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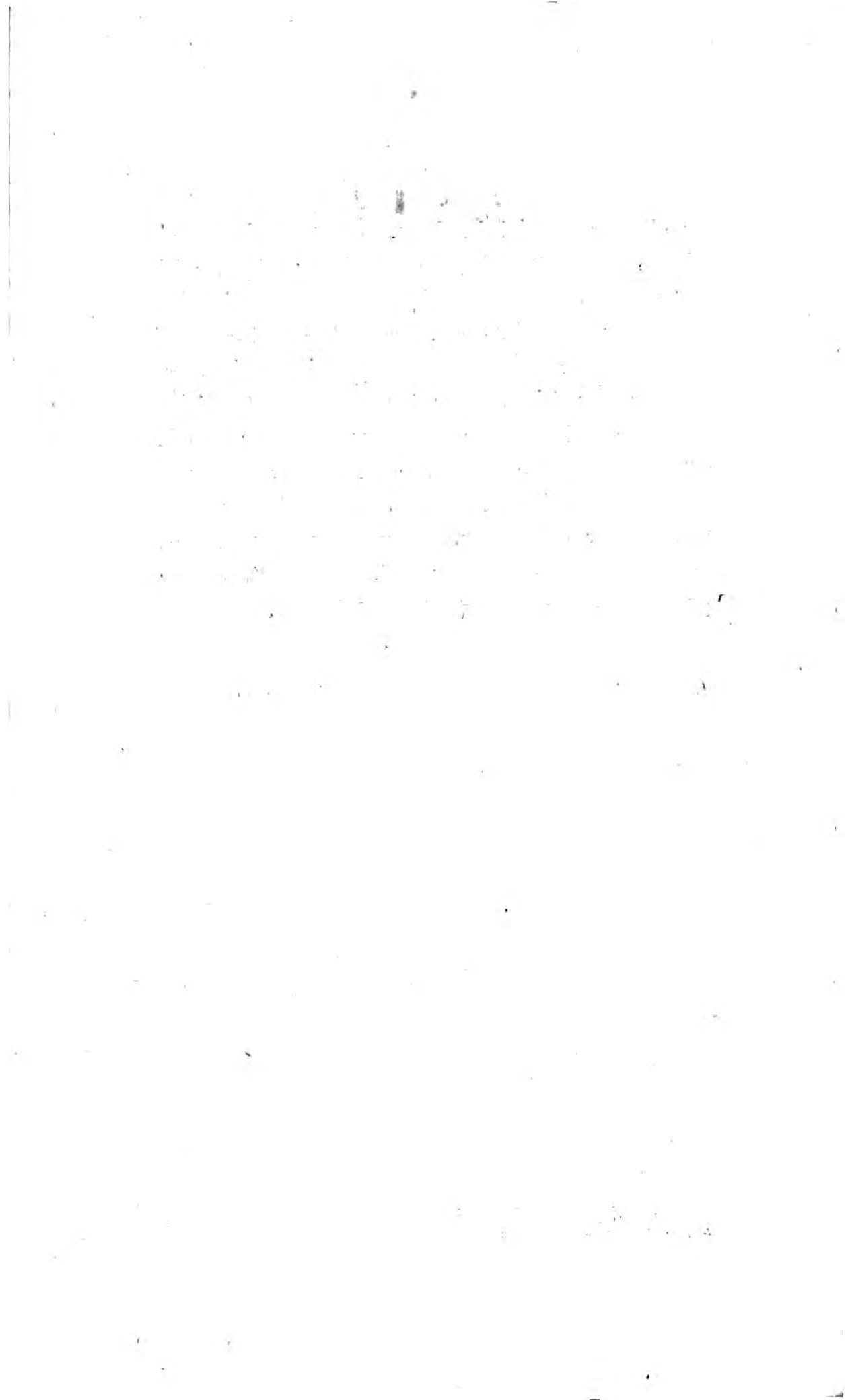
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A
LETTER

TO THE

Right Honourable

HENRY GRATTAN, M.P.

CONTAINING

REMARKS UPON A SPEECH

Reported to have been delivered by Him in

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON MONDAY, MAY 3, 1819,

On the Subject of

The Catholic Claims.



BY A PROTESTANT.

“Can two walk together, except they be agreed?” *Amos.*

SALISBURY:

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY GRATTAN, M.P.

SIR!

HAVING seen in the Herald Newspaper a Speech reported to be yours, on the subject of what is called the Catholic claims, it struck me with some surprise to find the way in which you had advocated them, was not at all consistent with the nature of the question, and corresponded in no degree, with what your knowledge and talent, your sound judgment and matured experience, gave me a right to expect. Aware from precedent that the question would turn on the point of security, I took up your Speech prepared to see what the Catholics had to offer; but on this you made no proposal,—*they* had nothing to *offer*, while the Protestants had nothing to *do* but to *concede*. In your Essay on that occasion, I find none of that nerve which the voice of Fame has ascribed to you: you declaim, but you do not argue: we hear your thunder as formerly, but there is none of that lightening

which was wont to flash conviction in the faces of your opponents; nothing that could electrify, overawe, or reduce. Your eloquence had lost its power to *subjugate*, because arrayed on the side of error; its attribute to *charm*, is immutable. It has immortalized the country which gave you birth, has dignified the one with which it is incorporated; its fame can only be limited by space, and forgotten with Time! It is impossible not to admire your splendid endowments. It is the most pleasing task an adversary has to perform, when permitted to pay a tribute of respect, to powers arrayed—if not against *him* as an *individual*, yet against those interests with which his own are too intimately connected, ever to be separated.

IN pursuing the course I have marked out for myself in reviewing your Address to the House, I trust I shall not detract from these expressions of esteem and admiration, though the very important light in which I consider the subject, will oblige me to use great freedom, as well as “great plainness of speech.” Should I be wrong in my opinion, I am open to conviction, and shall be happy to have my mind disabused from first impressions.

THROUGH the whole of your Speech, there appears no intention of stating the question fairly: and though the Catholic claims are stated to be

a matter of *policy*, you invariably make them one of *religion*; you attempt to *identify* the religions, and make these the basis of an identification of interests. But you must be aware that your position is founded in error, and you showed no intention of entering on the proof. Your *apparent* intention was to *convince*,—your *concealed* one to *bewilder*, that you might *mislead*: you sought to *confound*, where it was impossible to *identify*, to disorder the judgment, and to take advantage of the confusion which you had raised. Throwing away your spear, you trusted to magic; judging that force was unavailing, you relied on the fascinations of your eloquence, to allure the unwary Protestant to his doom. But you should have known that “in vain is the net spread in the sight of any bird!” The method has elicited the motive, and the reward of your ingenuity and industry has returned empty. Hard indeed must you have been driven, when compelled to resort to the tricks of the bar, where every thing is justifiable but modesty, and where success is the current criterion of truth. Indeed I have been informed that you *now* claim the victory! It may be so. In a *majority* we are sure to vanquish, and in a *minority* we may also be triumphant.

THAT you were *sincere* in expressing your hope that the Petitions you presented might *succeed*, I have not the least reason to doubt: in that cause you have been a zealous, a constant, and

a consistent Advocate, — always adhering to the principles they contained, though on such occasions not dealing very ceremoniously with those of your neighbours. Therefore though *sincere* in your *hopes*, you were certainly not very *sober* in your *speculations*. The problem with which you favoured the House, concerning an identification of interests between the Catholic and the Protestant, remains yet to be solved. For my own part, I cannot see how there can be such an identification of *interests*, without a prior identification of *principles*: *they* only can form the basis of a stable compact; there can be no unity without them, no community in interests. Even in minor cases, it is a source of distraction; but when viewed as involving the important concerns of religion, the interest rises in proportion—trifles become matters of consequence,—are tenaciously adhered to; contentions arise; and no disposition is manifested for accommodation, for conscience refuses to yield. Contention has ever *ascendancy* for its object: the flame that inspires the few, is communicated to the many, and this unprincipled identification of interests expires amidst the general conflagration. You are too well acquainted with the history of the Catholic church, to need information with respect to its encroaching spirit, its lust of power, and I may add its *abuse* of it *whenever*, and *wherever* it has been entrusted with it. The Protestant seeks to *live*,—the Catholic must *rule*. Had you introduced your subject with

a formal renunciation of this lust of power, of those doctrines which stand in the front of the controversy, our disbelief of which renders us liable to the *epithet* and the *curse* of heretics, then you would have gone on consistently. But to expect co-operation without cordiality, to expect felicity where there is no union of mind, and nothing but hostility in heart, is a species of madness which can only have originated in a rage for experiment! Look at that vessel whose navigators steer by different charts, yet each is satisfied with his own; what must become of the ship? She must remain stationary, or founder during the contention. Wherever there is a State-religion, that religion must be *one*; the spirit of intrigue, of discord, of cabal would be endless, were such a preposterous idea adopted as that of admitting *two*. Wretched, indeed, would be the fate of that Monarch doomed to preside in such a council. He could never open his lips without becoming the object of suspicion, nor close them without a charge of partiality. Like Moses, he would have Pharaoh behind him, and the sea before, with nothing to which he could direct his eye, but the heavens to pray for deliverance from both! Such is the tranquillity to be expected from conceding to the Catholics the object of their prayer.

BUT, Sir, what are those interests which are to be so marvellously affected by this wonderful innovation? You will probably reply, that the

elective franchise would be thrown open, that Catholics might then become Magistrates, Barristers, Judges, and Members of Parliament! And this is all! This is the mighty boon we are to receive for the surrender of every thing we hold dear as men, and venerated by us as Christians! Yes, it is for such incomparable blessings as these, that our defence is to be thrown down, and our vineyard is to become the prey of every spoiler! As for the *present* you intend making *us* of Catholic electors, it is certainly kind of you to come in aid of our abundance; but Sir we have more electors already than make a good use of their privilege; and you would do a greater service to your country, by attempting to reform those that we have, than by adding to their numbers those who might increase their crimes. We are still less in need of magistrates,—the Lord Lieutenants of the counties, and the Chancellor, generally supplying us with men, every way qualified to discharge the duties attached to the office: and I cannot see how they could possibly be improved by an accession of numbers, especially *such* an accession, as you in the riches of your liberality seem inclined to recommend. With regard to *Barristers*, alas! we have more of them than get employment: it is lamentable to see their briefless bags; and were it not so, there is already impudence enough amongst them, to supply their necessities, without resorting to importation! Turn your eye to the Seat of Justice, we are less in need of

Judges than of *Counsellors*. Never did the Bench display more learning, more talent, more dignity: for Integrity—look at Eldon! So that were we even inclined to accede to your proposals, you must see that we have no convenience to dispose of the *good* things you intend for us; and to “pull down” our “barns, and build greater,” your friend Lord Grey would object to, on the principle of *economy*!!

How prone are men to extremes! Even you, Sir, with all your wisdom, seem to have fallen into this error. You fly to an *extreme* case when a *mean* one would have served your purpose, and being nearer home, would have been much more convenient. You recommend an identification of interests, between the Protestant and the Catholic, on the alleged correspondence of their religious tenets, (although, as I shall prove, they are diametrically opposed,)—pray, Sir, why did you never try this in *politics*? The differences that exist on the score of principle, between yourselves and your Tory brethren, are not of that nature with those I am speaking of; they never make half the impression on the mind, for they are not of half the importance. Yet if you found it inconsistent with your received notions, though the State required “all the wisdom and all the talents,” to accommodate your petty differences, why should it be expected, when the *state* nor the *country* is in no such necessity, that every thing that we hold

sacred, that every thing our fathers bled to bequeath us, and which we hold for our posterity, should be surrendered to the descendants of our destroyers? And for what? “For the desperate chance of something” *you* “call better!” Why did not the desire of “strengthening the Government, of promoting tranquillity,” operate upon your mind, when your opposition to every measure conceived to be connected with its safety, contributed to render *your* motives suspected, and those of the party with whom the system is carried on in concert? Identify yourself with your *political* opponents: show us that the thing is possible—prove to us that it is certain: you are not so much opposed to one another as the Protestants and the Catholics; you all meet in the same *chapel*, appear before the same throne, and are recognised without distinction by the Sovereign whom you serve. If there can be no identification of interests amongst *you*, for goodness’ sake do not expect it amongst *us*. If such a valuable end had been obtained,—had you been more identified with *Mr. Croker*, he would have saved you the trouble of presenting your petitions, and of making your Speech, for this *sagacious* Seconder tells you, and tells the House, and the Country, that the Catholics are eligible, even to the high office of Chancellor, and consequently that he seconds your motion, because there exists no necessity for it!

You certainly were playing upon the credulity

of the House and the Public, when you informed them that if the Catholic claims were granted, it would "give additional strength to the Protestant church!" Did you mean this? Your Speech cannot be fairly reported: you never could so far take leave of your senses, as to tell the world that destroying the mound was the way to preserve the channel, that removing the hedge was the way to prevent a trespass, or that demolishing the buttress would effectually secure the wall! Does the introduction of an *enemy* into my house, secure my safety, or render my fireside more agreeable,—and he an enemy whom Conscience has armed, and whom Superstition upholds? Will the doctrines of the Protestant church be more secure, because the Catholic would then be authorized to denounce them, and probably reward the preaching of them with penalties? Would the revenues of the church be more secure, because the Catholic possessed the right to alienate and to impropriate? Would the persons of her members be more secure, because the Catholic possessed the power of the sword? Ask the vallies of Piedmont, the dungeons of Italy, the scaffolds of Portugal, of Spain, of France: look at Scotland, at England, at Ireland! Show me a place where the accursed influence of Popery has been felt, and I will show you a spot where it has blasted with its mildew the race of man! Yet these are the persons, and this is the religion, which are to give additional strength to the Protestant church! Thank you,

Mr. Grattan: we have no need of them at present; it will be some time before we require them. If so valuable, keep them at home: treasure up your *jewels*;—the Protestant church is secure, dignified, and lovely, without their aid!

EQUALLY true is your next position, that conceding to the Catholics what they desire, will give additional stability to the Act of Settlement. *How*, you have not shown. Your Speech throughout, resembles more an illusion of the imagination, than an effort of the judgment: it is composed of assertions without proof, cases which are not in point, and of suppositions wild in their composition and inapplicable in their reference. Let me ask you, Sir, what has already secured the Act of Settlement? What has given it stability? The very religion that you seek by your Speech to undermine. It is this which has supported the fabric for a century, amidst internal distractions, and foreign war, amidst treachery at home, and hostility abroad! Yes, it remained unshaken, when (to use your own words) “the combinations of Catholics amongst themselves, the claims of the Pretender to the British crown, and the temporal power of the Pope,” rendered the *exclusion* of Catholics from the privileges of British subjects necessary. How softly you speak of *Catholic combinations!* How slightly you glance at *them!* “Combinations *amongst* themselves!” mighty well! But who were these combinations *against?* Against

the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, and against the Protestant church, then, as it is now, an integral part of the Government. And now you really believe, or wish us to believe, that if that Church and that Government were left to *their* mercy, it would increase its security, it would contribute to its stability! Unfortunately for them they are known, and fortunately for us we can appreciate the blessings we enjoy. How specious, but how fallacious is your next assertion! "The causes which occasioned their exclusion from the privileges of British subjects have ceased to exist, and therefore they may justly claim a restoration to their birthright!" Indeed! what are these causes of exclusion which have ceased to exist? I deny that the cause has ceased. The death of the Pretender does not, in the least degree, alter the question: he was not formidable amongst *Protestants*, but amongst *Catholics*: it was their religion which enabled them to become the mutual instruments of mischief! It is not the Pope possessing a few square miles more or less, that renders him at all dangerous to the religion and the liberties of this country; but it is the genius of the religion of which he is the head, and the blind obedience paid to his mandates by the Catholics, which renders him and them justly to be dreaded, and most *wisely* excluded from political power. Acting up to the spirit of their religion, they must be bad neighbours and uncertain subjects, —their spiritual superior possessing that or a power over the conscience, which

renders the performance of every moral and social obligation a mere question of prudence. With the fact before you, Sir, that the Pope, in the year 1809, instructed his prelates to make a distinction between the *passive* oaths which *may* be taken, and the *active* oaths which *may not* be taken, by the Roman Catholics, in any heretical state,—and knowing, too, that by the same declaration he affirms that *all oaths taken to the prejudice of the Church, are null and void*,—how could you possibly say, that the admission of such persons, under such influence, into places of trust and power, would add to the stability of the Act of Settlement? That act *alone*, guarantees the ascendancy of the Protestant church, to the exclusion of the Catholic; and the ruin of which, (as it always has been, and always will be,) must remain an object of primary importance with the latter. With him it is a principle of duty to effect it,—to neglect it, a crime! Sir, it is my opinion, that we should let *well enough* alone. The foundation has proved itself a sound one; it has stood the test of ages; the building remains unshaken in itself, and in the confidence of the inhabitant. Why seek to do that for the State, which you would account it a folly to do for your own habitation? Were the first architect in the world to advise you to remove the foundation of your mansion, because *it had proved itself a good one*, and that though your fathers had lived in it for four generations, *it showed no symptoms of decay*, what would you say to him? Would you

condescend to reply? I think not. You would conceive as I do,—that he would be a very fit subject for a lunatic asylum; and probably, in your humanity, you would recommend him there: then he might have leisure to finish his designs in the place to which they most certainly owe their origin.

IF what I have stated be correct, and I pledge myself for its truth, what then is that *tranquillity* which we have a right to expect, while sowing the seeds of an interminable dissension? What is that devotion to the Constitution which you promise, when you have destroyed its essential parts, and nothing which we now hail as such, remains? Were the whole of the Catholics to merge into Barristers, Judges, Members of Parliament, and Dukes of Norfolk, *then* I suppose we might expect general tranquillity, because it has been entirely amongst the lower orders of that body, that designs hostile to the peace of the State have been fomented and carried on. But as you well know, that they cannot by *nine* out of *ten*, be benefitted by the change, your argument for general tranquillity falls to the ground, unless you are prepared to show, that the Catholic population are so much under the power of their leaders, that they can be loyal and rebellious, tranquil or furious, as it may suit the views of those who give a tone to their feelings, and animation to their exertions. As to their attachment to the Constitution, we have had some proofs of it, and we may expect some more,

unless it be moulded to their fashion, and made such as no Protestant would own, and under which none but Catholics could exist. It is idle to talk of a Constitution, which you know must be destroyed, before it can communicate the *blessings* you are so anxious to entail upon that body: the very form of it would not remain, and the substance of it could only be found in the annals of the country.

WHETHER you will be able to induce the *Legislature* to identify the Protestant with the Catholic, I know not; but you give us a hopeful specimen of what *you* can do in that way yourself. Your words are: "The Catholics adore the same Redeemer, and reverence the same Gospel with us; their sacrament, though not the same, is yet similar to ours; and may then both religions not be at liberty to support one common cause, and to worship one common God with us!" On this passage, as there is much of the same doctrine in your Speech, I shall beg leave to make a few comments, and endeavour to ascertain, whether *your* views of the Redeemer and his worship, correspond or not with the Scriptures; with my own sentiments they are at complete variance. This is the more necessary, as the errors of great men never come unattended; they have all the weight of their character to recommend them. Who could believe, for a moment, that Folly would emanate from Wisdom; or that persons should be found so destitute of principle as to libel Religion to subserve the purposes of policy;

inducing, at the same time, a belief that all this is done from a pure regard to its interests!

YOUR object in what I have stated, is evident. By confounding truth with error, righteousness with unrighteousness, you have endeavoured to instil a belief into the minds of men, that the distinction is so very trifling, that there is no clew to guide us in the selection; that the one may be embraced as well as the other; that both are alike pleasing to the Deity, and consistent with Scripture—that eternal and immutable rule of righteousness. In every thing but Religion, you believe that *true* and *false* make a most material, an irreconcilable distinction! in the things of *men*, it is important; but in the things of *God*, it is a matter of the utmost indifference! The sentiment is not your own. You have borrowed it from the infidel Paine; nor is it the *only one* of his, which you have embodied in your Speech. Indeed the whole of it proceeds on the insufficiency of Scripture as a rule of faith; for with *you*, the man that holds a doctrine, and he that denies it, have a like claim to the character of Christian. Your argument was subtle: could you but have succeeded in it, your point would have been gained; for who could refuse to concede to his neighbour what was not essentially valuable in itself, nor relatively important? This is the most faulty of your attempts, and shows how little regard is to be paid to the assertions of men, when the successful opera-

tions of party are contemplated, or when some favourite object is to be achieved.

IN asserting that the Protestant and the Catholic worshipped "the same Redeemer," you were surely inclined to be *facetious*. I cannot believe that you were *serious*, when thus impugning the authority of the Lawgiver, who said, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him *only* shalt thou serve;" or that you intended to libel the whole Protestant church, who acknowledge his authority, *his* right to adoration—*his* right alone! As the Redeemer never consented to give his glory to another, so the true worshipper of the Redeemer, worships *him* and *him only*. He does not associate with him the highest angel, and far less a stock, or a stone, the shred of a petticoat, or the paring of a nail. It is impossible to acquit of blasphemy, the man who calls such worship, the worship of the Redeemer: it has no connexion with his worship, it is a reproach to it; to acknowledge another object of adoration, is virtually to renounce *Him*. Were I to tell you that the Earl of Mar was equally loyal to his Prince as the Duke of Argyle, you would oppose me with fact; for while the latter *fought for him*, the former *supported a Pretender to his throne!* In the present instance, however, your friends have the advantage of Lord Mar. He was a niggard in his love—he had but *one* Pretender, whom he supported *in proof of his attachment to*

his King; but *your* “worshippers of the Redeemer,” have myriads of pretenders for whom they evince the same attachment, and to whom they ascribe the same honours! The Catholic worship is no more the worship of the Redeemer, than the worship of Baal was the worship of the true God, because the image was called by his name, and placed in a temple dedicated to his honour. On the authority of Scripture and of sound reason, I do not hesitate to declare, that so far from the Protestant and the Papist worshipping the same Redeemer, that the Redeemer is *not worshipped at all* in the Catholic church; their worship, their sacraments, their doctrines, the whole of their ritual, are directly contrary to the tenour of the Scriptures, and at variance with its truths: yet, Sir, there is one thing I will concede to you, if you can satisfy me, that paying divine honours to any creature, suppose even the Virgin Mary;—if entreating the Virgin to use her authority (what blasphemy!) with the Redeemer in their behalf, that Redeemer who is in Scripture called “the blessed and only potentate;”—if addressing Angels *with* names, and Angels *without* names; Saints and Saintesses, some of whom have lived, and some who have never had a being;—if claiming the power to create the body of Christ, and then to destroy it, and that too as often as they please;—if renouncing the authority of *his* law, and placing it on a level with oral tradition, papal bulls, and decrees of councils;—if denying the merit of the Saviour’s passion, by placing it on a

level with penances, pilgrimages, washings, whippings, fastings, confessions, and all their other observances;—if ascribing to a poor mortal the power to forgive sin, and to a rotten tooth the attributes of Deity;—if this be worshipping the Redeemer, and you can *prove* that the Protestant does all this, then most certainly, they are both of them “worshippers of the same Redeemer!” “Doctor Poynter is the same as the Archbishop of Canterbury;” and in “attacking the Catholics you attack Christianity itself.” But you remember, Sir, that though you have proceeded so far with your *identification*, as to *assert* that Dr. Poynter and his Grace of Canterbury are one flesh, you have unfortunately *proved* nothing; and your continuing to assert it, although it will not be credited, will yet be allowed to go in proof of that modesty so natural to your nation, and of which your present Speech, and the Petitions in behalf of what are called the Catholic claims, afford such incontrovertible evidence.

HAVING mentioned the amiable principle inherent in the breasts of your countrymen, I cannot help congratulating you upon the abundant portion of it which appears to have fallen to *your* share. I cannot forbear, however, appealing to your good sense, whether on some occasions you should not be a little more restricted in its display. By asserting that the Protestant and the Catholic worship “the same Redeemer,” and by your attempts to identify

the different religions, you have paid a fine compliment to the wisdom and discernment of the first Reformers, to their zeal, to their sufferings,—to the host of Martyrs to the faith,—to that legion of Luminaries who have irradiated the English church,—to the long list of Worthies who at present adorn her pulpits! Had they but possessed the immense advantages which you enjoy; had they been but a little less scrupulous, they might have remained in a church, worshipping “the same Redeemer,” till the present hour! But God and Conscience are strong arguments, and they could neither resist nor silence them. The compliments you pay to Locke and Newton, are extremely valuable on this ground. Locke, who “explored the region of the head,” and Newton, who followed the stars in their courses, never dreamt of such an *identification* as you have produced—a proof that we have Reason and Philosophy on our side; and I shall prove to you that Scripture also is ours. Nothing can be more absurd than your assertion, that the Protestant religion owes its origin to the Catholic. You may as well say that the worshippers of Baal, who returned to the worship of the true God, “emanated” from these idolaters. The Church of England owes her origin to the Bible: from that she draws her doctrines, her worship, and her government. You do not seem to understand what a church really is. It does not depend upon *numbers*: a few may compose it: and when the greater part of a body go astray from the purity of the Gospel, those who remain

constitute the true church. Such is the way in which the Fathers of the Reformation replied to the Roman plea of universality: it is reasonable and scriptural. That the church of Rome departed greatly from the purity and the simplicity of the Gospel, you will not deny; but even in her worst times, there were some faithful men, who adhered to the profession of truth, and the practice of duty. From them are the Protestants of the present day descended; and though unknown by that name in the earlier ages, they held the tenets which are to be found in all the Protestant churches. The church is described as a body "*separated* from the world lying in wickedness;" but you would think it a strain upon the sense to say, that because they are separated from the world, as the Protestants separated from the church of Rome, that the church "*emanated*" "*from the world lying in wickedness!*"

By attempting to blend the two Religions, by asserting that there is no difference between them, or none that is material, you call in question (I fondly hope with no impious intention,) the propriety of all those institutions by which the worship of God is defined and regulated,—all those acts of Divine Providence by which it has been maintained,—all those acts of his people by which it has been recognized. "Believest thou the Prophets?" I trust that thou believest. Then attend to their records, and you will find what it is that constitutes persons worshippers of "the same Redeemer."

NADAB and Abihu were priests; they were sons of Aaron, consecrated to the service of God. They on one occasion took their censers, put fire in them and incense, as they had been accustomed, and offered it before the Lord. Could you trace such a resemblance between the Protestant and the Catholic church, as there subsists between the conduct of these priests and the true service of God, your assertions, though *then* erroneous, would apparently deserve more credit. They did not offer this incense to *Baal*, but to the Lord, to God himself, *and he slew them*. The reason given is, because “they offered *strange* fire,”—*fire which God had not commanded!* It is not preferring “a religion that has *seven sacraments*, to one that has *none*,” that is what we are to consider; but the having *no more*, and just as many *as God has commanded*. Therefore while the Catholics have seven, and we but two, we cannot be classed as the worshippers of the same Redeemer. The one offers *strange* fire, the other is taken from the altar. These two priests felt themselves much in the same state with the Catholics: they laboured under disabilities: they were not *high* priests! To Aaron belonged the right of offering on the altar of incense, as a type of the great Mediator: they felt that there was one above them; they considered themselves degraded; they wished to enjoy the “*enviable blessings*” of the ecclesiastical constitution of the Jews: and I have no doubt had you been there, you would have presented a Petition for these offerers of

strange fire, these “*worshippers of the same Redeemer!*”

BUT I have a case completely in point for you; namely, that where Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their companions, solicited to be emancipated. They were prepared, too, with *your* plea: they were all worshippers of “the same Redeemer;” “believed the same gospel;” “all the congregation (say they) are holy;” and therefore entitled to share in all the honours and privileges enjoyed by Moses and Aaron. It was unfortunate for *their* cause, as it has been for *yours*, that their plea was not admitted; and had *you* even presented the Petition for them, though backed by all the eloquence your Speech displays, and supported by Mr. Croker and Lord Normanby, it would have returned unnoticed. Think you, that the Almighty would have altered the mode of his government, to gratify their desires? That he would have sanctioned the introduction of persons into power, in a nation of which he was in a most especial manner the Governor; of *persons*, who, though professing the same religion as that which he had established, were found to entertain *principles hostile to the peace and the security of the nation?* If an exclusion even in cases where the religious opinions of the parties were identified, was deemed necessary, certainly much more so where they are directly opposed; and more than this, where the party claiming the privilege, is bound by the creed he has adopted, to show *that* hostility on all possible

occasions, and in all possible ways. I will not recite the portion of Holy Scripture to which I have referred; but if inclined to peruse it, you will find it in the 16th chap. of the Book of Numbers. Remember, should you read it, that the persons whose crime and whose punishment form the substance of the chapter, had much more *right* to be called worshippers of the same God with Moses and Aaron, than the Catholics have to be called worshippers of "the same Redeemer" with the Protestants, for here they have no right at all; it exists no-where but in your imagination.

THERE is another portion of Scripture to which I would refer you—it is in the Book of Kings; and were it not that Jezebel is not so *soft* a name as *Mary*, I would request you to make a substitution. This Lady had slain all the Prophets of the Lord, at least as many of them as came within her reach. You remember we had a lady of much such another description. *Jezebel's* name will be profaned by her company. Jezebel slew the Prophets with the *sword*, her Catholic Majesty *roasted* them! *roasted* them because they were Protestants, *roasted* them because they were worshippers of "the same Redeemer!" *roasted* them because "they worshipped one common God, were joined in one common cause;" and I suppose to show (as you most impiously are *reported* to have said) that "the Gospel of Christ teaches morality, peace, justice, benevolence; the Gospel of Christ is the Gospel of Catholics; the

law of Christ is their law, the word of Christ is their word." If such were, indeed, the expressions you employed, you know nothing of Him or of his word; and with the history of the Catholics before you, you are asserting what I fear you know to be incorrect. Her Catholic Majesty, like Jezebel, was a worshipper of idols. She offered her adorations to Baal; or perhaps only did, as some of the worshippers of "the Redeemer" do at the present day, *looked at the image to refresh her memory!* With Jezebel in worship and in cruelty, you may identify your friends, but not with the Protestant church. Though the people of Israel professed the religion of the true God, and were called by his name, yet the erection of that image, in direct opposition to the revealed will of God, identifies them with idolaters of the worst class, and they were punished accordingly. Yet, Sir, you will still tell us, that a church which denounces image worship, and a church which enjoins it on pain of eternal damnation, are worshippers of "the same Redeemer!" Yes, just as well identified, as Elijah was with the prophets of Baal, whom he ridiculed, discomfited, and slew!

Now, Sir, does it not appear strange to you, that when all the people who assembled on Mount Carmel were worshippers of the same God, that they had the same Bible, (there was only a *little* difference about a *sacrament*, or an *image*, or some such *trifling* matter!) I say, does it not

appear strange to you, that when *you* can identify people so readily, that the Almighty should exercise so much circumspection about every thing concerning his worship, and pronounce that man a *saint*, and another man an *idolater*, whom you have presumptuously called worshippers of “the same Redeemer!” I think it is somewhere said, “Woe be to them, that call evil good, and good evil.” Whether your Speech elicits any thing of this kind or not, I *could* say; but I think it will be of more advantage to you, to leave you to the influence of those reflections, which a perusal of the Speech itself will most likely awaken.

I CANNOT take my leave of this part of Sacred History, without remarking, that all idolaters are *fools*:—“they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.” These were the worshippers of Baal! and the annals of Monkism contain innumerable details equally absurd and horrible. Idolaters are not only fools; they are always *cruel*. There is no difference between an idolater in the days of Jezebel or Mary, in this respect. They all thirst to shed blood. The reigns of these two wretches are written in blood, and the monsters themselves may safely be classed with the famine and the pestilence.

PROBABLY you will reply, that many of the cruelties of Mary, were to be attributed to her clergy,

to those bloodhounds Gardiner and Bonner. This may save *her* a little, but it makes strongly against you, for *they* were not merely "*worshippers*," but *ministers* "of the same Redeemer," and *whose* Gospel you tell us is all *benevolence*!

DESCENDING to later times, you will no doubt allow that the Apostle Paul was a worshipper of "the Redeemer," a true believer, a most eminent saint. He was also endued with the spirit of prophecy; and though not so *fully*, yet as *truly*, foretold the fate of the Church under the Gospel dispensation, as John himself. Now, Sir, as I should not wish you, should you ever be employed to bring this matter again before the public, to commit so egregious an error as you have done with regard to the two religions, you will lend me a little of your leisure, while I endeavour more distinctly to show the decided opposition that there is between them, and the utter impossibility of any identification of interests taking place, between persons so diametrically opposed. You will observe, that such distinctions are introduced by the sacred Penman, that the Protestant would for ever lose his right to the character of a Christian, should he form an association with a religion which God has described in such dark characters, and against which as a system so much has been denounced. I shall merely quote as much of the several chapters as refer to the subject, and shall be very brief in my remarks.

TURN your attention to 1 Tim. 4th chap. 1st ver. "Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils ; speaking lies in hypocrisy ; having their conscience seared with a hot iron ; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." Now, Sir, in this passage you will find some of the doctrines of those persons whom you are pleased to call "worshippers of the same Redeemer" with the Protestant. They are persons who renounce the authority of Scripture, giving heed to *seducing spirits*, who invent fables, and palm them on their followers as "traditions received from the fathers." Their doctrines are called *Doctrines of Devils*, holding tenets not contained in the Scripture, but opposed to it ;—*blasphemous* doctrines, such as transubstantiation, absolution, and the like ;—*impure* doctrines, such as indulgences for sin at *given rates* ;—*false* doctrines, having no existence in Reason and Scripture ;—*cruel* doctrines, teaching that it is not a sin, but a duty to murder their fellow-creatures for the interest of the church : And another doctrine of the devil is, that "Ignorance is the mother of devotion." For this purpose their worship is in an unknown tongue, that Satan the god of this world may find no obstacle to his designs upon the understandings and the hearts of sinners. The Apostle also describes the people to whom he alludes, as persons who "*speak* lies in hypocrisy," filling the world with tales of the

power of the church in working miracles, in delivering from purgatory, and even from hell. In ascribing to relics (no matter of whom) the power of working miracles, and even to images which themselves have made. They are said to have the conscience "seared as with a hot iron," impervious to the threatenings of God's word, and to the feelings of nature, destroying their fellow-creatures without remorse, and even insulting them in their torments. These persons are also represented "as forbidding to marry," enjoining their priests to a life of celibacy, their monks and nuns to perpetual exclusion. Thus setting at defiance the authority of God, casting reproach on a Divine Institution, and attempting to frustrate his intentions with respect to the subsistence of the world.

Now, Sir, let me refer you to another passage where you will also have a further description of *your* "worshippers of the same Redeemer." 2nd Book of the Thess. 2nd chap. 3d ver. "Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day (meaning the second appearance of Christ) shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition: who opposeth and exalteth himself, above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.—For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he who now letteth, will let, until he be taken out of the way." Now,

Sir, the “falling away,” spoken of by the Apostle, refers to the gradual apostacy of the Roman church, in her departure from the Scriptures as a rule of faith, worship, and practice, and in her “teaching for doctrines the commandments,” the Bulls, the Decrees “of Men.” The Pope, or rather the system of which he is the head, is called “the Man of Sin;” the whole system being opposed to the authority and the purity of God, subverting the design of the Gospel, which is to lead men from sin to holiness, and by giving a sanction and encouragement to sin, in making the pardon of it a marketable commodity. To this, it may be added, that the Popes, in general, have been men of the most abandoned and profligate characters, raised to the dignity by intrigue, and supported in it by every species of craft, extortion, and rapine!—By “the Man of Sin being *revealed*,” the Apostle evidently looks forward to the assumption of temporal power by the Pope, and which he was enabled to do by the concessions of Phocas, in the year 606. This power had been gradually gaining ground. The lust for dominion began to show itself so early as the Apostles’ days; “the mystery of iniquity (saith he) doth *already* work,” comparing it to leaven—secret, insinuating, and operative. The rites of the Roman church partake more of the unhallowed mysteries of the Pagan worship, than they do of the simplicity of the Gospel. They need only the sacrifices of the Heathen to complete it; but even this they supply,

by what they are pleased to term the *bloodless* sacrifice of the mass! It is impossible for sober reason to attend their temples, without feeling a mixed sensation of grief and indignation: grief, that human nature should act so absurdly; and indignation, at the methods taken to enslave the mind,—the *mind* which other tyrants have left free! The whole system is therefore properly called, a “mystery of iniquity,” founded in injustice to *God*, for it robs him of his glory; in injustice to *Man*, for it deprives him of the means of salvation; and in injustice to the *World*, whom it deprived of its natural rights, its inhabitants of their liberty, their property, and their lives. Popery is a libel on Divine wisdom, and on Divine goodness: their dogmas and their worship are an insult to common sense and common decency. For my own part, I never enter one of their places of worship, when they are engaged in their devotions, but I am forcibly impressed with the marked coincidence observable between their conduct and the young man whose history is recorded in the 9th chapter of the Gospel by St. Luke, and which also strongly corresponds with what is mentioned of the priests of Baal, who, as a part of their worship, “leaped upon the altar which was made,” jumping up and down as the Papists do at this day, and calling *that* divine worship. Their behaviour is more like that of men “*possessed*,” than of persons in their “right minds,” and engaged in the sublimest exercises of the understanding.

THE other name given to the Pope, or rather the system of Popery, is that of "the Son of Perdition," having been the cause of the ruin and destruction of cities and nations, sporting with the lives of men and the peace of society. But this destroyer is doomed to destruction; this author of perdition is to partake of it, it is his birthright, and at length he will enter upon the full possession of his inheritance. He enjoys this name in common with Judas, because he too had betrayed his Master; and, like the Pope, for money. In the *manner* too, there is a strong resemblance—Judas betrayed him with a kiss; and the Pope by erecting an altar, subversive of his authority. But, lest you should be in any doubt, Sir, with regard to the person whom this respects, the Apostle puts the matter beyond all doubt. He describes him as a person who *opposes* "himself to all that is called God." This has been the invariable practice of the Bishop of Rome. Wherever a monarch was found hardy enough to assert his own or his people's independence, every spiritual and temporal engine was employed for his destruction.—You are extremely unfortunate in your allusions. Why call us back to the days of *John*? You forget that the *Holy* father claimed the right to dispossess him of his crown,—commanded a foreign enemy to invade the British shore; you forget that he fomented the rebellion of the barons, and on the mean and unprincipled *submission* of the meanest of men, and the odium of Kings, to the usurped authority

of a priest, was his crown restored to him, and his subjects commanded to submit. Are these the days, Sir, you wish to see again in England? Do you desire to see us again under the paternal care of the *Most Holy* father; and he, good man, employing his arts to incite rebellion and invasion, and reducing alternately the Monarch and his people to a state of the most abject dependence, as it might best suit his caprice or his policy? What a scandal to the world!—an Italian priest assumes the prerogative of disposing of the King of England's crown, and of absolving his subjects from their allegiance to his person and his government!—O tell it not in Gath!

THERE is another part of his character equally true, and confirmed by the concurrent history of nations: “Who—exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped.” Causing Emperors to hold the stirrup while he mounted his horse, to kneel in his presence, to kiss his toe! at his pleasure subverting their laws, and changing the constitutions of their governments! But, as if all this were a mere figure; if to trample upon the Princes and Potentates of this earth were nothing, he is equally presumptuous with regard to the God of Heaven: “He sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.” Having his throne at the altar, where they profess to worship God; assuming a power of suspending and of altering his laws, and the ordinances of his worship;

assuming his prerogative of defining sin, and of absolving from its penalties; usurping his authority, and even affixing the seal of eternal damnation to those who disobey his mandates.

THAT there may be no reason to doubt of whom the Apostle has been speaking, he tells you that the "coming" of this person "is after the working of Satan," craftily, industriously, perseveringly, "compassing sea and land," to make proselytes, "with all power, and signs, and lying wonders;" filling the world with accounts of the power of their exorcisms, the virtues of their incantations, and the number of their miracles! Such, Sir, is the account which Paul gives of the Catholic religion, and of the conduct of its supporters. You see nothing like this in the Established Church, nor in any other church on the face of the earth. It is solely and exclusively applicable to the church of Rome: you find no such assumption of power, no such doctrines, no such practices elsewhere. But, lest this should not be enough to set the church of Christ upon her guard against all association with such a corrupt body; lest the description should not be sufficiently full, to point out at once the object of whom they were to be aware, the Apostle, in another place, Col. 2nd chap. 18th ver. still more distinctly brings them before our view: "Let no man beguile you of your reward in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his

fleshly mind, and not holding the head." This "voluntary humility" consists in prostrations, penances, mortifications: it is "voluntary," for God has not commanded it; and though it has a *show* of humility, it is the fruit of a mind "vainly puffed up,"—holy above the law, a work of superoragation! The Apostle afterwards calls it *will-worship*; not founded on the Scriptures, but originating in the fancy of man. To this he joins "neglecting of the body;" meaning their abstinence from meats, as if every creature of God were not good, and to be enjoyed with moderation and gratitude. The practice of the Catholics, too, in paying divine honours to the angelic host, is not omitted by Paul. The mystery of iniquity was not to be completely filled up, till "worshipping of angels" made a part of it. Now, Sir, it is notorious, that this makes a distinguished part of Roman Catholic worship—"Michael and all angels pray for us."

I COULD produce you a further description of the same church, from the Book of the Revelation of John; but for the present I spare you. Now, Sir, from the authorities I have cited, do you conceive that the Apostle Paul considered whom he has so described, as believers in the same Gospel with himself? Do you suppose it possible, that he accounted them the worshippers of "the same Redeemer?" Is it to be entertained for a moment, that he considered "their law, the law of Christ?" Is it

in the range of human credulity to be believed, that he would have made "common cause" with them? Scripture is the sole judge in this matter; "and to the law and to the testimony if" you "speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in" you! I agree with you, that "the Saviour of mankind came on earth to teach the love of God," but he also taught his followers to "beware of men,"—not of lions, or of tigers, or of wolves, but of *men*,—of *men* more savage than them all; adding, as a reason, "they will put you out of the synagogues: nay, the time cometh, that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service." Do you think, Sir, that the divine Redeemer came to *sanction* ignorance, error, and idolatry? Do you suppose, that because he *permits* it in the wisdom of his dispensations to exist in the world, that therefore he *approves* of it? It is surely enough, that a false religion is *tolerated*, its adherents protected, without being endowed, without possessing a power, which it must, according to its very nature, employ for the subjugation of every other. Where do you find that "we act in direct opposition to the injunctions of the Deity, when we denounce the greater part of the people of Europe as idolaters, because they profess the religion of Popery?" Do you find this in the Scriptures—in the Scriptures which define what idolatry is, and is full of denunciations against it? What injunctions of the Deity, Sir, are you in possession of, which enables you to fly in the face of his word? If there be a meaning

in language, the church of Rome, in the fullest extent, is an idolatrous church. I have proved it so beyond dispute, I defy you to controvert my reasoning. It is true, that we have *your* assertion in support of what you affirm; but I have the whole authority of the Scriptures, in support of my argument. There is Mr. Grattan on the one side, and the Apostle Paul! There is Mr. Grattan, and the Bible! God speaks of things and of men as they are; he never compliments away the truth; he never calls "evil good, and good evil." The Bible calls the Catholics idolaters, and so do I: *you* know, too, that they are so. To refresh your memory, I will repeat to you the second commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee *any graven image, or any likeness of any thing* that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generation of them that hate me; and shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments." Now, Sir, was you ever in a Catholic chapel during service? Did you ever look around you while they were performing their orgies? Did you ever see the priest take some trifling ornament, (I am so much a worshipper of "the same Redeemer," that I do not know the name of it, nor am at all ashamed of my ignorance,) and hold it up in the presence of the people, who instantly

prostrated themselves to the earth, as if blown down by a hurricane? Did you ever see them enter their places of worship, did you ever see them depart from them? You have, consequently, seen the homage they paid to the altar, to the crucifix, or to some other idolatrous object. You have visited the palaces of the Great, for who would not be proud to have Grattan for a guest! Your philanthropy has taken you to the hovel of the peasant. In the former you have seen the golden crucifix; in the latter, the pasteboard deity! You have beheld the deluded creatures of both orders, pay them the most devout adoration. The idolatry is complete. There is the making the graven image, there is the falling down before it, there is saying to the work of men's hands, "Ye are our gods!" There is the second commandment, and there is the practice of the Papists: there is idolatry forbidden, and there is idolatry in the act.

IF I apprehend you rightly, I think you might have spared your allusion to the illustrious Warrior whose name stands at the head of European Conquerors. Admit that there were Catholics in his army, he did not command them, because they were Catholics, but Soldiers;—they did not conquer, because they were Catholics, but Soldiers;—they are not entitled to the gratitude of their country, because they are Catholics, but Soldiers. His connexion with them, was of a *military*, not of a *religious* nature: the battles he fought, were to

prevent aggression ; to restore Europe to what it *had* been ; to restore to the several countries the Governments they had once enjoyed, and to place them on a permanent basis. Till now, however, I never understood, that the work of deliverance was not to be considered perfected, until the destruction of our own Government was effected. That having secured to every country in Europe the constitutions they had enjoyed before they drew the sword, that he was to return, and dismember *that* under which England became the Arbitress of Europe. He was to visit foreign climes, to stop the progress of innovation ; he was to return home to introduce it ! What though his allies were Catholics, they did not enter the field with *crucifixes*, but with *swords* : it was as *warriors*, not as *religious*, that they were combined ; they went to *fight*, not to *debate* ! What though the Pope were restored, he was restored *to his own* ; not by the by because he was a Catholic, but because he was a *Prince* : to keep him from it, would have been unjust. And you are offended, now that the trump of war has ceased to blow the blast of desolation, that in the great Council of his country the Duke of Wellington comes forward to prevent any thing that may lead to the abuse of it. It adds to his renown, that he has laid down “his weapon in the dust of the schools ;”—no dust can dim it ! I have told you, that it was as Soldiers, not as Catholics, that the allies and him were identified. Had he called them *cowards*, it would have been to *their* disgrace

to have merited the epithet—to *his*, if he had called them so, without a reason. In calling them *idolaters*, he says nothing about their *military* characters; he speaks of them as he believes of them; and under both characters he has always spoken truly. Could he suit his talent to his tale, and dissemble that he might declaim, he might, perhaps, call those whom the Bible pronounces idolaters, worshippers of the “same Redeemer,” as the members of the Protestant church; but the Hero of Waterloo is above dissimulation!

You say with an air of some confidence, “when we say that the Catholic religion does not recognise the moral obligation of an oath, we say that the Catholic religion is not of divine origin.” Well! What of all that? You know that they do not recognise the moral obligation of an oath. It must depend upon the religion of the person with whom it is made, and must not be against the interest of the church; or if it is, it is not binding. Then comes the awful consequence: “we say that the Catholic religion is not of divine origin;” craftily said, its *origin*: but we have nothing to do with its origin here; the oath relates to its *practice*, and not to its *origin*. The church founded in Rome, was of divine origin: there Peter preached; there Paul preached: and it was from Rome that Paul wrote one of the prophetic descriptions of the present church of Rome, which I have formerly introduced to your notice. But between the two

states of that church, there is as much difference as between the flesh of a healthy child and the emaciated, infectious carcase of a debauchee! The former had all the characters of Divinity about it; the latter is not illumined by a single ray!

BUT there is something which you fondly imagined would set the matter for ever at rest. You ask, with an air of triumph, “Who will say that the religion of the greatest part of christendom—the religion of France—the religion of Spain, (I am glad you remembered *Spain*,)—the religion of Italy—nay, that religion from which our own has emanated; (“*try back*,” my dear Sir,) is not of Divine origin? What! shall we say that these nations are lost to Christianity? Shall we vauntingly proclaim, that the Deity has been kind only to ourselves in enlightening us with his Gospel? Shall we say, that we alone are certain of salvation; while all those who differ from us in religious sentiments, must inevitably perish,—we only being saved the wreck of his Omnipotence?” So much, and no more; to all which may be given a very speedy answer.

WHENEVER the Bible tells me, Sir, that the religion of the greater part of Christendom is such as God has declared to be idolatrous, I *will call it so*; and if you call it *otherwise*, you call it by a name which it does not deserve. How far the Protestant religion “*emanated*” from it, I endeavoured formerly to show you: it still remains to

be shown in what way error produces truth, or darkness is the parent of light. You again repeat, "who will say, that the religion of these countries is not of divine origin?" I say it: *I have done more*—I have *proved* it; and proved it, by what is the only standard of truth—the Holy Scriptures. Then you go on: "What! shall we say that these nations are *lost* to Christianity?" You may, if you please; for as *nations*, they *are* lost to Christianity. I have no doubt, but there are myriads of good people in all these countries; but they are not indebted to *Popery* for their goodness. God never will bless an ordinance for the salvation of the souls of men, that he has not appointed; he never will reward a service which he did not command. If by being "*lost* to Christianity," it can be understood they are beyond its power or influence, this is an error; for though gross darkness covers them at present, the glorious Gospel of the blessed God will yet arise upon them, dispelling the mists of error and superstition, and guiding their feet into the way of peace. Your next inquiry should have been answered by the whole House *standing*, with three cheers: "Shall we vauntingly proclaim to the world, that the Deity has been only kind to ourselves, in enlightening us with his Gospel?" Yes, but not *vauntingly*, you *may* proclaim it; and as loudly and as long as you please, that there is no nation under Heaven, so *highly* favoured as the United Kingdom. He has been kind to us in a most eminent degree; and we may say, in a quali-

fied sense, as it was said of ancient Israel: "He hath not dealt so with any nation." There are thousands on the earth who enjoy the light of the Gospel as well as we; but there is no nation where it is enjoyed so *purely*, and to such an *extent*, as in our own. There is no nation where it is so distinctly recognised, where it is so publicly acknowledged, and where it is more generally obeyed. When I look at Scotland, at England, at Ireland; when I think of the millions of enlightened Christians they can number within their borders, it is impossible not to exclaim, in the sublime strains of eastern eloquence, "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob! and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign-aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as the cedar-trees beside the waters: He shall pour the water out of his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters; and his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted."

YOUR last inquiry, under favour of great names, is *not very judicious*. "Shall we say, that we alone, are certain of salvation; while all those who differ from us in religious sentiments, must inevitably perish, we only being saved the wreck of his Omnipotence?" It is certain, that people may *say* what they please; and where you are reported to have delivered the Speech under review, you know you enjoy a freedom in that way, which

other people do not. I should not wonder, if by and by some Petitions were not presented against the disabilities that *we* labour under in this respect : it is a dreadful evil not to be allowed to speak as *some* of the Members do in the House of Commons!!

BUT, Sir, with regard to the point in hand, you and I have no business with whom God pleases to save, or with those whom he will not save. Your business and mine, is to endeavour to secure ourselves. The creatures of God are in his hands, and he is rich in mercy and ready to forgive. With the Divine *intention*, we have nothing to do : it is by his *Word*, that we must shape our conduct : “ Secret things belong unto God ; things that are revealed belong unto us.” But though I cannot tell you whom God means to save, I can give you a little insight into the fate of a description of persons with whom I hope in life and in death, you and I will have but little or nothing to do. You will find their character and their doom in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, 2d chap. 8th verse : “ Then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming : even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish ; because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall send them

strong delusion, that they should believe a lie; that they all might be damned who believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness."

THE Paper informs me, that when you had finished making all these inquiries, that the House *cheered* you. Whether they did so on account of what you had said, or because you had *made an end* of asking such all-important questions, I cannot say: had I been there, it should have been on account of the latter. Surely *Mr. Wilberforce* did not cheer! He could not cheer a man who had been putting questions to the House, (and that too in a way which led the Honourable Members to believe that they were *unanswerable*,)—questions which every infidel in the world has employed as an argument against the Divinity of the Mosaic, as well as the Gospel dispensation. They deny the former, because it was confined to *one* nation; they deny the latter, because so *few*, comparatively, of the nations of the earth are acquainted with it: and *you*, Sir, seem to think that the Protestant religion is liable, if not precisely to the same objection, yet to no *preference*, because it is only the religion of *England*; whereas the Catholic reigns triumphant in France, *Spain*, Italy, Portugal, and some minor States. You seem to think that it will be impugning the kindness of the Deity, to say that he has enlightened us, while others are in darkness, and roundly assert, that acting on such a principle, we can lay claim "*to no religion*." But you are

not aware where your zeal has led you. Your argument militates against the whole of the Old Testament; for on your principles, it is not to be believed, that God should enlighten only *one* nation of the earth, while all the rest were allowed to remain in darkness. On this account, the Jews might have refused submission to the law of God, because the thunders of Sinai were heard *only* in *their* camp; the Protestant may renounce his religion, because it is not the national religion of the countries already mentioned; and the Catholic may again descend one step lower in the intellectual scale, and renounce Popery itself, because the immense population of the East, and the tribes of the North and South have never been privileged with its *mild* and *beneficent* association!! Fortified by your argument, the Atheist advances, and denies his belief of a Providence, because "the enviable blessings of the English Constitution" are not enjoyed by the inhabitants of Fez: he goes a step further, and denies that a Being of infinite wisdom and goodness could have created the world, because though the vales of Palestine were fertile, the deserts of Arabia present nothing but a sheet of sand to the eye of the traveller! When next your meditations incline to this subject, whatever be the contracted range of the Protestant religion, or the more ample circuit of the Catholic, remember that whatever arguments you may bring against the moral government of God, that he will continue to

do according to his will in the armies of heaven and amongst the inhabitants of the earth.

PROCEEDING in the same strain, though a little more *profanely*, and with the same title to sense and sound reason, you say “your act is this—it declares that a man may not be entrusted with a vote in your Councils, but he may be entrusted with the Navy of England.” Most certainly! Nothing can be more reasonable and proper than the distinction. In the *Council*, the Catholic would be a *master*—it would be his business to *command*: in the *Army* or *Navy*, he would be a *servant*—he must *obey*. A *Catholic*, a Member of the Privy Council, whose conscience is at the disposal of the Pope, and his *secrets* at his Confessor’s! *Privy Council*, indeed! I would just as soon the City Crier should hold the portefolio.—But you go on: “in these unlucky discussions, you will find a disposition to take from God his universal benevolence, to give Him their own heads, and their own hearts, indeed to make him a partial Deity.” Had I sat at your side when you had ended this sentence, I certainly would have called you to order. It is reckoned highly indecorous to introduce the name of the king of *England*, to influence a debate, and the King of kings certainly deserves the same courtesy. Besides, how does the appointment of officers in the Army or Navy, or a seat at the Council-board, at all interfere with his “universal benevolence?”

I know of no passage in the Sacred Volume, in which he is represented as the Regent of England, to whom belongs the appointment of Privy Counsellors; he is no-where represented as Lord High Admiral, or as Commander in Chief of the forces! How then can the refusal to admit Catholics to the Council-board, at all interfere with “*his* universal benevolence?” Were the Board filled with Catholics, or with as many as you should like to see there, yet still millions of our countrymen would be excluded; and they, too, might make the same observation with regard to a *partial* Deity, that you do on the present occasion. According to your doctrine, an objection lies against the government of God, and will not be removed until all men are on a level in point of intellect, rank, power, and property! For still those who found themselves below the level, would be complaining, as you do now, of a *partial* Deity; unless you imagine, that by placing Catholics in power, the universal benevolence of the Almighty had arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of his infinite and incomprehensible goodness!—You proceed to inform us, that by disqualifying one-fifth of our brethren, we give “to the remainder the monopoly of God!”

“Grattan, so tender of thy prince’s fame,
 “Why so profuse of a Superior Name?”

AGAIN you introduce the Deity, and not without some portion of profanity. I see, too, by the Paper,

that the House *cheered* you! *Mr. Wilberforce* did not cheer—I will not believe that he did. I wonder he sat patiently, silently, and heard you! To hear a Name which I know he adores, made the hack-horse of a party debate, and introduced in support of a religion which God has denounced, and yet without censure! It is incredible, at all events unaccountable! Probably he suffered it to pass without remark, pleased that there was at least *one name* in your Speech that commanded reverence. By not permitting Catholics to hold places of trust and power, you say that we make a “monopoly of God!” Pray, Sir, when was the Supreme Being identified with any place under the English Government? Could you have stated that we had closed *their* chapel-doors, and shut *our* church-doors against the admission of Catholics;—could you have stated that we had deprived them of the Bible, and forbid them the use of the Sacraments, then you might have said that we monopolized the *ordinances* of God;—but when you speak of making a “monopoly of God” himself, you assert that we measure the sea in the hollow of our hands, that we weigh the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance! Let me advise you, Sir, to make a less frequent use of the name of God. Sir Isaac Newton, whom you have mentioned with merited respect, never uttered it without uncovering! I wish I could infuse into your mind a portion of his spirit.

You accuse the Church of England of persecution. I read this with some portion of surprise, and perused your Speech with some degree of attention, in search of the proofs of it. I expected to have seen detailed accounts of the unhappy Catholics having been dragged from their homes, taken before High-commission Courts, put to the torture to accuse themselves, or those equally innocent;—I expected to have heard of the rack dislocating their joints, or of the *boot* and the *thumbscrew* reducing their bones to a mummy! —I expected that at least something would have been said of those evidences of the true church, the *stocks*, the *pillory*, the *gibbet*, and the *stake*! But no—none of all these. The height of the persecution is neither less nor more than this, that the Protestants having, when the Catholics were in power, received a very liberal supply of the *good* things I have mentioned from their hands, they have an objection to partaking of their *liberality* in that way again. The Protestant has been burned, and he dreads the fire! He says to the Catholic, “You have used me cruelly,—yet I’ll do you all the good I can. You shall be protected in your person, in your property, and in the free exercise of your religion. The law which provides for my security, provides also for yours. Trade and Commerce is open to your industry and speculation. If you have an inclination for enterprize, I throw open to you an Army renowned for

its conquests, and a Navy the mistress of the seas! You shall dwell beside me, but you shall not *rule my house.*" This is what the English law now says to the Catholic,—and this, *Mr. Grattan* calls *persecution!!* "I could a tale unfold, would harrow up thy soul;" but I forbear, and shall only, as a humble Protestant, throw you back the unmeaning, insulting compliment you are pleased to pay the Church of England. Having accused the Church of intolerance and persecution, you then tell us that you "love the mild government of the Church—it is the nurse of Hope, the cradle of Science, the balm of Affliction, the handmaid of Charity," while she is at the same time "cherishing intolerance," and is "in the very act of persecution!" The Church is very much obliged to you.

WHEN you were glancing at the intolerance of those opposed to you, I wonder that you should have forgot a gentle specimen of it which took place on the very evening that you made the Speech which now engages my attention. It was on account of a Petition having been presented against the Catholic claims, from the Archdeaconry and Diocese of Peterborough, by Mr. Cartwright: Mr. Western, the member for Essex, opposed the reception of it; assigning, as a reason, that it was unconstitutional in the Clergy to petition against it. This objection was promptly and manfully opposed

by Mr. Peel, and Mr. Methuen, the member for Wilts, who I am most happy to see on this occasion, has taken his station on the *true* whig side of the question. This Gentleman was called to order for having expressed his *abhorrence* of the Speech of Mr. Western! I give him credit for his warmth: "it is good to be zealously affected in a good thing." But this is not the only instance of intolerance, which this subject has elicited. The venerable Bishop of Salisbury, a prelate whose learning, piety, and zeal for the Protestant religion, sheds a lustre around the dignified station he holds amongst the Ministers of her church, received no better treatment on presenting one for the same object in the House of Lords. My Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Western, think it highly necessary and proper, that an Irish peasant should petition, should be heard, and even answered; but for a Protestant Clergyman to petition, is, to use their own words, highly "unconstitutional and improper." Indeed! The enemy is to destroy the fences of my vineyard, and the *Keeper* is to look supinely on and never move; and when the evil is done, and the "wild boar from the forest is rooting it up at pleasure," he is then to atone for all the consequences of his neglect, by exclaiming "Bless me! Who would have thought it!" The persons who seek the overthrow of the Church, are to be heard and attended to; but the men who are *officially* "set for the defence of the Gospel," are, it seems, to be

silent, passive, and even pleased at the approaching ruin!

YOUR ascribing Magna Charta to the Catholics, and making that an argument in their favour, is truly ridiculous. There was no other religion then in England; and your argument would go equally in favour of Mahometanism, or of any other national religion. Magna Charta was given for the purpose of *securing general liberty, on the basis of mutual confidence*; but as the Catholic religion destroys the *latter*, it would be madness to expect the former, wherever its influence is allowed to extend. Were I to proceed with your argument, I should propose that England should surrender the sovereignty of the seas to Naples, because Gioia invented or improved the mariner's compass; and that all the priests should be shot, because a monk of Cologn invented gunpowder! Remember, this is *your* argument—it is not *mine*.

NOTHING can be more foreign to the laws of this country than what you have asserted of them, that they encourage a spirit which calls upon the Catholic to abjure his religion. Where do you find it? You appear to have found it every-where, I can find it no-where. No man desires the Catholic to change his religion; but every man ought to be desirous that he shall not have it in his power to molest the Protestant in the free exercise of

his, and far less, that he should be enabled to visit with pains and penalties as formerly, those who differ from him. I argue from *fact*; you proceed on theory. The Catholic has been a persecutor: he may not be so again; but it is too late to talk of insuring the house, when it is in flames. From all that has been advanced in favour of their plea, it is evident that the great body of the Catholics will not be benefitted: it is probable that one-half of them are unacquainted with what their officious friends have been doing for them! The country is, therefore, to be repeatedly disturbed for the sake of an *aspiring few*, who, when they had gained their object, would only create a new ferment; for the great body of the Catholics not having been "*ameliorated*," their rancour would only be increased, according to the additional power they had afforded them of doing mischief, and the disappointment they had sustained, while the offering to peace would ever be—"the heads of those men." 1 Sam. chap. 4 ver. 29.

I HAVE thus endeavoured to glance at what appeared to me the most material points in your Speech. If I have put a different construction upon any thing delivered by you, than what you intended it should bear, I shall be sorry: I am not conscious of having mistaken you; I am sure it is not intentional. It would have given me pleasure to have followed you from sentence to sentence,

still anticipating a triumph for truth ; but it would have exceeded the limits which I had prescribed to myself, and would have necessarily obliged me to omit much of what I (though perhaps erroneously) deemed important at the present moment. Perhaps on a future day I may allow my penury another excursion ; and, as a proof of my esteem, may select you as the object of my travels.

THOUGH we have differed on every point that has been introduced, yet to a certain extent at last we shall agree. I say, with you, “ *Emancipate the Catholics ! Come, and emancipate ! Do that, and look in the face the Tudor and the Plantagenet !*” but, I must be allowed to add, “ turn your backs on God and his Gospel, on Religion and Liberty, on every thing that gives security to the Throne, and peace and prosperity to the People.

I am, Sir, most respectfully,

Your obedient Servant,

A PROTESTANT.

May 7th, 1819.

The Right Hon.
Henry Grattan, M.P.

P.S. THE allusion you made to *Spain*, recalled to my mind the conduct of his Catholic Majesty, on issuing the order for the expulsion of the Jesuits, in the year 1767. His

reasons for doing it, are given in the following words: "That the just and weighty motives which obliged him with regret, to issue this necessary order, remained locked up in his royal breast; and that he has only made use of his authority in this affair, without taking any other course; yielding only to the motions of his royal clemency, as being the Father and Protector of his People!" *Detail of Public Occurrences*, p. 76.

Now, Sir, these are the words of the Catholic King; of one who was well acquainted with the persons he was speaking of,—men of the same religion with himself. Yet he tells you, that he considers the *expulsion* of them from his country, an act of "*royal clemency*" to his subjects; one which he was bound to perform, as "the Father and Protector of his people!" They were deemed unworthy to *remain* in a *Catholic* country. You know that they were expelled from France, Portugal, and Naples, at the same time; and yet you will not be content, except they are permitted to *bear rule* in a *Protestant* state! Here I cannot help referring to your *unanswerable* inquiry, "What! Shall *we* be *right*, and France, and *Spain*, and Portugal, and Naples, be *wrong*?" You omitted *Spain* in your enumeration; I introduce her to your notice, as my very powerful ally, and as enabling you to furnish a case against yourself.