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AN EARNEST ADDRESS.

S T A N D !

AN EARNEST ADDRESS

TO THE

FRIENDS OF OUR EMBODIED

CHURCH IN ENGLAND

AND

IRELAND,

AT THE

PRESENT CRISIS OF ITS FATE.

BY THE REV. JAMES BERESFORD, A.M.

RECTOR OF KIBWORTH, LEICESTERSHIRE, LATE FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

[Written in April, 1829, on the subject of the "Roman Catholic Relief Bill," at that time pending. Now first printed. For the cause of the delay, and for the increased urgency of the reasons which have induced the author to publish his Address at the present moment,—see the Preface.]

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P R E F A C E.

May, 1835.

IN the present and prospective state of the incorporated Church of England and Ireland, but little requires to be said, by way of introduction to the article now submitted to public notice. The events which have already befallen our Protestant brethren in the sister island, and the ominous rapidity with which the *Roman Catholic* churches and congregations are daily extending themselves in *England*, since the introduction of the papists into our parliament, are sufficiently notorious. So completely may those events be said to have rivetted the attention of all sound Protestants—so deeply have they been investigated, and so keenly criticised, through every public channel of communication, by far more capacious minds than that of the present writer, that he feels himself called upon to offer a few words, explanatory of the course upon which he now ventures, on giving publicity to this Address. He alludes to the presumption with

which he may seem to be fairly chargeable, in obtruding his particular views of the question in hand, after his own free confession, above made, that that question has been exhausted by his abler concurrents in the same field of inquiry.*

His proposed explanation is of a twofold nature. In the first place, while the memorable debates on the Catholic Relief Bill, in 1829, were yet hastily proceeding, it suddenly occurred to him that, late as it then was, he might possibly be still in time to present the question in an effective point of view, by means of a warning anticipation, under numerous distinct heads, or items, of the long series of mis-

* On the point before us, another, and, to the author, a far more painful charge against him, may too probably be made; viz. that the enactment of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill can never be recalled to mind, in disconnexion with the names (though he has never mentioned them) of its principal managers,—those honoured and beloved Names, whose very sound has, *now*, a magical power over every true British heart. Yet, here let it be candidly considered, whether the revived memory of a circumstance so universally known, ought, on the sole ground of personal delicacy, to have compelled the entire suppression of his opinions on a great national measure, involving either the safety, or the sudden downfall, of our venerated Church—a measure which no true Protestant could have touched at all, without constant reference to, and even unqualified censure of, that law, from which every one more clearly sees, from hour to hour, that our danger has directly arisen.

conceptions which adhered to the measure in view, — and, above all, of the certain evils, both spiritual and physical, which might be expected to accumulate upon its eventual adoption.

As it happened that the foregoing method of treating the subject had not been previously followed by others, the present writer felt it wholly impossible, with the feelings that possessed him, to remain silent any longer. In the fear of losing his labour, he wrote as quickly as was at all consistent with the care and circumspection which the case so pressingly demanded. The result, however, was, that he was distanced, towards the close, by a hasty settlement of the question.

Since the above period, six years have past. Notwithstanding his former disappointment, however, the author has at length determined (with whatever degree of discretion) that the smothered offspring of his zeal, in this highest and holiest of all causes, shall, even now, be restored to life and motion. In thus resolving, he has been actuated by no other impulse, or argument, (beyond the motive already assigned,) except the following—viz. that those who preceded him on the same subject, had confined their attention to *past*, or *passing*, changes,—whereas *his* performance, at the now distant

time when it fell from his pen, was *prophetic* of those changes, as well as of their consequences. On this consideration, his hope was, that by the exact accomplishment of his predictions, which has since fallen out, even a stronger impression might possibly be made, than by those *retrospective* reasonings and opinions from others, which, intrinsically, and on the score of intellect, are of far higher account.

The principle,—true or false,—upon which the advantage above supposed would rest, will readily present itself to the intelligent; it is therefore left to be appreciated,—and either rejected, or accepted,—by the reader.

But this, and every other such question, sinks into insignificance, during the present astounding pause in all the vital pulses of England, and Ireland,—at the moment when the fiat of our destiny,—for ruin, or conservation,—for idolatry, and anarchy, on one hand,—or true Christianity, and a matchless fabric of government, on the other,—is about to be pronounced.

And thus is the writer led to his *second* reason for *now* publishing what was written by him six years ago—viz. that the present is a still more threatening juncture than the former. In 1829, the question relating to the Catholic Relief Bill was, with a view to its ultimate consequences, but a theory: it was not absolutely certain, that

the admission of the Roman Catholics would be attended by all its apprehended evils. In 1835, on the contrary, the case has been completely changed into a *practical* one: the *actual* infliction of these evils began with the *granted* power of inflicting them; and with what baleful diligence,—and by *whose* help and favour,—the enemy has since been working towards his final mark, is sufficiently shown by the progress he has, thus far, made in storming the *Irish*, on his meditated march toward the *English*, Towers of our united church. The siege is, for a short interval, at a stand. We are thus allowed a little time to breathe. This, then, is the critical moment for presenting such a picture of the Roman Catholics, religiously considered,—and such a disclosure of their unchangeable dispositions to *us-ward*,—as is attempted in the ensuing Address. A cursory glance at truths, and prospects, like these, might rouse the weakest and most spiritless of our Christian brethren into fervent alacrity in defence of our Church Militant, in this her severest hour of trial.

And now, may the devout supplications of those who, in this war of souls, have “stood for Heaven,” prevail to avert from us those appalling signs of “wrath awake,” which are so visibly gathering around us!—Such omens, there are many now living, who can remember to have

seen closely followed by the angry visitations they announced ; and this, too, when the sanctuaries of our religion had been far less daringly desecrated than now. Believe me, then, I implore you, my Christian friends, when I solemnly say, that, to realize the hope which I would kindle in your hearts, the Almighty must be remembered, wherever He has been forgotten ;—that, in the first place, there must be the spirit of heart-felt penitence, (verified by reformation,) and of humble, yet ardent prayer, in *all* throughout the land,—more especially in all who have been tempted,—and *most* especially in their tempters,—to such a mad mutiny against the powers of heaven and earth, as is *new* in the long, black history of human wickedness, and which, if longer suffered to rage, must call down judgments, “red with peculiar vengeance,” from on high.

The *other* indispensable means of deliverance may be said to depend (under God) upon *ourselves*,—and these consist in continuing to oppose a combined resistance, increasing in strength with the stress of our danger, to the acts of certain authorities, who have recently leagued themselves with a certain other *self-constituted*, but sole-commanding Power, against our ecclesiastical establishment—a coalition, the full success of which would have, for its immediate and inevi-

table consequence, the furious overthrow of *God's* church,—her ruins to be used as stepping-stones to the plotted predominancy of *another* church, which is . . . *not* of God,—a consummation to be mainly effected by the utter extinction (were it possible) of the *genuine Word* of God—of that Word which is nothing less than the divine record of our admissibility to the everlasting joys, and glories, of heaven!

In all that is above said—as well as in the Address to which it is prefatory—I have kept within my professional province, by restricting myself to religious, unmixed with civil or political views. In regard to all that concerns the present, as compared with the late, frame of our Constitution—the disappearance of many among our legalised rights and possessions,—our existing military attitude, and management—the *reform* introduced into our naval policy and practice, both warlike and commercial—REFORM ITSELF,—including the parent tree, together with all its innumerable ramifications—our innovated system of free [fettered?] trade—the expediency, or inexpediency, of cashiering a Speaker of the House of Commons, *on account of* his transcendent claims to be retained—our foreign alliances (*one* of these alliances in particular, and our adherence, or non-adherence, to certain others)—our financial and statistical regulations, more especially as

affecting the interests of agriculture at large, and as tending, or not, to advance and secure the moral condition, as well as the bodily comforts, of the labourer, manufacturer, and all the humbler orders of the community—whether it would be sanity, or frenzy, to let into our two Universities, and invest with all their honours and privileges, a host of dissentients from those doctrines, to the support of which, the above institutions were, from the first, professedly consecrated,—and who, for this very reason, were virtually excluded, by their several founders, from the number of the students;—finally, with respect to the question whether, in what has been already done, and is still doing, Great Britain will have sacrificed, or sustained, that undisputed supremacy of rank, power, and character, which made her at once the envy, the wonder, and the political Standard, of surrounding nations;—all these, I say, are topics, which I leave with those to whom they fitly belong, and by whom, with great ability, they continue to be canvassed.

To the above questions, however, there must yet be added *one*, so gravely important, as to involve the fate of all the others;—for, here, your advisers will further have to decide for you as to the propriety of tempting the populace, at one strong pull, to tear down our Constitution

in Church and State,—and to seize, and brandish, the powers *thus* acquired, at their pleasure, and in their own peculiarly animated manner,—this change in the posture of our affairs having long been favoured (and forwarded?) by our official protectors themselves, just by way of experiment—in order that, as many as would like to see it tried, may indulge their curiosity as to the *upshot*,—or, in other words, may know to a certainty, whether gunpowder, piled in sufficient quantities over the whole surface of our island, and touched by a spark, will, or will not, in a single instant, blow to atoms our far-famed country, with all its inhabitants.

The main matter for your inquiry, then, is simply this—Whether you ought to be *pleased* with the plan, and *its natural consequences*, as above represented,—or whether, on the other hand, any weight should be allowed to certain counter-statements from those to whose opinions I have referred you all along. For *they*, I suspect, will be ready to say to you,—“Mark!—you have, at present, a settled form of government, uniting, in its complicated system, the distinct provinces of Royalty, Nobility, and a lawfully elected Popular Constituency,—these component parts being so organized and adjusted,—so nicely balanced by the reciprocal action, and re-action, of each upon the other two,—and, by

the interposal of mutual restraints, so providently secured from fatal injury, or disorder, in their occasional conflicts, or accidental collisions,—as to make them coalesce into a tripartite body of co-equal and concordant authorities, working, and ruling, together, (while undisturbed by “pressure from without,”) with the regularity of mechanism.”

But there is more—far more—to be heard from your counsellors, with relation to this State-Conservatory of our high fortunes and felicities. After dwelling for a while on the *theory* of the constitution, as above slightly drawn, they will, doubtless, proceed to claim your attention, by bringing the value of that theory to the sure test of its *practical results* ;—and these, they will say, are displayed in all their splendor, whenever the custody of this mighty Machine is confided to such hands as are worthy to command and direct its momentous and multifarious operations. For a rare combination of both moral and intellectual requisites must qualify their possessors for the adequate execution of a charge like this. At the head of these powers, you will be told, are—Wisdom,—Eloquence,—Probity,—Patriotism ; — and these are substantially seen, and felt, under the various forms of Financial depth, and discretion—unceasing vigilance in the supervision, and advancement, of every British interest, ge-

neral and personal—Profound and comprehensive views of men and things, in all their national and international relations—intense devotion to the study of political legislation—the treasured knowledge of all that universal history can bring to bear on the acquisition of consummate statesmanship—Courtesy, impartiality, disinterestedness, facility of access to all, of every grade, who have grievances demanding public redress—and, to crown and grace the whole, a certain taintless and instinctive purity of principle,—a generous ardour,—a nameless refinement and elevation of spirit,—which make them scorn, and loathe, all contact with whatever is abject, vile, and base.

“Such,”—I hear your teachers exclaim,—“such are the Characters created for such employments—yea, such the *living* men, who had answered, and more than justified, their Sovereign’s call to ascend,—and re-ascend,—the heights of power, as the Champions and Saviours of their country. Yet for *their* inestimable services, we are compelled to groan in vain.”—“And why, and how, and by whom, compelled?”—Should you urge your Conservative Referees with *this* question, I seem to foresee, that, instead of deigning to reply, they will suddenly and sternly address you to the following effect:—“You are, at this very hour, required to determine,—yea, or

may,—whether you will stand, like Britons, by a constitution, so framed as you have already seen, and claim for it that it shall again be administered by rulers fraught with the specified qualifications, (or as many, and as much of them, as can be found,)—or whether, by your consent, the rabble shall be gifted with a full opportunity of showing the world with what ease, and despatch, they can build, and work, *their* government, without any of *our* materials,—and of proving to us how erroneously we have, for ages past, been coupling the maintenance of England's constitution with that of England's glory.”

Concluding, then, with one general, and even cheerful, glance at the shadowed aspect of our beloved country, let me say, in my own person, to those whom I am now addressing,—Suffer not your alarm to darken into despair. Against all these tragical prognostics, draw hope, and heart, not only from your innumerable petitions, but also from the following sources:—We retain, as yet, a King, and an apostolical Church, apostolically governed; we have, still, a legitimate and an unconquered aristocracy,—still, a representative senate; and both, with potent, bold, and faithful rulers, *in abeyance*; we have Courts, of immaculate justice; we have a noble host of incorruptible Conservatives; we have a middle order of men, primed with all

the energies, and most of the virtues, that force, if they cannot fix, prosperity ; and, with these energies, and these virtues, they wait but for the moment which, by lightening their present burdens, and striking the shackles from their hands, would give them scope for action ;—there are found, let us humbly trust, far more than “ten righteous” in *each* of our cities. In the united body of Conservatives is awakened, *at last*, that buoyant spirit of zealous activity, and lynx-eyed wariness, which has, hitherto, alone been wanting ; we have, abundantly, whatever things are essential to the restoration and stabiliment of all our tottering establishments ; for, we have,—and *we have to ourselves*,—well-digested, and well-directed, knowledge,—common (as well as *uncommon*) sense,—the concentrated essence—the very heart and soul,—of free-born, free-bred independence, abhorrently nauseating all such words as, “*liberty*,”—“*liberal*,”—“*sovereign people*,” &c. &c. under the meaning insidiously palmed upon them by our demagogues, as provocatives to the blind ruffianism of their present servants, but future masters :—we have loyalty, and British courage,—eagerly ready to be summoned, and headed, when the hour may come, by the Prince of Captains ;—we have, for our religion, *Protestantism*,—inspiring, in her staunch adherents, fidelity to their brethren, and

christian confidence in their Creator. We have still, I repeat, all these ; and, what is infinitely *more* than these, we shall never cease to have (“*if* we will have Him”) for “our Helper, and Defender,” an All-seeing, All-controlling, All-just, and All-merciful GOD.

AN EARNEST ADDRESS,

&c., &c.

MY PROTESTANT BRETHREN,

ARE we then lost?—Not yet :—“ Let England to herself be true,”—true to her renowned establishments in Church, and State,—true, above all, to HIM, by whose signal blessing upon those Establishments they have so long stood, and flourished,—and then we neither are, nor shall be, lost. I for one, my friends, as an appointed minister of such a church, and a member of such a state, will not allow myself, through timidity, to hold my peace. At the present frowning hour, every man, of every rank and calling, who has a tongue to speak, a hand to write, a head to think, or a heart to feel, is summoned, as by the sound of a trumpet, to spring forward and strenuously join in working

out the general rescue. *All* are to be saying or doing *something*, when the *doom* of all is trembling in the balance.

And shall we *not* be found thus standing each at his sacred post?—or, as the only other alternative, shall we, with a blind and rash defiance of the direst of all dangers, deliberately consent to unbar with our own hands the gate of our besieged, but impregnable citadel?—and this, too, although that citadel was additionally fortified by our wise and wary ancestors, for the single purpose of effectually excluding this particular and most merciless enemy, for ever; and although the besiegers have not only refused to grant us any species of “security” (of *real* security) for their friendly demeanour when admitted, but have openly and repeatedly assured us through their leaders, both lay and priestly, that if, in the courtesy of our cowardice, we *should* admit them, it will instantly become their most solemn duty to blow up all our strongholds, and to convert as many of us as they may be pleased to *spare*, into tributary dependents for salvation on themselves!—And *why* are we urged by our mistaken friends to open the door at the command of *such* visitors as these? They have fairly told us why:—it is only because those visitors have alarmed them by the loudness of their knocking.

And now, (to have done with the metaphor,) let me loudly ask—*Are*, then, the faithful adherents to the Protestant name and cause disposed to wait in silence until their dismal sentence shall be passed?—The British people are *not* so disposed :—they are *not* ready to make the frantic sacrifice of all that is free and famous—happy and holy—in the great Metropolis of the World—for nothing!—For nothing, said I? For infinitely worse than nothing!—for ignominy—for apostasy—for spiritual and political prostration, and prostitution. They are not prepared, through the dread of man, to deny, or defy, their God; to turn His favour into vengeance by spurning His hallowed patronage, by slighting His recorded judgments, by deriding all who depend upon any higher direction or protection than that which is derived from earthly fear, or earthly “expediency.” For all this, I say, the sons of Britain are not ready ;—but I confidently trust that millions of them *are* ready, if the call should come, to *die* in their Creator’s cause, if life should prove to be incompatible with fidelity to that cause. To *die*, I say ; for even supposing that the threatened stigma should not be actually branded upon us at last, the rage of the disappointed aspirants may then break forth into overt hostility,—and in that case, it will come to be a question, whether we shall flock to, and

fight under, the standard of the cross, or desert it and fly.

The employment of the dreadful engine to which I here allude, and more especially in civil warfare, is never innocent except in the most perilous extremity—nor even then perhaps except for self-defence, and when the dearest and most sacred rights of men are assailed in arms. At *such* an extremity, in the case I have been supposing, we should actually arrive, and should thus be hurried on to a mortal decision of the controversy,

“ Like waters to the sucking of a gulf.”

Should it here be demanded of me, Why is this fatal extremity to be apprehended? my answer would be, that none who retain the faculty of reason, and the powers of memory,—none who will fairly open their eyes and ears to what is spoken, written, and acted, by the Irish Romanists at the present hour, and will compare what is thus passing with the whole history of their religion, can fail to be certified, that our property—our soil—our honour—our civil constitution—our church-establishments—our liberties—our lives—nay our very souls, (for some among us might drop their courage, and apostate—

tize, at the stake,) are struck at, in anticipation, by the most determined adversaries that ever pleaded piety and conscience, for perjury and massacre. Let me here, however, be understood to speak of the *creed* of popery, with its unrecanted doctrines, dogmas, and systematical persecutions—not of *all* the *individual professors* of that religion; for some there are, whose personal virtues (except where *his Holiness* commands them to be *unholy*) have, in numerous instances, been warmly attested, even by their Protestant friends.

I have intimated that we are called upon to make the surrenders required, on the undisguised principle of *fear*;—and yet we have a full acknowledgment, at the same time, from the advocates of concession, that even this prudential panic—this national ague—*may* eventually leave us exposed to those *real* sufferings from which the *apprehension* of them purports to protect us;—with this additional sting, that we shall ourselves have wilfully invited the very calamity which is the object of our horror.

But now, since FRIGHT is thus, for the first time in our annals, openly avowed, as a sound principle of state-policy, it is not unreasonable to ask the sticklers for pusillanimity, what it is at which they want us to quake?—This question, it may perhaps be said, has been already an-

swered, by the exhibition of certain extracts from certain letters, detailing a few breaches of the peace in Ireland,—containing, however, not one syllable of *insurrection*, far less of *rebellion*, either come, or coming. If it be true, then, that far worse things than these are actually known, we have surely a right to know them also; that we may thus be duly warned of our danger, and that some time, however short, may be allowed us for an anxious and diligent inquiry into the nature, origin, progress, extent, and probable consequences, of the impending peril, as well as for consulting on the “expediency” either of quietly giving ourselves up to destruction, on one hand,—or, on the other, of resolutely rallying for mutual defence. Since, however, we are left to infer, from the want of such information, that there are no *real* grounds for the alarm which some are so forward to feel, I am disposed to furnish their misgivings with a substantial cause. The professed objects of their dread are the Irish Roman Catholics, *as they are*. Instead of this, let them be dreaded as they *will be*. For, is it possible that the said alarmists can have read, and heard, and seen, so little of the parties we have to deal with, as to flatter themselves that they who have uniformly multiplied and magnified their demands, in exact proportion to the number and liberality of our

grants, will be satisfied, as soon as we shall have given them all but the *last and dearest* objects of their ambition, —an ambition, too, which every record that relates to them, whether in their civil or their ecclesiastical character, proves to be *insatiate*? If they should once be suffered to enter their wedge into the oak of the British constitution, in church and state, shall we not credit them on their own word, when they assure us that they will incessantly drive it on, till the very heart of our *genuine* “tree of liberty” shall be cleft asunder? And what *is* the heart of this noble tree, but the Protestant, and truly apostolic faith, which was planted, as in holy ground, by our illustrious fathers? yet which we are now solicited to cut up by the roots with our own hands.

Again: since *fear* is so much in favour with some, let me next more pointedly ask them, have they read, and heard, and seen, so little of their Protestant brethren, as not to have discovered the conviction they feel, that trembling concession would be pregnant with far more fatal consequences than resolute refusal could possibly bring forth?—Do the patrons of concession misconstrue the respectful quietude with which the great mass of the people have waited for an unknown measure—after pouring in floods of petitions that it may be a safe one—as to infer from it a cheerful readiness, on their part, to

crouch under this new “system of terror,”—to ratify the endangerment of all their noblest privileges, and most precious blessings,—and all this without even an effort either to retain those advantages, while they have them, or, at the worst, to recover them, should they unhappily be lost?—Yes; the friends of concession *do* believe, or would seem to believe, that our minds are actually in this abject posture; and, for the purpose of keeping them so, they present us with the following argument. “It is frankly confessed, that the proposed measure, if adopted, would really plunge us into the perils you apprehend: but we consider this risk as a much more tolerable evil than the infuriate hostility with which the Irish Romanists are threatening to avenge the rejection of their demands.” Now, here it is gratuitously assumed, that the latter consequence would be certain; while the former might possibly come to nothing: whereas it is quite clear, that *both* these evils are alike contingent, since neither the peril, nor the punishment, has, thus far, befallen us. Comparing the two contingencies, then, it were surely better to incur the hazard even of an Irish rebellion,—which, at the worst, would present itself in a visible and tangible shape, and which on other occasions we have shown ourselves well able to suppress—than, by the proposed submission, to invite from our ene-

mies those further encroachments, which, as we are so kindly and candidly assured by themselves, will be carried on, until, at length, whatever is now standing in our church and state, will inevitably fall !

In what is above said, I have merely been pursuing the proposed measure into its possible consequences, as admitted by its advocates themselves—but by no means admitting, on my own part, that those consequences must, or would, probably follow ; for I have already expressed my conviction that, even though the pending bill should be finally passed, the public voice would, unanimously and successfully, re-demand the public rights ;* and thus would the very hostilities from which we are urged to save ourselves by a surrender, be far more expectable than ever ; while, for obvious reasons, they would be prosecuted with tenfold exasperation on both sides.

So much for *fear*, as the palladium of the Brave!—as the tutelary genius of christian Heroes!

Here, then, it may be well to pause for a

* May 1835. The fulfilment of this prophecy did not, as expected, *immediately* follow the event to which it related : it may soon appear, however, that the time ought merely to have been shifted forward *six years*.

while, and to take a wider survey, under their appropriate heads, of the various circumstances—wholly unparalleled in “the old almanack of history”—under which we now lie. These circumstances might have been safely left, perhaps, to make their own impression, unassisted by the concomitant remarks which they will receive from me. Let the reader attend, then, whilst I pass the *choicest* of these particulars in rapid review, as some have already revealed themselves, and as others are hourly increasing upon me, faster than I can write them down.

To begin, then:—WHEN it is proposed to soothe us with the mere semblance of “securities,” in place of that only *certain* security, of which we are already in full possession:—

WHEN the *principal* security which is offered to the Protestant is, that the Catholic, when about to be legally invested with the power of “disturbing and weakening the Protestant religion,” is to swear that he will *not exercise* that power;—that is, when we are called upon to trust our safety as “HERETICS” to the oaths of those persons whom their own Church has long ago absolved, by anticipation, from the *breach* of all *such* oaths—and who may have as much more absolution as they like, and can afford to buy, from the first Romish priest who may fall in their way; and *when* what the

Catholic swears is, that he will forbear to do *that*, for which, and for which alone, he seeks admission into our houses of parliament, our courts of justice, and the cabinet of our King :—*

WHEN the colour of an Irish Roman Catholic's conscience, at the present hour, is shown by the testimony of a respectable Protestant magistrate in Ireland, who has recently stated, that whenever, on a trial, he has tendered the customary oath to a papistical witness, and has prudently prefaced it with the question, "Do you expect to be absolved by your priest, if you should swear falsely?" the said witness has "*uniformly refused to answer the question :*"—

WHEN the friends of concession would fain quiet our apprehensions, by representing it as *improbable* that the Irish Roman Catholics *will*, instead of *keeping it impossible* that they *should*, abuse the power they demand : —

WHEN an attempt has been made to remove another of our alarms, by an assurance

* As to this *last* particular, indeed, we are to be favoured with a still further security ; i. e. the said Catholic is to be silenced by his liability to a small fine, if he should wickedly whisper any treason in the royal ear,—and *if* his Majesty, for the time being, (who alone could be in the secret,) should *happen* to be so staunch a Protestant as to *tell* !—Such, then, being the *strongest* of our projected securities, I shall but slightly glance, as I proceed, at any of the rest.

that the powers possessed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy over the lower orders in Ireland are exclusively *spiritual*, (although the circumstances of the recent election for Clare, are alone far more than sufficient to prove them, in at least an equal degree, *secular*):—

WHEN the ungenerous and ungrateful advantages which were taken of the elective franchise, at the above *spurious* election, significantly tell us what far more pernicious abuses of it will result from the *legalized* admission of the Roman Catholics to seats in parliament:—

WHEN the Romish priests, for whose religious education a college has been supported by our government, have requited the kindness by exciting the voters at the above-named election, as well as the members of the late Roman Catholic Association, to act in hostile defiance of that government:—

WHEN it is remembered that our Protestant King conducts the great affairs of the country, both at home and abroad, principally by the ministration of his official councillors—and, consequently, that whenever any such offices shall be filled by papists, those functionaries will, or may, employ the several important powers entrusted to them, at the nod of their foreign spiritual despot, for the aggrandisement of the Roman Catholic, and the extirpation of the Protestant, faith:—

WHEN the projected measure proceeds on the “supposition that” (to use the emphatic language of the primate of Ireland,) “the Roman Catholic priesthood will be satisfied to remain inferior in rank to a clergy, the validity of whose orders they deny; that they will leave in quiet possession of its privileges a church which they revile as adulterous, heretical, and infamous; and that they will become less desirous of injuring that church, merely because their *power* to injure it is *increased* :—

WHEN, in favour of the directly opposite probability, we know that Mr. Hume, in his assault upon our church property, had no fewer than seventy-nine Protestant accomplices,—and that therefore, *à fortiori*, whenever he, or they, shall find a seasonable occasion for the renewal of that assault, they may securely count upon as many additional partisans, as there shall be Roman Catholics in the House :—

WHEN all Roman Catholic priests and bishops are required to swear, at their respective ordinations and consecrations, that they will disclose to none whomsoever any order, or commission, which they may have received from the pope :—

WHEN, as if to ensure the fatal consequence of such secrecy, the *Roman Catholic* members are to be “relieved” by the Bill from

the necessity of taking the oath of supremacy, though it will still continue to be imposed on the *Protestant* members!—

WHEN, in Scotland (as, with very few exceptions, in England and Ireland) all the judicial offices are, by this “Relief Bill,” to be thrown completely open to the Romanists, in direct contravention of an act which was passed in Queen Anne’s reign, and was afterwards confirmed by the Act of Union—and *when*, as one of the fruits of this concession, a popish Lord Advocate and other popish judges may be called upon to execute laws enacted by a Protestant-Roman-Catholic legislature for the extinction of the Presbyterian faith, and thus to nullify that provision in the Act of Union between England and Scotland, by which “the safety of Presbyterian government is expressly declared to be a fundamental condition of the said union, and so to continue in all time coming :”—

WHEN an attempt has been made to invalidate the overwhelming majority of the Protestants against the Pro-Catholic petitions, by insisting that the real feelings and opinions of a whole people, with regard to an all-important national measure, are to be gathered, not from the number of their own manual signatures to an urgent remonstrance against that measure, but exclusively from the votes of their few re-

presentatives, (that is, that, in numeration, units count higher than thousands!) --

WHEN, by the force of such logic, and such arithmetic, many members of the Commons' house have joined in sneering at all the middle and lower, and not a few of the higher classes, of their right-headed and right-hearted countrymen, for fancying themselves able to think at all, and for presuming to exercise their constitutional right of petitioning the two houses of parliament, even against that which they regard as the most deadly doom with which they have ever yet been threatened:—

WHEN the Roman Catholic *Relief* Bill does *indeed* so effectually “relieve” that body, as expressly to abolish for ever an act, passed under William and Mary, entitled, “An Act for preventing the growth of Popery:”—

WHEN it is openly asserted in the senate, that at the period of the revolution, a power was intentionally left to future legislators of altering the acts which were then passed for the exclusion of the Roman Catholics, and that the like power was granted in the Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland respectively; and when they who affirm these propositions stay not to consider that, even allowing them to be correct, the true question that presses for decision is, not whether the

power above mentioned actually exists, but whether at this time (or at any time) it can be exercised without a shock to the pillars of the Protestant religion :—

WHEN the above members of parliament virtually abjure the obligation of an oath, by violating that very oath (of Roman Catholic exclusion) to which they owe their own seats :—

WHEN *one* of the arguments for this fearful change in the constitution is contained in the word “*Emancipation*,” by which it is meant to be said, that the Romanists are *enslaved*, or *defrauded of their liberties* by the Protestants—although it is just as well known to those members as to almost every other man in England and Ireland, that the Catholics do actually now enjoy the very highest degree of freedom, in every legitimate sense that the word will bear,—as, freedom of worship, of conscience, of person, of action, of property, and of opinion ; nay, when Mr. O’Connell himself has unguardedly confessed that the above watch-word (*Emancipation*) has no real meaning, by talking of “the slavery of inferiority,” (which has no meaning neither) :—

WHEN the advocates of concession endeavour to varnish the falsity just exposed, by complaining that the Roman Catholics are excluded from certain privileged seats and offices,

without choosing to see that they are altogether *self-excluded* from them by their immovable adherence to certain tenets, and certain oaths, which render their admission to those privileges wholly incompatible with the security of our constitution in church and state ; and also, without choosing to see that, for other good reasons, many even of our own faith are, equally with the Roman Catholics, disqualified by law from filling certain offices of honour or profit :—

WHEN the leading member of the late *Roman Catholic Parliament*, in an address to his *constituents*, triumphantly congratulates them on the approaching “destruction of the execrable ascendancy of the Protestants :” —

WHEN, as if for the express purpose of verifying the above prophecy of Mr. O’Connell, and of raising Roman Catholic, on the ruins of Protestant, ascendancy, Dr. Doyle, its Irish high-priest, is openly exciting his popish brethren to “extirpate the Protestant religion,” and has declared that “even emancipation itself would be of no value, except with reference to what will still remain to be accomplished ;” nay, that “the Protestant church is now tottering to its fall :” —

WHEN, moreover, the Roman Catholic priests, in their speeches at the meetings of the late Association, described the Protestant religion

as “ a frightful heresy, hateful to God and man, and one which the Almighty Power is **about** to sweep from the face of the earth :”—

WHEN adherence to all these sentiments, and the execution of all these purposes, are not merely permitted, but strictly commanded, by the decrees of “ infallible ” popes and councils, (so that, as the tenets of the Romanists are still continually declared by themselves to be both unchanged and unchangeable, we can have nothing to hope from their amity, but every thing to fear from their enmity) :—

WHEN the late nominal dissolution of the Catholic Association will be of no avail to us, inasmuch as it is proposed that no restraint shall be laid upon the power of those priests who so capably “ wield the fierce democracy,” and who still continue to carry on the worst and most lawless objects of the above dissolved body at Sunday-meetings in their churches and chapels, under the pretext of celebrating divine worship :—

WHEN the said Association, after having once been suppressed, was quietly suffered to raise its head again ; nay, when the very outrages which made its members punishable, have been actually converted into an *argument* for *concession* !—

WHEN this awful measure has continued

to be pressed upon us, even after a noble peer has produced, in his seat, the recent work of a *Roman Catholic*, of high rank, in which the writer forcibly dwells on the danger, to *Protestants*, of throwing open the cabinet and the two Houses of Parliament to those of *his own* faith, without far stronger securities than any that have been yet proposed :—

WHEN the Relief Bill expressly “*emancipates*” the *Protestant* state functionaries and members of parliament, in all time to come, from the obligation of declaring against the idolatries of the church of Rome, which hitherto they have been required to do from the period of the Revolution down to the present time :—

WHEN the proposed measure will go far toward reconciling its more ignorant supporters to the Roman Catholic faith, on account of the cordial welcome which they see given to it by many whom they have respected for their wisdom, patriotism, and piety :—

WHEN it is absolutely certain that a vast majority of the *Irish* members of parliament will be Roman Catholic, and that these, at the despotic dictation of the priests, will be all “picked men,” completely instructed as to the manner in which the threatened destruction of our envied and execrated church may be most effectually accomplished :—

WHEN the Pro-Catholics attack us with weapons which blunt the edges of each other ; some of them contending that Popery has lost its power, and therefore may be safely trusted—others, on the contrary, that this power is so mighty as to be no longer resistible :—

WHEN all the public schools in England (three only excepted) may, under this Bill, be taught by Roman Catholic masters ; and more especially when “The King’s College,” (which was professedly established for the purpose of securing Protestant instruction to the youth of England,) may number four Roman Catholics among its nine Governors, and out of the remaining five, four Pro-Catholics are *already* to be found :—

WHEN, within a few days after the Relief Bill had been passed in the Commons, the form of a papal bull for the excommunication of “heretics” was openly read, by authority, at certain *English* Roman Catholic chapels ; in which bull the above damnatory sentence is especially directed against “all such heretics as shall bring before a Protestant tribunal ecclesiastical persons, chapters, convents, colleges, &c. of the Roman Catholic faith,” and also against “those heretics who shall *usurp* any revenues or emoluments belonging to us [the Romish clergy] and the apostolic see,” (thus by the latter clause,

already opening an unmasked battery on the Irish Protestant Church):—

WHEN there is, in the Relief Bill, no renewal of the former provision against the marriage of the king or queen of England with a Roman Catholic :—

WHEN a future papistical Home Secretary, by the privilege of his office, and in concert with *other* papistical secretaries of state, may appoint whom he will to both the archbishopricks and all the bishopricks of this realm—while, on the other hand, the present holders of the above civil functions are acquiescing in the indignant refusal of the Roman Catholics to indulge our sovereign even with the mock security of a veto upon the nomination of *their* bishops :—

WHEN the highest authorities of the Romish church have always refused, and do still peremptorily refuse, to acknowledge that the Protestant Church of England is even a *branch* of the true church of Christ, and therefore it is clear that they will exert their parliamentary power to its utmost extent, for the purpose of annihilating that church :—

WHEN, for this, and other reasons already shown, *any* securities which the Romanists may offer would be unscrupulously voided, and when thus the intolerable conclusion is, that whilst we are goaded, both by our enemies and

our friends, into *giving every thing*, we are condemned to *receive absolutely nothing* :—

WHEN, to show still farther what the Romanists are about in forcing a passage into the English parliament, we have seen that the priests, after the (so called) *election* at Clare, proceeded to excommunicate three hundred of their slaves, for withholding their votes from the obtruded candidate :—

WHEN the measure in contemplation threatens to be carried at the very worst of all seasons, viz. while the people are already dispirited and alarmed by the fallen, and still falling, state of trade, commerce, navigation, agriculture, and all the vital interests of the state, so that, to the loss of their prosperity, is now to be added the loss of their glorious and renowned constitution in church and state :—Lastly, and far above all,—

WHEN an empty phantom, called *expediency*, is proposed to us as a ruling principle of action, in place of the inestimable substance, called *religion* ;— i.e. *when* the pope of Rome, in the persons of his bishops, is beckoned to a seat among the spiritual lords of our Protestant parliament ; and *when* such an incorporation is to be perpetuated in that land which has been distinguished by the bounties and blessings of God, beyond the example of every other nation

in old or modern story,—but has thus been favoured only so long as, and no longer than, it has vigilantly guarded, and firmly secured, the ascendancy of the Protestant faith:—WHEN *all these things are so*, (and I defy the most strenuous abettors of this measure either to deny my facts, or to invalidate my conclusions,) *then* do I fearlessly say, that, by whatsoever means may be rendered necessary, it will become our duty to cover ourselves from the shame, and the destruction, which are suspended over our heads.

The most obvious, the most hopeful, and the most temperate instrument of self-protection would probably be found in a general petition addressed to the sovereign, imploring him to dissolve the present parliament, in order that the collective mind of the British nation may have the means of fully displaying itself, by their free choice of such representatives as will solemnly pledge themselves to save us from the surrender of our ALL. Such a petition, I would say, we are bound to present: we are so bound, in honour, and in conscience,—in policy and in patriotism,—in defence of ourselves and of each other; but, far above all this, in grateful and zealous obedience to the promulgated prohibi-

tions and commands of God, as well as in an awful dread of those national judgments, which He has repeatedly denounced, and unsparingly executed, upon those professors of His religion who have presumed to insult that religion, and to dishonour his holy name, by fraternity with idolaters.

In this place, as a farther excitement to the above spirit of petitioning, I cannot too earnestly conjure my readers to examine, and ponder in their hearts, that long series of judicial inflictions, both as recorded in the Holy Scriptures, and as drawn from our own history for the last three hundred years, which has been so seasonably, and so impressively brought forward by Mr. Croly, in the Preface to his lately published volume "on the Apocalypse of St. John." I am irresistibly tempted to cite from it the awakening passage with which that preface concludes.

"Whatever," says he, "may be the lot of those (the Roman Catholics) to whom error has been an *inheritance*, woe be to the man, and the people, to whom it is an *adoption*. If England, free above all nations, sustained amidst the perils which have covered Europe, before her eyes, with burning and slaughter, and enlightened by the fullest knowledge of divine truth, refuse fidelity to the compact by which those matchless privileges have been given, her condemnation

will not be distant. But if she faithfully repel this deepest of all crimes, and refuse to place popery side by side with christianity, there may be no bound to the sacred magnificence of her preservation. Even the coming terrors and tribulations of the world may but augment her glory ; like the prophet in the Mount, even in the midst of the thunderings and lightnings that appal the tribes of the earth, she may be led up only to the nearer vision of the Eternal Majesty ; safe, in the time of the universal trial, and, when that time has past, to come forth from the cloud, with the light of the divine presence on her brow, and in her hand the law for mankind !”

In addressing the above exhortations to my Protestant countrymen, I have tacitly supposed, that the national outcry against the contemplated measure will be ready, if necessary, to make itself heard from every quarter, that resistance will be offered to it in every form, on the quiet side of insurrection, and that this general, fervid, and incessant opposition may possibly provoke the enemy into an armed enforcement of his audacious demands. *In such an event only*, will it become our duty to “STAND,” and, with “the God of battles” at our head, to abide the issue of a contest, which, even amidst the lamentable flow of tears and blood that must

follow, would truly and gloriously deserve to be designated an "Holy War."

Here, however, I am happy to announce my full conviction, that the challenge which *we* should dare to *accept*, *the foe* will never dare to *offer*. *His* sole weapon—a weapon which he has thus far but too successfully employed,—is *intimidation*. Let *us*, then, meet him with a frown still darker than his own, and with a refusal firmer and louder than his demands; or even should those demands, in opposition to the national will, be granted, let us, at least, by continually disturbing him in every abusive exercise of his new "rights," compel him to feel that, so far from a quiet enjoyment of that triumphant ascendancy which has so long been glittering in his dreams, there can be no peace for him, until he shall have given us back our own. Should this hope, however, be found to fail, I strongly suspect that the hero who has been placed at the helm of our political and spiritual affairs, will rouse to the recollection of his old trade,—that restitution will then be humbly offered by the invaders,—that tranquillity will be restored, as by the wand of an enchanter,—and that the ferocity of those menaces at which we are now called upon to tremble, will be discovered to have regularly *increased*, in exact proportion to *our decreasing resistance*.

But, on the question of possible hostilities, there is yet more to be said. Well are the Roman Catholic leaders aware, that the great mass of the Irish population have no secret sympathy whatever with the ambition either of their priests, or of their demagogues. They are equally aware, that even should the people be persuaded to fight, without an object of their own, a rabble is not an army,—and that, supposing them to be thus dragged into the field, the discouragement produced by this total absence of a motive, would be still more oppressively felt, in their conflict with those, to whom the *presence* of a motive, (and of *such* a motive!) would be a nerve in every arm, and a flame in every heart.

The query, however, which has lately been put to us may possibly be proposed again:—“If you should resolve against this measure, as the best means of appeasing the present spirit of agitation in Ireland, *what else* would remain to be done?” To this inquiry, a most forcible reply has been already made by those who are locally and personally acquainted (which I am not) with the various interests, and characteristic peculiarities of the sister island; and more especially by Mr. Sadler, whose authority stands in the highest repute, with reference to the matters here in question. According to these advisers,

then, it remains that Government should begin, without further delay, to extend its long-needed, but long-withholden, care and kindness to the trading, and, above all, to the labouring, classes of Irishmen,—that poor-laws, under certain guards and modifications, discreetly adapted to local and individual circumstances, should be established among them; that the inestimable benefits of education, which, for the last few years, have been happily extending themselves in that quarter, should be more and more widely spread, until they shall be enjoyed at least as largely by the Irish poor, as by our own;—that the religious part of education, as regards the Protestants, should be cleared of all interference and obstruction from the Roman Catholics, wherever both religions may unhappily continue to be taught at the same school;—that, as the minds of the people shall be progressively softened and enlightened by instruction, and thus be prepared for sober and industrious habits, all practicable means be used of encouraging activity in every branch of exertion; and the rather, as employment could nowhere be more easily provided, or made more extensively instrumental to national improvement, than in a country so pre-eminently favoured by nature,—so loudly calling for the application of skill and labour,—and so highly distinguished by the spirit, acuteness, and

general capacity of the inhabitants;—that, as the benefits accruing from such wise management shall be found to unfold themselves, there should be (as, indeed, there necessarily *would* be) a proportionate rise in the rate of wages; that the present mode of regulating the rents of land—burthensome and disheartening as it is to the poorer tenants—should be greatly mitigated, or, if possible, utterly abolished; and that, for the more effectual accomplishment of all these important objects, the principal absentees (whose desertion, it must be allowed, has hitherto been, in some cases, almost compulsory) should be absentees no longer.

Whatever discontents, and disturbances, continue to prevail in that miserable island, are reasonably stated to have their true source in the protracted denial of those comforts and blessings which are indicated above; nor (except in the minds of the spiritually and temporally ambitious) has any other “Emancipation” been required, or desired, except an emancipation from those physical evils, and (as the guilty cause of these) from that intellectual thralldom, by which the humbler part of the Roman Catholic population has been so long and so insupportably oppressed.

And thus am I led on to suggest, in conclusion, that there yet remains one fundamental remedy—or introduction to a remedy—for all these viru-

lent and deeply-seated maladies, at once. This, then, it is:—*Extract the claws, fangs, and stings, of the whole Irish priesthood.*—“How?” By forcing on their wretched vassals, and victims,—not the Protestant faith *itself*, (as the members of *their* communion have formerly forced—and as they themselves are eagerly endeavouring again to force—*their own* faith upon *us*,) but a full discovery of the true religion of Christ, in all its holiness, purity, and perfection. And let your means of accomplishing this great object be, the wide dissemination of the sacred and *unadulterated* volume of inspiration, until every hamlet, every shop, and every cottage, through all Ireland, shall be enlightened by its beams. Remember, I implore you, that the country is *our own*—that *all* its inhabitants are equally the liege subjects of our sovereign—that the Protestant religion is, legally, substantially, and essentially, a component part of the British constitution—and that *all other* religions, and sects of religion, in these dominions, are left unmolested, through the spirit of *toleration*, and through that only. It is thus that we indulgently tolerate the *Roman Catholic Church*;—but, at the same time, let our rulers never forget, that they are bound, by the most solemn sanctions, mainly to support, and consequently, by all just and lawful means, to extend the knowledge of, the established reli-

gion of the state. And how, let me ask, can they more effectually extend it, than by augmenting the number of its *voluntary* votaries? And how, again, can *this* be more auspiciously attempted, than by showing it, in all its excellence, to that class of our fellow subjects whose thoughts, words, and actions have, for centuries past, been laid in chains by a religion of imposture, avarice, ambition, blasphemy, and idolatry;—a religion, whose priests are, at the present moment, darkly and deeply plotting to bind in the same chains those very Protestants to whom they are indebted for a toleration which it is the great business of their lives to abuse,—nay, a toleration which they demand as a right,—while they further tell us, without any disguise, that, in the coming hour of their own ascendancy, they will for ever withhold all toleration from their Protestant benefactors, whether as a right, or as a boon!

In the name of reason, and of all that is sacred, what earthly calamity can be greater than the compulsory, and universal, ignorance of those multitudes who are, in all things, (even to the miserable earnings of their toil,) under the grinding oppression and control of a body like this?—Returning, therefore, for a moment, to the subject of education, as it concerns the humbler ranks of the Irish, I would further say,—While you emancipate them from *spiritual* prejudices,

open to them, likewise, such sources of *general* instruction as are applicable to their circumstances, and necessary to their future advancement, and advantages—but which the conscious jealousy of a domineering priesthood has almost as carefully locked up from them, as the more precious fountains of divine knowledge. As a necessary effect of this double concealment, they have been given over, by their treacherous pastors, to that state of absolute ignorance (the true “mother” of *their* “devotion”) which I have above deplored. Of *such* instructors it may indeed be said, in the indignant language of the prophet, “They have made the heart of the people fat, and their ears heavy, and have shut their eyes, lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their hearts, and be converted, and healed.”

Be roused, then, ye British rulers, even by so weak a voice as that which has now addressed you. Flash into the darkest caves of your benighted brethren the light of celestial truth; and, by the authority with which you are clothed, protect the honest converts to your creed, as fast as they shall declare themselves, from the vengeance of their tyrants, by the strong arm of law. In a single word,—and I will dare to employ that word, in defiance of all who would make a *secret* of *God’s* REVELATION,—

PROSELYTE!—And by this I mean,—Be no longer even passive accomplices in the unhallowed work of starving their souls, by suffering them to want “the true bread of life;” but let the Holy Bible be placed in the hands—and thus find way to the heads, and hearts—of the Irish, as well as English, Roman Catholic poor.

Do all that I have said,—and Ireland may, and will, make haste to become the land of peace, of industry, of honesty, of prosperity, of knowledge, of freedom, of humanity, of happiness,—and, as the glorious crown, and cause, of all these blessings, the land of Christian Faith, Christian Hope, and Christian Charity.

N.B.—The Address now published stands exactly as it stood when written in 1829—except by the omission of certain passages relating to individual persons, with a few verbal alterations in the way of correction, and wholly unconnected with the subject-matter of the tract.

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