
 “ with general contamination and consequent de-  
 “ struction. — Public delinquents and defaulters  
 “ would put to hazard the existence of the reigning  
 “ family and the integrity of the empire, rather  
 “ than restore the people to the privileges of the  
 “ constitution, which would produce such whole-  
 “ some reform of abuses, as must deprive them-  
 “ selves of the opportunity of undue influence  
 “ and peculation. Under these discouraging cir-  
 “ cumstances, without hope of success at present,  
 “ we are unwilling to agitate our claims by petition  
 “ to parliament, feeling that rejection might increase  
 “ the discontent already existing in our body; and  
 “ we cannot be indifferent to the pernicious effect  
 “ of acquainting authentically, through the debates  
 “ of the British parliament, our potent and too

“ successful enemy with the internal divisions and  
 “ the corruptions in the state of the only powerful  
 “ nation not yet subject to his control.”

“ This is alike the interest of every member of the  
 “ British empire, but to none more important than to  
 “ the Catholics of Ireland. The stability of all your  
 “ civil rights, both of those which you already enjoy,  
 “ and of those to which you seek to be admitted, essen-  
 “ tially depends on the tranquillity and harmony of your  
 “ country, on banishing from it every *hostile influence*,  
 “ and composing all its internal differences.”

And so lord Grenville's statesman-like manner of engaging the Irish to banish every *hostile influence* from their country is this gentle, this friendly hint of withdrawing the *civil rights they already enjoy* ! The Catholics are not then to be surprised, if they should hear of a proposal to re-enact the penal code.

“ These opinions I have expressed to your lordship  
 “ with the freedom of a tried and zealous advocate of  
 “ your cause. On these grounds alone have I ever  
 “ attempted to do justice to it. *To have argued it on*  
 “ *any other would have been a dereliction of my own*  
 “ *principles.*”

How then has my lord Grenville *argued the Catholic cause* at prior periods ? Which is the *dereliction*, his late or his actual arguments ?

“ I need hardly add, that by the same principles my  
 “ present conduct must equally continue to be directed.  
 “ Should the petitioners continue to entertain the desire

“conveyed in your lordship’s letter, that I should lay  
 “this petition upon the table of the House of Lords;  
 “with that request I cannot hesitate to comply. It  
 “would be highly improper to deny to such a body of  
 “men the opportunity of submitting, through my  
 “hands, if they should so desire it, and at their own  
 “time, their wishes to the legislature of their country.  
 “It would be still more inexcusable in a case where all  
 “my opinions, and all my wishes, are favourable to the  
 “object of their application. On the measure itself,  
 “if any motion respecting it be *originated by others*, I  
 “shall not fail to urge with unabated earnestness all the  
 “same sentiments which I have detailed in this letter.  
 “But I must with equal explicitness decline to be my-  
 “self, at this time, and under so many circumstances  
 “of such peculiar disadvantage to your cause, the mover  
 “of any such proposition. I am satisfied, that by this  
 “decision, I shall best promote the ultimate success of  
 “that great work which I have long laboured to accom-  
 “plish. My reasons for this persuasion I have, I trust,  
 “sufficiently explained. They may be erroneous, they  
 “are at least sincere.”

It was one of the manœuvres of lord Gren-  
 ville’s late colleague, Mr. Pitt, to vote for a cause  
 he betrayed, and even to make long speeches in its  
 favour, when *originated by others*: but to allow  
 the subordinate members of the treasury-bench to  
 wield against it the pliant majority. Thus, year  
 after year, was the abolition of the Slave-trade de-  
 feated. It is this branch of the Pitt tactics, my  
 lord Grenville has now in reserve.

“To the principle of *equal laws*, to the object of  
 “national conciliation, I am invariably attached. By  
 “me, they shall never be abandoned. But any per-  
 “sonal exertions, which I can make for purposes of  
 “such inestimable benefit to my country must ever be  
 “regulated by that discretion, which I am equally deter-  
 “mined in every situation to reserve unfettered by pre-  
 “vious engagements, and the faithful exercise of which  
 “my public duty imperatively forbids me to relinquish.

“ I have the honour to be,

&c. &c. &c.

(Signed)

“ GRENVILLE.”

*Earl of Fingal.*

Has this profession of *equality* any candid and  
 honourable meaning, or is it a mere empty party  
 puff? How would you, my lord Grenville, answer  
 to a tender of this nature?—The barter of a royal  
*Veto*, on the election of Irish Catholic bishops,  
 against an Irish popular *Veto*, upon the nomina-  
 tion of English Protestant bishops?

# ANTICIPATED ULTIMATUM

OF

IRELAND.

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THE nomination to ecclesiastical vacancies was deposited by the laity in the hands of the clergy. This sacred trust, if renounced by the church, must of necessity revert to its real proprietors, to the paramount owners of all right and of all authority—**THE PEOPLE.** The transfer of this power, or of a portion of it, to any government, was never executed without the public consent, expressed or implicit. How can it, by any cavil, be claimed in Ireland, where the people have refused it with strenuous decision?

Suppose that period arrived,—if the Fates intend it should ever arrive,—when England, having done ample justice to Ireland, and proceeding with her in an amicable sister-like intercourse, should become entitled to attention, not in her real dangers alone, but even in her unfounded fears: Suppose England, not convulsed by the ex-ministerial traitor cry of *No foreign influence*—that refinement on the more brutal, yet less culpable, war-whoop of *No popery*—but actuated by the desire, affectionately expressed, and reciprocally intended, of rendering attachment

to the empire a qualification for the priesthood:— Then indeed might the synod of Ireland be impelled, both by honour and inclination, to abdicate a part of the prescriptive episcopal rights in ecclesiastical promotions.

If then the clergy of Ireland, perceiving and acknowledging that the love of country among their body might acquire an additional vigour from an external stimulus, should resolve to allow a *Veto* upon their lists of candidates for promotion, that right must devolve, in the first instance, upon the laity. The question would next arise, whether the Irish would prefer to exercise themselves their re-assumed power, or whether they would yield it as an additional prerogative to the crown?

This discussion, let me observe it *en passant*, could not be conducted with the authenticity becoming the magnitude of the subject, excepting in a national convention of Catholic Ireland. Those exertions of language and of lungs which a swarm of young lawyers are profusely spending in perplexing themselves, and in plaguing the people, might be usefully employed in clearing away all doubts about the legal limitation of conventions. These learned gentlemen might profitably apply their ability in explaining that the prohibition of delegation was intended as an obstacle to the recovery of civil liberty, and was totally unconnected with any view to the impediment of church discipline.—



They might prove that the representatives of the people could lawfully meet to transact any business purely catholic; such as building or repairing churches, establishing parochial schools or an independent University, assigning a fixed income upon the public fund to churchmen and professors, considering such improvements in matters of discipline as might be proposed by the clergy, &c. &c. They might signalize their vivacity of imagination and their flowers of eloquence, in upholding as models for imitation those beauties of the English constitution, which they have read of, though never seen. They might display their theoretic talent in demonstrating the grave and impressive dignity of deliberation, and consistency of purpose, a convention would acquire; if divided into an upper house, containing the few undestroyed Milesian chieftains, the prelates, and the peers of the Catholics; and a lower house of popular deputies. They might further pursue the instructive analogy, by vesting a third controlling power of assent, or negative on the acts of convention in the people at large, who might be simultaneously polled in all the parishes. How interesting might this theme be rendered by the persuasive delivery of O'Connell, by the attractive wit of Comerford, and by the profound research of Clinch!

It does not require the gift of prophecy to anticipate the solemn and final conclusion of Ireland,

upon a *Veto* prior to canonical election. All the fair arguments which can be adduced in favour of a *royal Veto*, might be satisfied by the annexing of appropriate ecclesiastical disabilities to each and every criminal conviction in a court of law. There can be no need to sacrifice the characters of the priesthood, as butts to the arbitrary malignity of the enemies, at least of liberty, perhaps of Ireland and of the Catholic religion. The simony, the sycophancy, the jobs, the spirit of faction, the neglect of duty, the pernicious and countless disorders, which a *royal Veto* would inoculate on the church of Ireland, it is needless to recapitulate. The sensitive recoil of the people from the approach of the court, indicates a lively perception to the evil of enlarging the prerogative of the crown, and the patronage of government. No! they will never allow a systematic debasement of their clergy to provoke the desertion of their venerable church, the cherished pride of Ireland, and the pledge of her resurrection into the rank of nations.

On the contrary, great and good consequences would result from the introduction of a POPULAR *VETO*. There are no statutes to enforce the love of country. There are no penalties attached to the absence of public spirit. Surely it is a principal political *desideratum*, to oppose a practical guard against the all-invading undue influence of

the executive. By the adoption of a POPULAR VETO, the Irish church should have the glory of originating an efficient measure of regeneration, fit to stand as an example to every department of this mouldering empire.

This query will of course be started.—If the people may disqualify for anti-patriotism, why not the King also for disloyalty? The reply of the Irish can scarcely be doubted.—Because there are abundant statutes executed with *a vigour beyond the law*, against treasonable practices.—Because nothing can tend so rapidly to increase disaffection, as to punish the complaint instead of redressing the grievance. Because, in fine, LOYALTY to a good King is ever included in PATRIOTISM. In Spain, in the Tyrol, in any country where the monarch is not the enemy of his people, one hears of no distinction drawn between *patriotism* and *loyalty*.

But if those inveterate enemies to Ireland, which they profess to despise; those traitors to the King, whom they affect to love, should advise their much-abused Sovereign against trusting the interest of his crown in the hands of the Irish: If they make it a point, that His Majesty shall not reign in the affections of his subjects: If they persist to dragoon the Irish church into a discipline of their own framing: If they will proceed by *præmunire* against those who refuse compliance to their innovations, and by *criminal information* against all

who write or speak in favour of Ireland:—Then let some canting member of the societies of Missionaries and for the Suppression of Vice, let some *Tartuffe* runner on the back stairs of the Palace preach for the edification of the Cabinet, from the text of Sampson in the temple of Dagon \* \* \* \* \*

*quod vida!*

## APPENDIX.—No. I.

*Being Part of the Appendix to Sir John Cox Hippisley's  
Bill.*

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### RESOLUTIONS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES IN 1799.

AT a meeting of the Roman Catholic prelates, held in Dublin the 17th, 18th, and 19th of January 1799, to deliberate on a proposal from government, of an independent provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland under certain regulations, not incompatible with their doctrine, discipline, or just principles:—

It was admitted that a provision through government for the Roman Catholic clergy of this kingdom, competent and secured, ought to be thankfully accepted.

That, in the appointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion to vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, is just, and ought to be agreed to.

That, to give this principle its full operation, without infringing the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, or diminishing the religious influence which prelates of that church ought justly to possess over their respective flocks, the following regulations seem necessary:—

1st.—In the vacancy of a see, the clergy of the diocese to recommend, as usual, a candidate to the prelates of the ecclesiastical province, who elect him, or any other they may think more worthy, by a majority of suffrages:—in the case of equality of suffrages, the metropolitan or senior prelate to have the casting vote.

2d.—In the election of a metropolitan, if the provincial prelates do not agree within two months after the vacancy, the senior prelate shall forthwith invite the surviving metropolitans to the election, in which each will then have a vote:—in the equality of suffrages, the presiding metropolitan to have a casting vote.

3d.—In these elections, the majority of suffrages must be,

*ultra medietatem*, as the canons require, or must consist of the suffrages of more than half the electors.

4th.—The candidates *so elected*, to be presented by the president of the election to government, which, within one month after such presentation, will transmit the name of the said candidate, if no objection be made against him, for appointment to the holy see, or return the said name to the president of the election, for such transmission as may be agreed on.

5th.—If government have any proper objection against such candidates, the president of the election will be informed thereof within one month after presentation; who in that case will convene the electors to the election of another candidate.

Agreeably to the discipline of the Roman Catholic church, these regulation can have no effect without the sanction of the holy see; which sanction, the Roman Catholic prelates of this kingdom shall, as soon as may be, use their endeavours to procure.

The prelates are satisfied that the nomination of parish priests, with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, be certified to government.

RICHARD O'REILLY,

EDWARD DILLON,

P. J. PLUNKETT,

DANIEL DELANY,

JAMES CAULFIELD,

T. J. TROY,

THOMAS BRAY,

F. MOYLAR,

EDMUND FRENCH,

JOHN CRUISE.

#### *Subsequent Resolutions of the Roman Catholic Electors.*

The prelates assembled to deliberate on a proposal from government of a provision for the clergy have agreed, that M. R. Doctor O'Reilly, M. R. Doctor Troy, and B. B. Doctor Plunkett, and such other of the prelates who may be in town, be commissioned *to transact all business with government relative to said proposal, under the substance of the regulations agreed on and subscribed by them.*

THOMAS BRAY,

EDWARD DILLON,

F. MOYLAR,

DANIEL DELANY,

JAMES CAULFIELD,

EDMUND FRENCH,

JOHN CRUISE.

*Dublin, 28th January, 1799.*

## APPENDIX. No. II.

[What a contrast between the solemn, consistent, and dignified discipline of the Church of Ireland, and the disgraceful ~~row~~ among the secretaries in England, described in Dr. Milner's printed letter to lord Stourton!]

*A Letter to an English Catholic Peer.*

(NOT PUBLISHED.)

MY LORD,

Among the sacrifices which I have lately made to the peace and harmony of the English Catholic body, one is my choice of the present mode of addressing your lordship in the hearing of a few common friends, in preference to another mode of a more public nature. To be quite silent on the transactions of Thursday last, would, in my deliberate judgment, be a dereliction of my duty, and a precedent for incalculable evils. I am going, my lord, to speak of transactions which are within my own distinct recollection, and that of other gentlemen of observation and veracity.

Having been one of the guests at the dinner at the Clarendon Hotel, on Thursday evening last, I was still more careful not to obtrude myself unnecessarily on the notice of the company, than I had been at the St. Alban's Tavern, when two or three clergymen, who seldom pass over an opportunity of declaiming against the *OBSERVANDA*, as they are called, taking notice of certain little slights which were put upon me by some respectable personages, and the manner in which I was spoken of by others, seemed to think the opportunity favourable for drawing over the Catholic nobility and leading gentry, to make a common cause in getting them rescinded (1). The *OBSERVANDA*, my lord, are the

regulations of the English mission for the due administration of the Sacraments and the proper comportment of the Catholic clergy. They were drawn up at the first appointment of apostolical vicars, and have, since that time, been frequently republished by them and their successors, with such slight additions and alterations as the still varying state of human affairs demanded from their vigilance and zeal. The last edition of them took place in the year 1803, at the suggestion of the late justly venerated bishop Sharrock; on which occasion only two additions of any consequence took place, one relative to the circumstances in which Baptism is to be conditionally and privately administered, the other changing the threat of *suspension* against clergymen being present at theatrical amusements, (accompanied with a declaration that such presence is a *grievous sin*), into an *actual*, but not reserved, *sentence of suspension*. These additions, particularly the latter, have been erroneously ascribed to me. The fact is, they were made with the most perfect unanimity in a synod of the four vicars apostolic and of bishop Poynter, and of all the priests who could be collected on the occasion; and however cordially I approve of the regulations in question, I am satisfied that the influence which chiefly prevailed in their formation came from a quarter the least suspected. Certain clergymen, as I have said, were talking against the Observanda, when one of them, the Rev. Mr. A—r, raising his person and his voice, exclaimed, "That the Observanda were the *most absurd and ridiculous composition that ever was published.*" I agree with your lordship that no time or place could be more improper for a defence of rules concerning the administration of the Sacraments than the Clarendon Hotel, after dinner and at ten o'clock at night: still an attack having been made upon these rules, in the presence of whatever is most respectable in the Catholic body, and upon me, a vicar apostolic, and this without reprehension from any other quarter, I am sure your lordship's good sense and religion will induce you to agree with me that it was not only lawful for me, but also that it was my bounden duty to enter my protest against it. This I did in as few and as guarded words as possible, by barely rising up and declaring that "I held myself responsible for whatever is contained in the Observanda:" and whereas Mr. A— being still on his legs, proceeded to say, that he, "was glad to find a man who would take upon himself singly to defend that most absurd composition," and to declaim, at considerable length, on "the alleged Socinianism of the church of England, and the inconsistency of the regulation concerning conditional baptism, &c." I barely



continued standing in front of him, as the party accused, and by way of avowing my confessed responsibility to his charge.— What now, my honoured lord, was the conduct of those persons whose guest I was, and who are the acknowledged protectors and ornaments of our holy religion? They commanded and insisted upon “bishop Milner’s sitting down;” bishop Milner who was standing to be accused for defending the discipline of their own church, whilst they imposed no such obligation upon Mr. A., who was standing up and haranguing against it, and who was thus publicly vilifying the solemn acts and deeds of his own bishop no less than those of B. Milner!!! And, whereas I thought it my duty to continue standing till Mr. A. should sit down, force was used by one gentleman, near me, to pull me down, and another gentleman, whom I had in my eye, repeatedly exclaimed: *Turn him out*, meaning me. The only words, my lord, which I made use of, during the whole of this scene, in addition to the protest repeated above, were addressed to B. Douglass’s coadjutor in these or similar terms: “Dr. Poynter can, in a moment, appease this storm: let him stand up and I will sit down; he has barely to declare whether or no he adheres to those observanda, which he drew up with his own pen.” I do not call for your lordship’s decision on the conduct of Dr. P. in the resolute silence which he was pleased to observe under these circumstances, nor do I ask for or desire the least apology in my own favour from Mr. A., or from any other person whomsoever: but I submit to your lordship and to the other noblemen and gentlemen (they being, in a great degree, the heads and representatives of the English Catholic body), *whether or no a private priest, having in their presence and under their control, most indecently and irreligiously vilified and declared against the solemn acts and deeds of the vicars apostolical in synod assembled, and, from inadvertence, he not having been authoritatively reprimanded for so doing (2) he ought now to be reprimanded, and required to express his respect for and obedience to them (3).* I grant, my lord, that, towards the conclusion of this disgraceful scene, strong expressions of disapprobation of Mr. Archer’s conduct, and calls for an apology on his part, were heard from some gentlemen; but these sounds came unfortunately from a quarter whence they could not have their due weight: they came from the lower end of the table where I was sitting, not from that chair at the right hand of which Dr. P. was placed.

And how did it happen, my lord, that I, who had felt myself standing so high in the esteem and favour of the noble

lords and gentlemen on the last day of January, experienced on the first of February the slights and expressions which encouraged the clergyman in question (at the instigation of another clergyman, and after consulting with a third) to launch out in their presence against me and his other superiors in the indecent and disedifying manner your lordship witnessed? It was because I, being a vicar apostolical of England, and an agent of the bishops of Ireland, had, at the St. Alban's Tavern, on the morning of the latter day, declined holding up my hand for a resolution and signing a petition, then and there acknowledged to be of a religious nature, without previously communicating with my episcopal constituents in Ireland, as I prayed I might be allowed to do, and without even sufficient leisure being allowed to hold a conference with my episcopal brethren in England, as Dr. Poynter prayed for; a resolution and a petition couched in vague and ambiguous terms for the express purpose of amusing one party, and of being interpreted by the other as circumstances might point out. I am sure that your lordship's good sense and religion will not permit you to blame my conduct, when I declare to you, upon my solemn word, a word which I know you have never hitherto doubted, that (with all due respect for the opinions and conduct of others who differ from me) I did and do conceive it to be my duty rather to mount the scaffold than to subscribe to the terms in question. Versed, as I have been for more than twenty years in these theologico-political controversies, and having had peculiar advantages during the last fifteen months, for forming a correct idea of what is really aimed at and required of us now by our parliamentary friends, I am fully convinced that nothing less will satisfy them for emancipating you laymen; than a complete shackling and fettering of us churchmen, to the certain ruin of our common religion. They act upon the system of Napoleon, in seizing upon the territories of his neighbouring princes, and in granting them ecclesiastical indemnities in return.

Our statesmen expressly tell us, that they are bent upon acquiring "an effectual negative," as they call it, upon the election of our bishops, and, through them, upon controlling whatever is important and sacred in our still vigorous church, a church which rears her head and pushes forth her shoots after the pelting storms of eighteen hundred years, and even amidst those sweeping hurricanes which, under our own eyes, are now overturning states and empires, and all human institutions. In a word, I clearly see that they will not be content with that strictly guarded negative, which (till I

found it absolutely incompatible with the quiet and safety of Ireland, and until I found it wisely rejected by her prelates as absolutely "inexpedient," I had defended as compatible with the doctrine and discipline, and safety of our church; but that nothing less will content them than a *Veto* absolutely efficient and unrestrained; such a one as, in fact, would be equivalent to a positive nomination of our bishops, and a direct patronage of our church, and which thus would effectually make the King, according to the expression of one of these statesmen "as much the head of the Catholic as he is of the established Protestant church." Now, my Lord, you cannot fail to remember that, at the very time when I was, to a certain degree, advocating the above-mentioned restricted negative, in order to answer political objections, I loudly proclaimed in the newspapers, that upon theological grounds, "I would rather shed my blood than consent to the King's obtaining any degree of real power or influence over any part of the Catholic church." Without advert-  
 ing to other grounds upon which this conviction of mine is built, it is sufficient to refer your lordship to lord Grenville's late printed letter, and to the terms themselves of the resolution and petition, which terms, as far as it has been judged prudent to be explicit will, be found in perfect unison with it (4). How, for example, can I, a guardian of the Catholic religion, pledge my consent to the "making of adequate provisions for the maintenance of the (Protestant) religious establishment of this kingdom," when a Protestant legislature, or rather when, in fact, Mr. Perceval himself is to dictate to me what shall be deemed necessary for this adequate maintenance? Hitherto this legislature has declared it necessary for this purpose, that we should abjure the mass as idolatrous: now they tell me, by anticipation, that it is sufficient to yoke us their tried, loyal, disinterested, and suffering Catholic clergy! O how infatuating is this cry of *Church in danger* to the minds of the truly great, as well as to those of little men! To look again at the terms of the resolution and the petition: how can I pledge myself to become a party to "adequate provisions for the maintenance of the religious establishment of this kingdom," although these should be "consistent with the tenets and discipline of the Roman Catholic religion," if, as will certainly be the case, they should be found inconsistent with its safety? Such, my lord, are my motives in standing forth single in refusing to sign the Petition which was proposed to me at the St. Alban's Tavern. Whether or no, in the character which I had to support, I was deserving of any degree of slight or disfavour

from lay Catholics on this account, I know I can, with perfect safety, leave to your upright mind and enlightened judgement.

I may here be reminded of the eloquent, and, I am sure, conscientious explanations and declarations of honourable men, whom I revere for their virtues and talents, with respect to the terms in question, from which it might appear, that, in asking me to sign, I was asked to do a mere nothing. To this I will not answer with the poet *Si nil Marce petis, nil tibi Marce nego*: but I will candidly own, I am persuaded that I do not in fact give up any thing for the present; but at the same time, I am bound to declare to you my conviction, that I should pledge myself to give up the vital interests of my religion on a future occasion, if the same were required of me. I remember well the equally plausible explanations, and solemn declarations concerning the meaning of an ambiguous protestation and a condemned form of oath, which were made to me by highly respectable personages some twenty years ago, when I was denounced to all the members of the legislature, as still appears in the seventh Appendix to the third Blue Book, as the only individual who objected to these instruments, and to the exchange of our immutable family name for that of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*. I remember also, that very soon after all these explanations and declarations dissolved into air, and that the points in dispute were left to rest upon their respective untenable grounds.—I may also be told that a gentleman of my own cloth, Mr. Archer, declared on the occasion, that no man can be a loyal subject who objects to the subscription; and that another reverend gentleman, Dr. Collins, after prefacing at great length, that “the Catholic religion is compatible with all the different forms of government;” (as if the forms of government were the same thing with the acts of government! and as if the Catholic religion were consistent with the most persecuting laws against it!) declared that it was “unnecessary to call the apostolical vicars together, as, in case they should condemn the measure, he would refuse to obey them.” To the former gentleman I shall make no answer at all, and to the latter I shall barely reply, that his speech conveyed neither conviction nor terror to my mind.—Finally, I may be and have been reproached, that two prelates of acknowledged talents and unimpeachable integrity, who were present with me at the discussion of the question, did actually sign the Petition. I confess, my lord, that I am forced to acknowledge the fact; for at first, upon seeing their names affixed to the Petition on the

table (after a momentary absence in another part of the room) I was fully persuaded their signatures had been forged in order to gain mine. But, since the matter has come to this pass, I am obliged to say, in my own defence, that they had both agreed with me, in the room itself where we met, and within the hour of the transaction, not to sign, and had appointed a meeting to be held with me and bishop D——, at the house of this prelate, on the following day at eleven o'clock, in order to deliberate on the matter in question. In conformity with this agreement, your lordship must have remarked, that they, no less than myself, held down their hands when others held up theirs at the proposal of the resolution, and that one of them distinctly stated to the Chair and the company, that "the matter in question being of a religious nature, and equally regarding the four districts, it was necessary the four vicars apostolic should meet together, in order to decide upon it;" in consequence of which declaration, your lordship knows it was settled that the expenses of bishop Gibson's journey to town, should be defrayed by the board. If the prelate who thought it necessary to call bishop Gibson from the borders of Scotland to consult with him previously to his signing, should, some minutes afterwards, have forgotten to consult with me, a vicar apostolic, who was actually in the room with him, I can only ascribe it to a momentary distraction, caused by the earnest entreaty of the gentlemen by whom he was surrounded.

I trust, my lord, that I have adduced sufficient reasons, as a bishop, for the caution which I observed on the subject in question. I will now say one word as to the prudence and consistency of my conduct. These, I predict, will soon be acknowledged. For either our parliamentary friends will, somehow or another, induce our friends in Ireland to adopt the present Resolution and Petition, in which case those manacles and fetters, which have been ready forged these ten years past for us bishops and priests, and for religion itself, the nature of which I need not now describe, will be brought into view) on which occasion several persons who have accepted of them in disguise, will with tears beg to be excused from wearing them): or rather, what I fully expect will be the case, the Irish will see through the business, and will take such measures as to render it perfectly nugatory, not without some degradation to ourselves and our parliamentary friends. In each supposition, I shall be found to have acted prudently. Astonished as I have been from the first, at the imprudence of these illustrious statesmen, in

bringing forward a business of this delicate and alarming nature without a moral certainty of being able to bring it to bear, I am not less surprised at their present attempts to extinguish the flame they have excited by pouring oil upon it, and of hazarding the loss of their best and most conscientious supporters in Ireland, the Catholic bishops, men of acknowledged and of tried loyalty in the worst of times, by chaining them as traitors. But this forms a different chapter, which I shall not enter upon now. In the mean time, I have the honour to remain, my lord, your lordship's most faithful servant,

J. M. V. A.

*London, Feb. 5, 1810,*

*12, Great Titchfield-Street, Cavendish-Square.*

P. S. Apprehending that a new and serious subject of offence to our friends may soon arise, I think it my duty to give your lordship timely notice of it, that you may, if possible, prevent it. The presenting of the petition in parliament may possibly induce one member of it to taunt another with questions concerning his authority for making a certain offer; and it is possible that the latter may again make use of my name, and of a hasty short note which I sent to him, not as a proposal, (for I never had an idea of such a thing till I heard it in the house), but barely as a supplement to a short conversation which I had just been honoured with by that gentleman, and which note I scribbled at a bookseller's shop as I was returning home. In this supposition, it will be incumbent on me (after having been burnt in effigy, more or less in his defence, in Ireland, and after standing all the baiting of the ministerial writers in the Morning Post, and after having pleaded his cause, as far as ever truth would permit me to go, in the Morning Chronicle) it will be incumbent on me, I say, to bring my documents and other proofs fairly and fully forward, in order, as I have so often been called upon to do, to convince the public that I never gave authority for bringing forward the proposal, which from misapprehension and an earnest zeal to serve us, was brought forward, nor indeed any proposal whatsoever (5). These proofs cannot fail, though very much against my inclination, to furnish matter of triumph to his and our common enemies.—But I cannot consent again to pass for a traitor to the religion of which I am appointed a guardian.

(1) It is but justice, however, to say that one of the learned doctors, Dr. B. who talked over the proposed speech with the Rev. Author at the table itself, dissuaded him from making it, as being inexpedient.

(2) So far from being censured, the Reverend gentleman was soon after called upon to sing a song; and he did sing a song, which, however, did not meet with much approbation.

(3) It were greatly to be desired that, in any public apology the eloquent preacher may be induced to make for the whole of his conduct at the Clarendon Hotel, he would revoke certain faulty or dangerous passages which disfigure his printed Sermons, and which have prevented their being recommended to be read in the Midland district.

(4) To judge of the real meaning of the proposers of this resolution, it may be proper to weigh the terms of the more explicit one which was proposed to the English Catholics and left in their hands, till, in consequence of certain late information, the present obscure one was substituted to it. These terms express that "The Catholics are ready, whenever a liberal and enlarged system shall be adopted, to enter into any arrangements consistent with their faith and discipline, which may be required of them for securing the loyalty of persons to be raised to the rank and office of Bishops."—It is no impeachment of the known and tried liberality, benevolence, and wisdom of the illustrious Protestants in question, to state their ignorance of the following particulars:—that the English Catholics, as a body, cannot, in the first instance, declare what is the faith and discipline of their church, with a view to new arrangements in the appointment of their bishops;—that, consistently with this faith and discipline, they have no sufficient authority to enter into new arrangements on this head:—and that those persons who are possessed of this authority are bound in conscience, on all such occasions, to consult not only the *faith and discipline*, but also the *safety* of their divine church.——Statesmen of mature judgement and of great strength of mind more easily change their language than their plans on important measures.

(5) From the first to the last of my communication with our parliamentary friends, I declared that *I had no instructions from the bishops of Ireland, and that I could give no pledge on their behalf*. The hints which I did throw out with respect to their disposition (without the least suspicion that such ideas would be brought forward in parliament) were strangely misunderstood by some of our parliamentary friends.

[How in the name of Heaven is all this to end! Really, as the *Protesting Catholic Dissenters* are so much inclined to copy the court, they had better take a hint from the cabinet, on the newest mode of settling dissentions in the state. (Oh, that the fashion may take!)—Let Dr. Milner send lord Castlereagh with a message to Mr. Archer, and, no doubt, the latter gentleman could prevail on his brother orator Mr. Canning to act as his Second!]

...the fact that he did not meet with much approbation.

...in any public apology the editor may be induced to make for the whole of his conduct in the London Hotel, he would revoke certain family or dangerous papers which contain his printed sermons, and which have prevented their being recommended to be read in the Highland districts.

To judge of the real meaning of the proposals of this resolution, it may be as well to weigh the terms of the same which were proposed to the English Catholics and put in their hands till, in consequence of certain late information, the present obscure one was substituted to it. These terms express that "The Catholics are ready, when ever a liberal and enlarged system shall be adopted, to enter into an arrangement to be made with the said and dissenting churches, way to the said churches, and to the society of persons to be raised to the rank of the office of Minister. It is no impeachment of the known and tried principles, heretofore, and wisdom of the dissenting Protestants in general, to state their ignorance of the following particulars:— that the English Catholics, as a body, cannot in the present state of the world, be described as their church with a view to new arrangements in the appointment of their bishops;— that, in conformity with the said and existing, they have no sufficient authority to enter into new arrangements in the head;— and that those persons who are possessed of this authority are bound in conscience on all such occasions to consult not only the said and dissenting, but also the views for their divine church. — statements of various judgement and of great strength of mind more readily change their language than their plans in important measures."

From the time to the time of our continuing union with our brethren in the same of Heaven is all that we can say. Really, as the court, they had better take a hint from the subject on the subject of settling dissenters in the same. On that the dissent may take, but Dr. ... no doubt, the latter gentlemen could not ... on his former error. The coming to an ...

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