

*This copy is respectfully presented to
Colonel Sir* **AN ADDRESS** *William Gossett
by the Author*
TO

**THE LOWER ORDERS OF
The Roman Catholics of Ireland;**

BY

THE REV. DAVID O. CROLY,

AUTHOR OF "AN ESSAY ON ECCLESIASTICAL FINANCE."

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

TWO LETTERS ON THE UNION OF THE TWO CHURCHES,

(First Published in the Year 1824.)

ONE BY DR. DOYLE, LATE R. C. BISHOP OF KILDARE,

THE OTHER BY THE AUTHOR HIMSELF.

CORK:

JOHN BOLSTER, PATRICK-STREET;

SOLD, ALSO, BY

ALL BOOKSELLERS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

MDCCCXXXV.

PRICE SIXPENCE.

Entered at Stationers'-Hall.

“But whatever the practice of mankind hath been or still continues, there is no duty more incumbent on those who profess the Gospel, than that of brotherly love; which, whoever could restore in any degree among men, would be an instrument of more good to human society, than ever was or ever will be done by all the statesmen and politicians in the world.”—

Swift's Sermon on Brotherly Love.

“I have not observed that tenants to Popish landlords wear tighter clothes, ride better cattle, or spend more money at markets or fairs than the tenants on Protestants' estates.”—

The Drapier's Letter to the People of Ireland.

“But do your people indeed think that if tithes were abolished or delivered into the hands of the landlords the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person who must be lord of the soil and of the tithe together.”—

Swift's first Letter to Messrs. Trueman and Layfield.

TO THE
LOWER ORDERS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS
OF IRELAND.

BELOVED COUNTRYMEN,

GIVE me leave to tell you that you lie under many mistakes as to Politics and Religion—mistakes in which you are confirmed by those whose duty it is to set you right. This is the great source of all our national evils. The mistakes you labour under in regard to Religion, are the cause why you look with an evil eye on your Protestant neighbours, and transgress the great precept of the new law—that we should love one another; and the mistakes you labour under as to Politics, are hurrying you into all the excesses of civil discord and insubordination. Permit me to address you on this all-important subject.

But first of all, I request you will give me a patient hearing, will listen to me with attention, and not be prejudiced by the outcry which evil-minded and ignorant persons have raised against me. They have endeavoured to persuade you that I am your enemy; for which they can assign no better reason than that I have mentioned some very bad customs or habits that prevail in too many parts of this unhappy country. I am a Clergyman and a moralist. It is my duty of course to preach the Gospel, and to assist in improving the morals of the communi-

ty—to correct vice, and to inculcate virtue. But how was I to perform this duty in regard to you? Was it by flattering you, and concealing or glossing over your faults and imperfections? When a Priest preaches from the Pulpit or the Altar, or gives advice in the Confessional, does he not inveigh against the prevailing vices, and labour to bring you to a sense of your Christian duties? If the Priests are wanting at present in this respect, this however is what they ought to do, and this is what Priests did in former times. If a fight should happen at a fair or public meeting between two factions, would it not be the duty of the local clergymen to denounce from the Altar such brutal such anti-Christian conduct? Now this is precisely what I have done in the Pamphlet which has been so unfairly decried to you, and which I should wish above all things you may peruse and digest. I merely asserted facts of public notoriety, which are highly discreditable to the Irish character; and gave it as my opinion, that you should correct these wicked habits, and learn to live like Christians, before you could be qualified to take any leading part in the affairs of the community; for he is unfit to govern others who will not govern his own unruly passions.

In denouncing therefore the prevalence of bad morals, I have only done my duty. And here I must observe that your state must be bad indeed, if you cannot bear to be told of your faults even by a minister of the Gospel. There must in this case be something rotten in Denmark. You should not be angry with the preacher who reminds you of your bad habits, but you should be angry with yourselves, for having given him occasion to do so. Lewis XIV. used to say on hearing the celebrated MASSILON preach, “When I hear others I am pleased with their eloquence but when I hear him I am displeased with myself.” You should imitate the example of Lewis; and instead of raising an outcry against the Priest who inveighs against your vices, you should bestow unsparing censure on those clergymen who neglect this important duty. I beseech you therefore for your own sakes, to hear me now without prejudice,

while I endeavour to prove by plain arguments that you lie under pernicious errors both in Religion and Politics. I shall begin with your errors in regard to Religion.

It is quite clear that your ideas respecting the Protestant or reformed Religion are very different from those entertained by the late Dr. DOYLE, who always nevertheless, continued in the Roman Catholic Church. Read over his Letter on the subject; which, for your instruction and in justification of myself, I have made part of this little publication. He says that in regard to the "Canon of the sacred Scriptures, Faith, Justification, *the Mass, the Sacraments*, the authority of Tradition, of Councils, of the Pope, the celibacy of the Clergy, Invocation of Saints, language of the Liturgy, respect for Images, Prayers for the dead"—he says that in regard to most of these points, there is no *essential* difference between the Catholics and the Reformers. From this it follows that the real differences between the two Churches must regard matters of little moment. You all believe quite the contrary, and imagine that the Protestant Religion differs as much from the Roman Catholic, as the north does from the south; in short, that they are in direct opposition to one another. Under this false impression you hate Protestantism, and the Protestant establishment, and have not common charity many of you for Protestants. Dr. DOYLE specifies the principal points of dispute. He speaks of the Mass; a subject that has caused more noise between the two Churches than any other point of religious controversy. The Mass is the celebration of the Eucharist; or, as the Protestants call it, the Lord's Supper. It is also called the Lord's Supper, "*Cæna Domini*," in the Roman Calendar. Dr. DOYLE of course must mean that the Protestant mode of celebrating this rite is not at variance with the Roman Catholic mode, nor with the manner of its original institution. Its essentials indeed include nothing more than its consecration and distribution. This is exactly what took place when it was instituted by our blessed Saviour—a fact well known not only to Dr. DOYLE, but to every clergyman, and in-

deed to every one conversant with the New Testament. The Protestant ceremonial however is not confined to these two essential requisites; it contains besides a good deal that is to be found in the Roman Catholic ritual. It has the *Gloria in excelsis*, the various prefaces, the principal Collects for the year, all just as they are set down in the Mass book. Dr. DOYLE was undoubtedly of opinion that the ceremonies which are peculiar to the Roman Catholic celebration of the Eucharist may without injury to religion, or to the institute itself, be dispensed with. All this is well worthy your serious consideration. If there be no substantial difference between you and Protestants regarding what is called the Mass, no difference but what rests on ecclesiastical decrees or ordinances, the observance or neglect of which in no wise affects the validity of the Sacrament or Sacrifice, then so far as this goes, and it should go very far, you should look on them as fellow christians.

He speaks of Faith, and the Sacraments; and of the authority of Tradition, of Councils, and of the Pope. His opinion was that satisfaction may be given to Protestants on all these points, and that the disputes to which they have given rise are founded on mistake or misapprehension. Dr. DOYLE in short was of opinion that Protestantism does not in reality depart from Gospel truth; and what he wished for was, that the leading Clergy or a selection from the leading Clergy of the two Churches should meet together amicably, or in a friendly manner, and reconsider all these supposed points of difference; in which case he thought it possible matters may be adjusted.

It is clear he lays no stress upon the celibacy of the Clergy, which is acknowledged to be a matter of Church discipline; nor on the invocation of Saints, agreeably to Dr. MILNER, GEORGE CASSANDER, and others; nor on the Worship of Images, of which the primitive Christians knew nothing; and that he would be satisfied to give up the use, at least the exclusive use, of the Latin tongue in the celebration of Divine Worship, and the administration of the Sacraments.

Now upon all these matters you have been always

persuaded that the Protestants err most egregiously, and should be held on that account accursed before God and man. You must now however either give up these ideas and view Protestants with a favorable eye; or, what you cannot be borne out in, you must condemn Dr. DOYLE, and together with him, the Roman Catholic Bishops all over the world, with whom he always continued in communion.

I should remark here, what you yourselves will perceive on perusing his letter, that Dr. DOYLE makes no mention of Scapulars, Beads, Habits, Cords, Agnus Dei's, and other matters of the kind, which are so common among you, and to which you attach so much virtue. Now it is well known that Protestants have the utmost aversion to these things, and consider them as the mere offspring of superstition. This is the opinion also of all the educated Roman Catholics. You should conclude from this silence of the Doctor that he was prepared to give up these altogether, and therefore that the Protestants are not to blame for having done so: or, if they are to be blamed, you must blame in like manner a large proportion of Roman Catholics who imitate the Protestants in this particular. Be assured also, that the very Friars and Priests who bless these scapulars and habits, &c. attach no virtue to them, and laugh at your credulity. I never concealed my opinions on these matters.

In what light therefore are you to consider Protestants? The persuasion amongst you is that they scarcely deserve the name of Christians, and that they are doomed to damnation. The first thing you are to do is to form a just idea of them, and then to draw your conclusion. Do not view them through the mists of prejudice, but in the light of truth. They believe, like you, in all the great mysteries of the Christian Religion—the unity and trinity of God, the incarnation, death and resurrection of our Saviour—they believe in the moral law, both natural and revealed—that God will reward the good and punish the wicked, and give to every man according to his works. These great fundamentals of Christianity constitute in a great measure

the creed of Protestantism ; which Dr. DOYLE, in consequence, pronounced to be substantially the same with your creed.

You imagine that Protestants should be condemned because they do not scruple to use flesh meat on Fridays. No doubt you are under the impression that abstinence on Fridays is the universal law or custom of the Roman Catholic Church. This however is not the case. The Catholics of Italy and Spain and France and of several other countries eat flesh meat, when they can get it on Fridays like the Protestants. So that if you condemn the Protestants on this score you must also condemn your fellow-Catholics—even the Catholics of the city of Rome, where they use flesh meat on Fridays under the very eye and with the full sanction of the Pope—the head of the Catholic Church. You ought also to perceive, from the change that has lately taken place amongst yourselves in this particular, that you are in fact copying the example of the Protestants, and gradually abolishing the rules or precepts of fasting and abstinence. The fasting days were formerly double in number what they are now. St. Mark's day—the 25th of April—is no longer a day of abstinence ; neither are the rogation days : the Wednesdays in Advent have also ceased to be days of fasting and abstinence ; and a sweeping inroad has been made on the ancient custom in this country, by the retrenchment of Saturday's abstinence. All this should convince you, that you should be slow to condemn Protestants, because their discipline does not coincide with yours, which now, in regard to fasting and abstinence, is so altered, as nearly to coincide with theirs.

You are under the impression that you should *fly* Protestants when they are at prayer—that *your* religious devotions cannot at all be mingled with theirs. This impression is founded in prejudice and delusion. No prayers can be more apposite or more solemn than the authorised prayers of Protestantism. They retain in their Liturgy, as I have already said, the Oration or Collects of the Roman Missal ; and all their prayers are addressed to God through the mediation of Jesus

Christ. They ask for grace and mercy, together with temporal blessings, as far as may be compatible with their eternal salvation. Surely you cannot find fault with any thing in all this; otherwise you must find fault with your own manner of praying, of which this is a transcript. Protestants perform like you the indispensable duty of praying to God; and here you both agree; but they do not pray to the Saints, which deviation from your custom you should not be too ready to condemn; for, not to mention the scruples they entertain on the subject, it is allowed by some of your ablest Theologians that no one is strictly bound to pray to the Saints; and the Council of Trent does nothing more than *approve* of the practice. In neglecting therefore to pray to the Saints, the Protestants do nothing more than make use of that liberty, which, strictly speaking, is granted by the Roman Catholic Church.

In several places on the Continent the same Church is used indiscriminately—at different hours of the day of course—for the celebration of Divine Worship, by Roman Catholics and Protestants. The same thing takes place in the prisons in this Country; where the apartment called the Chapel is used successively or alternately for Divine Worship by the respective Chaplains, Catholic and Protestant. This is just the same thing as if your Parish Chapels were used on Sundays and Festival days in common by your Priests and by the Protestant Rectors. You would think this very strange; and yet there is nothing in it, as you may see from what has been said, contrary to the Roman Catholic Religion. Further, when Protestants and Catholics dine together in company they give God thanks in common.

The Protestant Church also calls the Blessed Sacrament “the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.” I shall quote the words of their Catechism on the subject. After defining the outward part or sign of the Lord’s Supper to be Bread and Wine, which the Lord hath commanded to be received, the question is asked, “what is the inward part or thing signified?” or the invisible part? which question is answered thus: “The Body

“and Blood of Christ which are *verily* and *indeed* taken “and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper.” The words “verily” and “indeed” mean the same thing as “really” and “truly.” They receive this Sacrament also with great devotion on their knees. Dr. HORNHOLD—an English Catholic Divine—affirmed that this Doctrine is tantamount to the *Catholic Doctrine* of the *real presence*. It was from a due consideration of all these things that Dr. DOYLE and many others believed the real foundation of the disagreement between the two Churches or two Religions to be very trifling; and that, properly speaking, they are substantially the same. In general the higher classes of Roman Catholics, and all who have had the advantage of a good education, and paid due attention to the subject, concur with Dr. DOYLE. This you may perceive yourselves from the friendly intercourse that always subsists between that class of Catholics and the corresponding class of Protestants. They hardly ever bestow a thought upon their supposed differences in Religion. They view each other in the light of fellow-creatures and fellow-christians. This class of Catholics, long before the formal retrenchment took place of fasting days and days of abstinence, copied the example of Protestants as to the use of flesh meat; and prepared the way for the assimilation of the two Religions in this respect. They also send their children to Protestant Schools and to the Protestant Universities. This is not demurred to by the Priests; and yet, with strange inconsistency, you get no such indulgence, but, on the contrary, are prohibited from sending your children to any school where the teacher is a Protestant. You may learn from this *distinction* that the inhibition laid on you, in regard to these schools, does not arise from the nature of the Catholic Religion, but from the capriciousness, or perversity, or partiality of the Priests. But why should you be placed under a restraint of bigotry, I must call it, from which your fellow Catholics who happen to be richer are exempt? Or why should not the wall of separation, which is thrown down between the higher orders of the Catholics and their Protestant brethren, be levelled with

the ground generally, that is, with regard to all orders indiscriminately, high and low ?

You are obliged of necessity to hold constant intercourse with your Protestant brethren. You buy from them, you sell to them, you pay them rent; when you are in want you apply to them for relief. Do you find them wanting on these occasions? Are they less strict than Roman Catholics in adhering to their word, in discharging the duties of honesty and fair-dealing, in fulfilling the obligations of charity? If some among them, after the example of yourselves, do not always act up to the rule of right, this is not to be ascribed to their Religion, but to the common depravity of human nature. The most sublime morality is inculcated in the Protestant Catechism; of which you should be aware in order to form a right judgment of matters. Their morality must of necessity be of this description, for it is founded on the word of God. In order to make this evident, I shall lay before you the very words of the Catechism. The question is first asked: "What is thy duty towards God?" *Answer.*—"My duty towards God is to believe "in him, fear him and to love him with all my heart, "with all my mind, with all my soul and with all my "strength; to worship him, to give him thanks, to put "my whole trust in him, to call upon him, to honor his "holy name and his word and to serve him truly all the "days of my life." This is very like the promises you yourselves make at your baptism, but which unhappily you do not fulfil. The second question is; "What is thy duty towards thy neighbour?" *Answer.*—"My duty "towards my neighbour is to love him as myself and to "do to all men as I would they should do to me. To "love, honor and succour my father and mother, to ho- "nor and obey the King and all that are put in autho- "rity under him. To submit myself to all my gover- "nors, teachers, spiritual pastors and masters. To or- "der myself lowly and reverently to all my betters. To "hurt no body by word or deed. To be true and just "in all my dealings. To bear no malice or hatred in "my heart. To keep my hands from picking and steal- "ing and my tongue from evil speaking, lying and slan-

“dering. To keep my body in temperance, soberness
 “and chastity. Not to covet nor desire other men’s
 “goods; but to learn and labour truly to get mine own
 “living and to do my duty in that state of life into which
 “it shall please God to call me.” Here is the morality
 inculcated in the Protestant Catechism. It is the same
 that was delivered on Mount Sinai through Moses to
 the children of Israel and to the whole world through
 the Ministry of Jesus Christ and his Apostles; and is
 to be found also in the Roman Catholic Catechisms and
 books of instruction. Can you have any reason for
 finding fault with your Protestant brethren on this
 score?—unless indeed you are prepared to quarrel with
 the law and the Prophets. You and they, if you come
 to a right understanding on the subject, are in perfect
 unison as to the moral precepts of the divine law. This
 I fear is a matter you have not well considered and
 which perhaps has never been cleared up to you. The
 great cause of discord and enmity between sects and
 parties consists in misapprehension and ignorance. This,
 I am sorry to say, is exemplified in you. The fact is
 my friends you are not instructed.* You have enter-
 tained an utter aversion to Protestants from mistaken
 notions of their religion. You have not considered that
 they are your fellow-christians, agreeing with you in the
 fundamental articles of the Christian Religion and in all
 the maxims and morality of the Gospel—an admission
 made by your own Divines, particularly by Dr. DOYLE,
 who was a very learned man; and by all the well-in-
 formed and unprejudiced Roman Catholics, between
 whose religious opinions and those of Protestants there
 is little or no difference. It is high time for you to pon-
 der well on these things, to get rid of groundless preju-
 dices, and to view your Protestant brethren and fellow-
 countrymen in the true light. It is very sinful to con-
 demn without cause; and to act so in matters of Religion
 is condemnable in the extreme, particularly when a vital
 injury to society and to the nation—I may say the em-
 pire at large—is the melancholy consequence. You

* The usual practice in the country is merely to read Mass.
 No moral instruction is given.

have been under the fatal impression that Protestants, as such, are your natural enemies; and are accursed outcasts from the pale of Christianity. Under this impression, you must have considered it the greatest misfortune to be subject to their dominion; and thought yourselves warranted in using all the means within your reach to annoy and to injure them. This indeed is one of the great sources whence our national evils flow, and a great cause of your peculiar miseries and privations. Now I think I have laid before you what is sufficient to remove this most pernicious impression, and to convince you that Protestants are true believers in the Gospel and entitled as well as yourselves to the benefits of Christian redemption. In short, from the authorities quoted and the facts stated, you are bound to consider them in no other light than as a separate class of conscientious Christians, having one common object in view with yourselves—namely, to promote the general welfare of society in this world and to secure eternal salvation in the next.

You should also consider that there were and are many Protestants whom you have always looked up to as your friends and patrons. HENRY GRATTAN was your friend, Mr. FOX was your friend, Mr. PITT was your friend, Mr. BOURKE was your friend, Mr. WINDHAM was your friend, Mr. CANNING was your friend. These all and many more I could name were your good friends and laboured strenuously to place the Roman Catholic body on a level with their separated brethren. And yet all these were firm, conscientious Protestants. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that you should never object to any man merely because he may chance to be a Protestant. For the same reason, it should be a matter of perfect indifference to you whether this or that public situation be filled by a Catholic or Protestant. The great point indeed for you and the community at large is that the duties of it be honestly and ably discharged. I shall conclude this part of my address by requesting you to compare what I have said, with the sentiments of Dr. DOYLE, as expressed in his letter to Mr. ROBERTSON; in which case, if you find a coinci-

dence between both, you are called upon to acknowledge, that you have been greatly mistaken hitherto on the general subject of Religion; and that you are happy at length to discover, that the notions you have entertained to the prejudice of the Protestant Religion in particular are the offspring of misapprehension and misrepresentation.

You are also mistaken in regard to Politics. You appear to be under the persuasion that, unless the public affairs be completely under the control of a few persons, who are called your leaders, your interests will be neglected and all things will go to the bad: as if the state of the nation, whether for better or for worse, were a matter of indifference to all the other leading members of the community. If you reflect for a moment, you must be convinced that the measures, in which you are principally interested or which have relation to your particular welfare, are such as belong to trade and commerce, agriculture and manufacture. The great thing you should look to, in civil or political matters, is what may better your condition and enable you to procure a comfortable subsistence—an effect which must arise and can arise only from the promotion of industry in the various branches I have just specified. This points at once to the general nature or complexion of the legislative measures in which you have an interest. You have no interest, properly speaking, in the good or ill success of proceedings, that might gratify sectarian pride or prejudice, or give a triumph to this or that party. But you have a direct interest in the furtherance of all such measures as are calculated to increase the wealth and riches of the country, and in counteracting all measures of a contrary tendency. Now it must appear plain to the commonest understanding that the leading men of the community—whether Catholic or Protestant—and Protestant they are for the most part—that the owners of the soil, men who have a great stake in the nation, must of necessity, even from considerations of self-interest, be desirous of augmenting the wealth and resources of the country; and will be much more ready to apply themselves in that way, than a few needy, tra-

ding politicians, whose very existence as public men is sustained by the prevalence of public misery and dissatisfaction. The truth is that these same leaders, in whom you confide, constitute in themselves the great impediment to national amelioration and improvement; and are consequently opposed to your interests.

The observations I am now making come immediately home to you. The country is in a very unsatisfactory state, the laws are not respected, we have got a bad name and I fear deservedly. Owing to the frequent murders and other outrages that take place, the people of England believe there is no security for life or property among us. Under such circumstances, should it be a matter of wonder that trade and business are at a stand? Indeed the wonder is that your condition, bad though it be, is not much, much worse. But let us go on. You yourselves are made the chief actors in this unhappy drama. Yes, you have brought all the ruin, you complain of, upon your own heads, because, like Rehoboam, the Son of Solomon, you have followed the advice of evil counsellors. What makes your case worse, what renders you more culpable is, that you have for years been pursuing this same pernicious course; and though every year's fatal experience was more than sufficient to dispel the delusion, you appear still as blindfolded as ever. Your condition is every day becoming worse, notwithstanding which, you still listen to the same evil counsellors and follow the same pernicious advice. But be assured until you retrace your steps, until you become amenable to law, until you acquire habits of sobriety and peace, until the national character is redeemed, until England is persuaded that life and property are secure among you, trade and business and agriculture will languish, and your wants and miseries will be on the increase.

But let us come to particulars. How has it happened that you are thus placed in a position diametrically opposite to your own interest? In a position too so prejudicial to your character as Irishmen and as Christians? This is principally the work of men, who nevertheless pretend to have nothing in view but the public good.

They insist upon measures of a most obnoxious and impracticable description, and move heaven and hell to accomplish their purpose. But what are these measures to which all your best interests are sacrificed? The abolition or modification of Tithe, the Repeal of the Union, and Corporate Reform. These are the grand measures insisted on by those who are deranging the whole body politic, and are the real authors of the substantial evils that press upon you. Now with regard to the first question, upon which indeed the chief stress is laid, it is, at best, of a doubtful character. Suppose for example that Tithe was abolished in toto in every shape and form, in regard to the Church, the landlord would ultimately be the gainer or whoever possesses a permanent interest in the land. I make the most favourable supposition. The Tithe may be considered as an extraneous rent-charge; which of course has the effect of diminishing the value of the estate on the Lord of the soil. You may have an objection to pay it to the Clergyman; but, if you consider the thing as a question of loss and gain and not as one of spite and vindictiveness, is it not the same thing for you to pay Tithe to a Clergyman as a layman, with this difference in favour of the Clergyman, that he is always living among you? I go farther. View the question in whatever light you may, the abolition of Tithe—following out the same supposition—would make little or no alteration in your general circumstances. Examine the question practically. Either you have an interest in your land or you have not. I speak here to farmers; for labourers and tradesmen, who constitute so large a proportion of those, whom I am addressing, have no interest in this matter. If the tenant have an interest in his ground, he will neither lose much by the continuance nor gain much by the abolition of Tithe. He will in either case, by his industry and the reasonableness of his rent, be able to live comfortably, and to uphold his credit. If this was generally the case, if all farmers were thus circumstanced and that all were frugal and industrious, as, indeed, they ought to be, no misery or distress would flow from the payment of

Tithes. If the farmer have not his ground for the value; if he assumes a pound an acre for land, which is not worth fifteen shillings, will the abolition of Tithe enable him to subsist in comfort and to keep the wolf from the door? It may perhaps prevent the greater accumulation of arrears, or, in other words, put more money in the landlord's pocket. In short the question of plenty and want, misery and comfort, in the house of a farmer, lies between him and his landlord; upon the amount of rent on the one side, and upon skill, industry and management on the other. The outcry of injustice, which has no proper foundation, is raised not for the purpose of bettering your condition, but of depriving obnoxious individuals of their means of living, and of creating disunion and discontent. They would fain persuade you that you get no equivalent. This you know is not true; for the land is the standing equivalent not only for the rent of the landlord, but also for any other known and admitted charge upon it. It may be reasonable, from a change of times and circumstances, to require an abatement in the terms of the original covenant, but nothing more. I have reasoned here on the supposition that Tithes were utterly abolished; which case may be said to include all others. Indeed whether Tithe be extinguished in whole or in part, the extinction either immediately or ultimately will affect those only who have a permanent interest in the soil. See then how the case stands. You have been forced by ignorant or designing men* into a position highly dangerous and highly injurious to you, for the accomplishment of an object, which, in itself, does not bear at all on your worldly circumstances; but which, from the means pursued, is utterly at variance with all the best interests of the community. It is an object also in which the great majority of you have no concern whatever.

Now I ask was it right to turn the whole nation upside down for an object of this description; to familiarize you with scenes of blood and outrage; to place

* It is remarkable that O'CONNELL himself pays the Tithe regularly.

you in opposition to law and order, and to make you a sort of bye-word among the nations of Europe? You have my dear friends been grossly deceived and grossly injured in this particular. Every thing has been done to mislead you as to the real nature of the question, and its true bearings upon general and particular interests; your prejudices religious and national have been maliciously pressed into it; and it has been made to produce that derangement in Irish society, which is the principal source of your present misfortunes.

The Repeal of the Legislative Union is another measure proposed and insisted on as necessary for your amelioration and improvement. This is a measure which, the proposers of it well know, will never be carried. It is a question of the most difficult description; it is utterly impracticable, and only fitted to create confusion and disturbance. The agitation of it therefore, like that of the Tithe question, must be prejudicial to your real interests. You have been treated as mere children in this matter. The force of truth was so great that the author of the cry of Repeal, after the lapse however of a considerable time, acknowledged that, when he first sounded the tocsin, he did not contemplate the accomplishment of the measure; but that it was a mere *ruse* to attain some other object, which he has never defined. Yet he and those who acted with him or under him, endeavoured from the beginning to persuade you, that this same measure would incessantly be pursued with a view to its accomplishment; for that unless you had a Parliament of your own you could never be happy. In making this confession, he avowed his duplicity, and that he practised deception upon you. This was not to treat you well; it was making too free with you; it was, to use a vulgar phrase, making a cat's paw of you. It was indeed to offer you a gross affront, and to insult your understanding. The truth is he took this liberty with you, he set the country in an uproar, in order to be revenged on the Administration of the day, who had grievously offended him; firstly, by not giving him at once a silken gown, and secondly, by promoting to the Chief Justiceship his political adversary Mr. DOHERTY. In

short, he brought you into the field, not with any view to the pretended object or to do you any good, but that he might bully and embarrass an Administration that had wounded his pride and inflamed his malignity.

You ought to remark that this extravagant individual has constantly fluctuated on this question—a course quite in keeping with its commencement. It is first published and proclaimed through the country, then cushioned for a season, again produced on the public stage, and again put on the shelf; which shows that it is a sort of political bugle-horn, by the occasional sounding of which, he can, when they please, call you together and set the kingdom in commotion. I ask you fellow-countrymen is this fair treatment of you? Is it treatment you should endure? Is it right that you should be deceived, mocked, cajoled and injured? Many a bad advice these dangerous busy-bodies have given you. You recollect when you were advised to make a run on the banks; and you must remember the consequence. This advice was given you for the purpose, as it was said, of embarrassing the Government, by the demand of Gold, which could not be forthcoming. But who was embarrassed on the occasion? Who sustained the loss? The markets fell to rise no more? Agricultural produce sustained a sudden and a lasting depression. Ye farmers, ye should remember this and learn to distinguish your friends from your foes. The adviser or advisers in this case knew well before hand the consequences that would and did ensue. But to return to the Repeal. Supposing, for argument sake, this measure, after much turmoil and difficulty, to be carried; who can adventure to say that beneficial consequences must be the result? All this must lie buried in the womb of uncertainty. The Repeal of the Legislative Union might be productive of good; it might also produce evil; it might encrease civil dissension; it might give rise to civil war—the greatest of all national calamities; it might lead to a temporary separation from England, to a new invasion, new conquest, and perpetual enslavement. The question is, under every supposition, under every shape and form, involved in the utmost doubt and

uncertainty; and this they well know who have created such an uproar about it; and who now, after all their noise and riot, have thought proper to place it on the shelf. In all probability, at the needful time, when it will be their policy or their wish to embarrass some future Administration, when they will have to make some great point—of which however you will know nothing—the Repeal uproar will be renewed and you will again be gravely told that your very existence will depend upon the success of that *most vital* measure. In short, if you have been deceived and duped on the subject of Tithes, you have been deceived and duped infinitely more on the subject of Repeal.

As to Corporate monopoly, about which such a clatter is raised, you have little or no concern in it. What difference will it make to you whether Mr. DANIEL MEAGHER—a Roman Catholic—and who by the bye, is educating his children Protestants—or Mr. JOSEPH LEICESTER, an upright Church of England-man, be Mayor of Cork? Or whether the loaves and fishes, of which you can never partake, be divided among twenty well-fed Protestants or between twenty variegated individuals, ten of whom may be denominated Roman Catholics, but who, you may be sure, will not be trusting to fish on Fridays? Yet this is trumpeted as one of the vital questions on which depends the regeneration of Ireland. This question, which is not exactly of the same impracticable nature of the other two, will however be soon set at rest. The Corporations every where will be put on a new footing; the civic offices will be under the control of a larger number of electors; you will have meetings more frequent, more time wasted, more speeches, more noise, more tumult, more quarrels and more jealousies. But will all this help to procure you labour and good wages? Will it promote manufactures? Will it serve the agricultural interests? Will it better your condition? Will it encrease the hire of labourers from eight-pence to a shilling a day? Will it enable the struggling farmer to pay his rent and enjoy some of the comforts of life?—To improve his cabin, to give employment to the tailor, the mason and the carpenter?

I fear these questions cannot be well answered in the affirmative. But the settlement may produce one good effect, namely—the diminishing of the materials for Agitation which is the bane of the country, beneficial though it be to Master O'CONNELL and Co. For if the new system gives general satisfaction—a thing not quite evident, considering the persons to be dealt with—and that the Repeal question, which now lies dormant, be not again awakened into activity, there will remain of the three great Cardinal points of national altercation only the Tithe question, the settlement of which is progressing very slowly; and which however it may be settled, does not concern you, but inasmuch as the anti-tithe war, you have been so long waging, has done you a world of mischief.

I have now spoken of the three great measures, which your pragmatistical advisers would fain persuade you are eminently essential to the amelioration and improvement of your condition; and for the accomplishment of which they would have you set law and order at defiance. I have shewn you that these measures, if considered in themselves or as to their own particular tendency, have little or no relation to your condition in life, either to raise or depress you, to make you comfortable or miserable; but that from the manner in which they have been handled, they have produced very injurious effects; have, indeed, placed in abeyance or worse than abeyance your dearest interests. For the habitual ferment occasioned by the violent pursuit of these measures, particularly the abolition of Tithes, has been the great cause why there is so little trade and business in the country—an evil of which, I need not tell you, you principally are the victims. The Duke of Northumberland, when he was Lord Lieutenant among us and in our own city, said that Ireland wanted repose. Never was there a truer saying. It was uttered too, shortly after the passing of the Relief Bill, when it was to be hoped and expected that the “words” would not be thrown away. But thrown away they were and the Duke himself—a well-wisher to Ireland—was denounced as an enemy for having given them utterance. An unquiet, a

turbulent period has passed since, in conformity to the advice of others; and you feel and must still feel for a time the fatal consequences. You combined against every law human and divine, for an object of no importance or benefit to you—a monument of your folly as well as of your wickedness. You have within a few short years perpetrated a multitude of outrages; you have occasioned lives to be lost without number—assassinations, hangings, massacres; you have given occasion to lying, perjury, profanation and sacrilege. You have become instrumental in loosing all the bonds of society in your unhappy country. What is the consequence? Your wants have increased, your miseries have multiplied, the anger of the Lord seems to be kindled against us.

Englishmen are seeking to employ their surplus capital in distant regions; in Canada, in Hindostan, in Van Diemen's Land. They are afraid to employ it in Ireland, which is at their door; and where they may employ it profitably for themselves and for you did peace and quietness and christianity reign amongst you. Why, they exclaim, should we seek to form establishments in a country where there is no security for life or property, where the people are so infatuated as to be continually running counter to their own interests, where they persecute the givers of good counsel and follow the advice or commands of those who are leading them to their destruction, where they have cast off all restraints of law, and established, in its stead, anarchy with all its accompanying horrors? This is the language used by Englishmen; by those, who are able and willing to serve you but dare not venture among you. Absenteeism too, which is so much complained of and is always a drawback on the prosperity of the country, is considerably augmented by this state of things. How is this complexity of evil to be remedied? Behold the remedy is in your own hands. Give up lawless combination; follow peace and good order; have a due respect for the civil magistrate and all those that exercise lawful authority; attend to the words of the Apostle Paul, "Let every soul," says he,* "be subject unto the higher powers,

* Romans, Chapter xiii.

“for there is no power but of God; the powers that be
 “are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth
 “the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. And they
 “that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For
 “rulers are not a terror to good works but to the evil.
 “Wilt thou then be not afraid of the power? Do that
 “which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same;
 “for he is the Minister of God to thee for good. But
 “if thou do that which is evil be afraid; for he beareth
 “not the sword in vain. For he is the Minister of
 “God—a revenger to execute wrath upon him that do-
 “eth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject not
 “only for wrath but for conscience sake. For this
 “cause pay you tribute also; for they are God’s minis-
 “ters attending continually upon this very thing. Ren-
 “der therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom tri-
 “bute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom
 “fear, honor to whom honor.” Such is the doctrine
 of the great Apostle St. Paul as handed down to us in
 the New Testament—a doctrine so apposite to our sub-
 ject, so condemnatory of your conduct this time past,
 and so much at variance with the language held out to
 you by those, who falsely pretend to be the sole dispen-
 sers of gospel truth. From these words of the Apostle,
 it is manifest that not only your interest here, but even
 your interest hereafter, requires of you to be peaceable,
 orderly, and well-conducted. I have endeavoured to open
 your eyes on this important subject, and to dispel the
 delusion under which you have been labouring to your
 great detriment and loss. I have also endeavoured to
 remove the errors you have entertained respecting the
 Protestant Religion—errors which unquestionably have
 had a pernicious influence on your conduct or behaviour
 as christians and members of society. I present you
 with a letter on this great subject from the pen of the
 late Dr. JAMES DOYLE—your great favourite—which
 letter, written by him with coolness and deliberation
 and never retracted, is tantamount to an acknowledg-
 ment that the Protestant Religion may be considered
 orthodox. I annex also a letter, which I myself pub-
 lished on the occasion; which you will perceive is in

unison with that of the Doctor as well as with what I lately published on the same subject. This letter however brought no censure on me at the time—a circumstance that cannot be reconciled to Dr. MURPHY'S late proceedings against me.

In all probability, few of you have ever heard of this letter of Dr. DOYLE, or of this admission on his part so favourable to the Protestant Religion—an admission quite contrary to the prevailing notions among you, who have been taught to view Protestantism in the light of a most detestable heresy. I have laid before you some of the reasons, on which the opinion of the Doctor is founded; and made it sufficiently plain that the Protestant Religion embraces the fundamentals of christianity. I have another work ready for the press, in which this important subject is handled more in detail, and in which it is proved that the Roman Catholic Religion, as it is generally understood and practiced, stands in great need of retrenchment and reform. I have given a large extract from the Protestant authorised Catechism to make it clear to you that Protestantism teaches the very morality of the Gospel; and the same with that which you were formerly taught, and which I myself, in better times, often inculcated with pleasure from the Pulpit and the Altar. I have told or reminded you that even the Roman Catholic Church is now treading in the footsteps of Protestantism, by adopting the retrenchments it made; notwithstanding the outcry that was raised originally and continued until lately against Protestants for so doing. I have reminded you also how, in accordance with the doctrine of Bishop DOYLE, a coincidence or nearly a coincidence exists between the better order of Catholics and the Protestants as to faith and practice. This class are even indulged in sending their children to Protestant schools—a privilege denied to you; so that an advantage seems to be taken of your lowly condition in life to make you the ungracious instruments for perpetuating religious dissension and bigotry. Thus all the odium of religious discord is cast on you—and for obvious reasons.

Weigh fellow-countrymen all these facts, all these

circumstances, all these opinions, all these observations, all these examples, all these authorities and acknowledge, that you have been lamentably deceived both as to Religion and Politics. Embrace at length your Protestant fellow-countrymen and fellow-christians; level to the ground the wall of separation, which deception and delusion have raised to keep you asunder; bow down also to the supremacy of the law, as you are commanded by the Apostle, and as your worldly interest, abstracting from Religion, imperatively demands. Labour to redeem your lost character in the eyes of God and man; rescue your country from shame and ignominy; get yourselves a good name; make yourselves trust worthy; withdraw yourselves from the councils of the designing and the ungodly. In a word, pay due respect to Religion and to Law; and all things will be quickly set to rights: the resources of the finest country on earth will be brought into speedy operation; foreign capital will flow in and domestic capital will remain; Ireland will flourish and Irishmen will be happy,

Ovens, July 6th, 1835.

C

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

LETTER I.

FROM THE RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE,

R. C. Bishop of Kildare, &c.

TO A. ROBERTSON, ESQ., M. P.

Carlow, May 13th, 1824.

SIR,

THE sentiments which you are reported to have delivered in the House of Commons on the motion of MR. HUME relative to the Church establishment in this country induce me, though a stranger, to take the liberty of addressing you; and as I agree in opinion with you that the best, if not the only effectual mode of pacifying Ireland, improving the condition of her people and consolidating the interests of the empire, would be found in the *union of the churches* which distract and divide us, an expression of my views, who am a Catholic Bishop, may not be unacceptable to you.

A person well acquainted with Ireland would not find it difficult to show why the efforts lately made to better her condition have been fruitless and why every benefit conferred on her by the legislature or through the bounty of the English people has had no corresponding effect.

The whole frame of society amongst us is disorganized; and the distrust, apathy, fraud, jealousy and contention, which prevail universally, as they derange the public will and prevent the mutual co-operation of all classes, must necessarily prevent the country, whilst they continue, from deriving advantage from any particular measure, or emerging from its present depressed if not degraded condition.

The state of the public mind and feeling is unquestionably produced by the inequality of the laws and still more immediately by the incessant collision and conflict of religious opinions.

The Irish Parliament excluded and continued to exclude the British constitution from the great mass of the people, first through bigotry and a fear of the Pretender, afterwards through the less worthy motives of religious intolerance and selfish monopoly. That parliament is now *happily extinguished*; and the present legislature can have no other motive for continuing the ancient system than a desire to preserve the integrity of the empire, which it fears would be endangered, if a nation such as ours were united, rich and powerful.

Such considerations should doubtless have their weight with a statesman; and there is no man holding the helm of British interests, who might not with reason hesitate as to the propriety of the course he should proceed in with regard to Ireland. But the Government, Parliament, and all the reflecting portion of both countries, agree in thinking that the state of Ireland is intolerable and that a material change must be made in her condition. How this change can be produced no man is prepared to say with confidence: but the apparent impossibility of discovering an adequate remedy for the inveterate and almost incurable diseases, under which we labour, may in the end be the cause of applying to us the most, if not the only, effectual cure.

One of the principal Secretaries of State has said in his place in Parliament that every means of tranquillizing Ireland had been tried, Catholic Emancipation alone excepted, and to that measure he was not prepared to yield his assent. The head of the Government in the upper house has deliberately declared that in his opinion the admission of the Roman Catholics to the privileges of the constitution would only aggravate the evils of the country. These personages are manifestly at a loss how to conduct the interests of Ireland. They must be aware that the whole body of the Catholics are impatient, that their pride and interests are wounded, that disaffection must be working within them, if they be men born and nurtured in a free state and yet enslaved. These min-

isters of the crown must know that the mind of a nation, fettered and exasperated, will struggle and bound; and when a chasm is opened, will escape by it in a torrent like lava from the crater of a volcano. They must see the rising greatness of France and of the United States; the growing empires in South America; the character of those wars which are approaching, as well as the dispositions of six millions of the King's subjects; and they must have their misgivings as to whether they will be able to weather the coming storm. They are themselves preparing fuel for the flame in Ireland; they are educating the people without providing for their distress, and thus putting the sharpest weapons into the hands of men who as they learn to read, will also learn to calculate their strength, and to devise and meditate on schemes of retaliation and revenge. They will not pacify the country or induce the absentees to return, or the resident gentry to abide here in peace; by and bye there will be no link of connexion between the Government and a zealous, if not a disaffected people. The ministers of the establishment as it exists at present, are and will be detested by those who differ from them in religion; and the more their residence is enforced and their number multiplied, the more odious they will become.

This may seem a paradox in England, but whosoever is acquainted with the oppression arising from Tithes and Church Rates and with the excessive religious zeal, which has always characterized the Irish, will freely assent to this truth however strange it may appear. I doubt as little of it as any other I have stated.

The Minister of England cannot look to the exertions of the Catholic Priesthood; they have been ill-treated and they may yield for a moment to the influence of nature though it be opposed to grace. This Clergy with few exceptions are from the ranks of the people; they inherit their feelings; they are not as formerly brought up under despotic Governments; and they have imbibed the doctrines of LOCKE and PALEY more deeply than those of BELLARMINE or even BOSSUET, on the divine right of Kings; they know much more of the principles of the constitution than they do of passive obedience. If a rebellion were raging from Carrick Fergus

to Cape Clear no sentence of excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Catholic Prelate, or if fulminated it would fall, as GRATTAN once said of British Supremacy, like a spent thunder-bolt "Some gazed at it, the people were fond to touch it"

The Catholics, possessed of property in Ireland, either cannot or will not render any efficient services to the Government should eventful times arrive. The number of the ancient proprietors of land among the Catholics has of late years rather diminished than increased, and those who remain of them have at present less influence than at any former period of our history. The system of clanship is entirely dissolved in Ireland; the Catholic Aristocracy, as they are called, since the penal laws were released, have gradually withdrawn themselves from the people; they have shown on some occasions an overweening anxiety for Emancipation at the expence of what the Priesthood and the other classes deemed the interests, if not the principles of their religion; hence they are looked on with suspicion and can no longer wield the public mind. The men who have purchased properties in land—who have lent their money, acquired by industry, on mortgages, those who are engaged in commerce, or in the liberal professions, are with a few silly exceptions on the side of the people. These are men of literature or of trade, and therefore, if history can be credited, they are bold, ambitious, fond of justice and of freedom—from such men the Government, should it persist in its present course, has only to expect defiance and open hostility.

Such is the view which this country must present to the eye of a British Statesman, and when he turns from it and says he knows not what to do, he professes his incompetency to guide the public councils.

In such a state of things it behoves Parliament to apply to itself what the Roman Senate used to say to the Consul or Dictator in times of peril, "*Curet, ne quid respublica detrimenti patiatur;*" and I have little doubt, if your sentiments were adopted by it,* but that Ireland could be tranquillised, the union of the countries cemen-

* The Churches united.

ted, peace and prosperity be diffused, and the empire rendered invulnerable.

These results cannot be attained by Emancipation alone, still less by those futile measures which are now in progress. If the mind of the nation be not well directed and the public will be made to co-operate with the legislature, the disease may be repressed or shifted, but no renovating principle of health will be infused into the frame of society.

Catholic Emancipation will not remedy the evils of the Tithe system; it will not allay the fervour of religious zeal—the perpetual clashing of two churches, one elevated, the other fallen, both high-minded, perhaps intolerant: it will not check the rancorous animosities with which different sects assail each other; it will not remove all suspicion of partiality in the Government, were Antoninus himself the Viceroy; it will not create that sympathy between the different orders in the state, which is ever mainly dependent on religion; nor produce that unlimited confidence between man and man, which is the strongest foundation on which public welfare can repose, as well as the most certain pledge of a nation's prosperity. Withal Catholic Emancipation is a great public measure and of itself not only would effect much,* but open a passage to ulterior measures, which a provident legislature could without difficulty effect.

The Union of the Churches however, which you have had the singular merit of suggesting to the Commons of the United Kingdom, would together and at once effect a total change in the dispositions of men; it would bring all classes to co-operate zealously in promoting the prosperity of Ireland and in securing her allegiance for ever to the British Throne. The question of Emancipation would be swallowed up in the great enquiry, how Ireland could be enriched and strengthened, and, in place of the Prime Minister devising arguments to screen an odious oppression and reconcile an Insurrection Act of five and twenty years duration with the Habeas Corpus Act and Magna Charta, we should find him receiving the plaudits of the Senate and the thanks of his

* Catholic Emancipation had not been granted at this time.

Sovereign and the blessings of millions for the favours which he could so easily dispense.

The UNION on which so much depends is not, as you have justly observed, *so difficult* as appears to many; and the present time is peculiarly calculated for attempting at least to carry it into effect.

It is not difficult; for in the discussions which were held and the correspondence which occurred on this subject early in the last century, as well that in which Archbishop Tillotson was engaged, as the others which were carried on between BOSSUET and LEIBNITZ, it appeared that the points of agreement between the Churches were numerous, those on which the parties hesitated few, and apparently *not the most important*. The effort, which was then made, was not attended with success; but its failure was owing more to princes than to priests; more to state policy than to *a difference of belief*. But the same reason, which at that period disappointed the hopes of every good christian in Europe, would at present operate favourably. For what interest can England now have which is opposed to such *a union*; and what nation or Church in the universe can have stronger motives for desiring it than Great Britain, if by it she could preserve her Church Establishment, perfect her internal policy and secure her external dominion?

The time is favourable, for the government is powerful and at peace; the Pope is powerless and anxious to conciliate; the Irish Catholics wearied and fatigued are exceedingly desirous of repose; the established Religion almost frittered away; and the monarchy, a thing unprecedented in a christian State, is left in one country with only the staff of the Church, to use an expression of Mr. HUME, and in the other with less than a moiety of the people attached to the hierarchy. Add to this the improvement in men's minds during the last century, the light and liberality which distinguish the present, the revival of Christian purity since the overthrow of the French Revolution, and the disposition of even religious disputants to conciliate and explain.

In Ireland I am confident that, notwithstanding the ferment which now prevails, *a proposition such as you*

*have made** if adopted by Government *would be heartily embraced.* The clergy of the establishment are unpopular and they feel it; they are without flocks, and every professional man wishes for employment; their property is attacked and even endangered, for the state has touched it and the people have no respect for it. The Dissenters have encroached on them and the Catholic Clergy have despoiled them in many places of their flocks. The Catholic laity, as I before mentioned, are tired of degradation; they are wearied in pursuit of freedom; they love their country and are anxious for repose. Their Clergy, I believe *without an exception,* would *make every possible sacrifice to effect a union*; † I myself would most cheerfully and without fee, pension or emolument or hope resign the office which I hold, if by doing so I could in any way contribute to the *union* of my brethren and the happiness of my country.

The proprietors and capitalists in Ireland are affected at the prospect that lies before them; and are, if not blind to self-interest as well as dead to patriotism, anxious to *establish peace and security* amongst us. The Government has no interest in preserving disunion, unless for the purpose of securing its power; and should it find an honourable and fair substitute for so detestable and precarious a system, it would be blind and besotted, if it did not embrace it.

The King, who rules over us, is liberal, wise and enlightened beyond any of his predecessors; and as he is the head of the state, so he has been foremost through life in bestowing his Royal countenance and support on whatever could contribute to the honor of religion, to the good of his subjects or to the glory of his reign. Whatever then time and circumstances can contribute to a great and good undertaking seems now to favour *a project for the union of Christians too long divided.* Had they been so favourable in the Sixteenth Century, *the separation* which has produced such numberless calamities would *certainly* have been prevented.

It may not become so humble an individual as I am to hint even at a plan for effecting so great a purpose

* For the union of the two Churches.

† How greatly altered since!

as the union of Catholics and Protestants in one great family of Christians ; but as the difficulty does not appear to me to be at all proportioned to the magnitude of the object to be attained, I would presume to state that if Protestant and Catholic divines of learning and a conciliatory character were summoned by the Crown to ascertain the points of agreement and difference between the Churches and that the result of their conferences were made the basis of a project to be treated on between the heads of the Churches of Rome and England, the result might be more favourable than at present would be anticipated.

The chief points to be discussed are, the Canon of the Sacred Scriptures, Faith, Justification, the Mass, the Sacraments, the authority of Tradition, of Councils, of the Pope, the celibacy of the Clergy, language of the Liturgy; invocation of Saints, respect for Images, Prayers for the dead.

On most of these it appears to me that there is no essential difference between the Catholics and Protestants ; the existing diversity of opinion arises in most cases from certain forms of words which admit of satisfactory explanation ; or from ignorance or misconceptions which ancient prejudice and ill will produce and strengthen, but which could be removed ; they are pride and points of honor which keep us divided on many subjects, not a love of christian humility, charity and truth.

It should be the duty as it is obviously the interest of the ruling powers to provide for the happiness of the people by enlightening their minds and by curbing their passions, not by reproachful speeches and coercive laws, but by means suited to their real wants. And if, through the wisdom of Parliament and the efforts of Government the Churches of these countries could be united, a new era of happiness would commence in our history. The laws of this country would be equalized, the most perfect confidence would prevail between the Government and the subjects ; their natural protectors would be restored to a generous and warm-hearted people ; the Aristocracy would become—what it never has been in Ireland—a link between the Prince and the Peasant ; industry would be protected ; *capital would*

flow into the country ; all the resources of the soil, climate, genius, and talent of the nation would be called into life and activity ; the union of the countries would be consolidated, and Great Britain would not only be Queen of the Ocean but Mistress of the world. Hoping that you will again call the attention of Parliament to the consideration of this important subject,

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

† J. DOYLE.

Fellow-Countrymen, the first part of this letter is of little moment ; but the latter part is of the utmost importance and deserves your attentive perusal.

I subjoin my letter to the Editor of the Cork Mercantile Chronicle on the same subject and by way of backing the proposal of DR. DOYLE.

LETTER II.

Courseys, June, 1824.

SIR,

THE letter of Dr. DOYLE to A. ROBERTSON Esq. M. P. forms a new era in the History of Ireland and of the Church. This distinguished Ecclesiastic proves himself at once the charitable christian, the enlightened philosopher, the sound politician, and the intrepid man. He takes a masterly view of the state of things and he proposes a radical remedy for existing evils. It is rather a novel thing for a Roman Catholic Bishop to propose a re-union of the Churches in so conciliatory a manner ; to display so great a willingness to make concessions, explain difficulties and obliterate past animosities.

Every well-informed man will acknowledge with him that the real grounds of difference between conflicting sects are generally misunderstood and are by no means of such extent as is generally imagined. Misapprehension and a spirit of contradiction have considerably injured the cause of Christianity. Religious controversies have scarcely ever been conducted with due moderation;

the tenets of every sect have been always distorted and religious enthusiasm, coupled with religious rancour, has invented doctrines and cast imputations, which distract and divide the christian world. It is time, if possible, to put a stop to these evils; or that all parties should at least come to a proper understanding. It is high time to examine the true state of the question and to ascertain precisely what those differences are, which have produced such mighty convulsions in the christian world. The progress of time and concurring circumstances have doubtless produced many alterations in the features of religion and made it appear disagreeable in the eyes of good men. Let these things be duly examined and a due distinction be drawn between what is essential and what is not essential to the integrity of religion. In adjusting differences and healing dissensions the Catholic Church has not always adhered to the letter of past times. In her decision on the Arian Controversy she introduced the term "Consubstantial" which had been rejected 50 years before in the council of Antioch. Her mode of proceeding at the council of Florence, when the re-union with the Greek Church took place, bears exactly upon the subject now in hand and proves that, notwithstanding all that has been said about her pride and intolerance, she is willing on certain occasions to make concessions and approaches. It was acknowledged in this council that all parties, how much soever they had been supposed to differ, were always in reality of the same fundamental doctrine. They disputed on the procession of the Holy Ghost, the pains of Purgatory, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist and the supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. It was wrongly imagined at the commencement, that they differed essentially from one another on all these points of discipline and doctrine; and hence it happened that the opening conferences were attended with every circumstance of cautious suspicion. Much time was consumed in the discussion of forms and of words; until at length both parties becoming inclined to conciliation, it was agreed that *the differences between the two Churches had arisen from misapprehension of each others doctrine*, or regarded

modes and qualities, which in no way affected the essentials of religion. Whoever will take the trouble to read the decree of union will see, that I am borne out to the full in what I have here stated. This is an example worthy our imitation.

Let Catholics and Protestants meet together in a similar spirit and imitate the Greeks and Latins in the council of Florence. ERASMUS, GERARD ROUSSEL, Bishop of Oleron, MELANCTHON and many others in the time of LUTHER were of opinion that if the controversy had been conducted on the principles of moderation, the differences might have been satisfactorily adjusted. The celebrated Confession of Augsburg is nearly Catholic; and if MELANCTHON had not been prevented by enthusiastic or designing persons from going the full length of his wishes, there is every reason to think that it would have been so framed as to form a point of union between the contending parties. It is unnecessary at present to enter farther into this important subject. I shall only add that the proposal made by the Rt. Rev. DR. DOYLE, meets my most hearty concurrence, and that I shall be ready *at all times* to co-operate in any practicable plan for effecting that *union*, which every christian and every patriot should most ardently desire.

I remain Sir,

Your obedient servant,

DAVID O. CROLY, P. P.

Courceys, &c. &c.

Compare this fellow-countrymen with Dr. DOYLE'S letter and compare both with what I have advanced on the subject in my late pamphlet and in this my address to you and see if all do not perfectly harmonize together. I have been consistent; not so my persecutors, who in the year 1834 anathematized a doctrine which they considered orthodox or admitted as orthodox in the Year 1824.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR

BY JOHN BOLSTER, PATRICK-STREET, CORK.

POSTSCRIPT.

✍ *OMNIBUS QUORUM INTEREST.*—The Theology of PETER DENS, which is now before the world, is a standard work of Irish Catholic Orthodoxy and of Roman Catholic Orthodoxy universally. It was published in Ireland and on the Continent in the customary way, "*permissu Superiorum*,"—with the full sanction and approbation of Episcopal authority. No exception was ever taken to it in whole or in part. It was printed in Ireland expressly for the use of the Irish Catholic Priests—to be their guide in casuistry and speculation. In the Library of DOCTOR MURPHY'S Seminary in Cork there were Fifty or Sixty Copies of it—for the use of the Seminary and the Diocesan Clergy. It should be remarked here, that DENS is not singular in his doctrine respecting "*heretics*." Every Roman Catholic Theologian, who has written on the same subject, coincides with DENS. This matter shall be handled in my next publication.

D. O. C.

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Houses of the Oireachtas

*PLAN for a Complete New Harbour, at Howth-town, for the Use of his Majesty's
 & Mail-packet Boats, Fishing Vessels & in case of a Storm, Merchant Ships going to & from Dublin.*



N.B. These Soundings are all given in feet at the low Water Spring Tides, & taken from the Map, with the Surveyors Reports, given in to the Directors General of Inland Navigation &c. &c. lately published by them.