

TO THE DISSENTERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(From the Weekly Despatch.)

Fellow Countrymen,—You are told that the laboring mountain has but brought forth a mouse. Looking at the dimensions of the accoucheur of the Roman Catholic Titles Bill, it would be much more true to say that the Mouse of Ministers has been brought to bed of a mountain. It is convenient for the abettors of tyranny and persecution to affect to minimise the importance of the measure. No man so well as the Pharisee of Oxford knows how to pass the trick of asking a great deal that he may get something. Bluster about the smallness of the concession, and the stupid and ignorant will forget that the real question is, whether there should be any concession at all. If you are to believe Mr. Disraeli, he considers the Premier's proposal not worth opposing, simply because it is not worth accepting. Do not believe it. He is for a "Fiddler's Green" for Acts of Parliament, such as sailors have for souls, where he would send all the Bills that are not worth damning. But his affected depreciation of the measure is like that of the huckster described in the Book of Proverbs:—"It is naught, it is naught saith the buyer: but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth." There will doubtless be a sham fight through the piece. The props of the State Joss-house will "belittle" the plan, to induce you to think little of it. The bully of Toryism will be called into the chamber of the political strumpet, to frighten their victim into parting with his purse to the one, that he may escape with a whole weasand from the other. Goulburn will pretend to "make play with his fists," and Stanley doubtless will fiercely cock his beaver. There will be a loud empty-barrel sound from the Bench of Bishops, and many "stout speeches" from the "friends of order, and of the Church." But the common conspirators against our spiritual liberties understand each other as perfectly as the contending armies in an Astley's melodrama. They clash sword against sword, fire off their muskets with loud reports, spring mines or explode tunbrils, and many fall upon the plain. But all the while the blades enter no flesh—there are no balls in the barrels—and the combatants over their hot supper after the farce, laugh at the chawbacons and housemaids who have wondered or screamed in the gallery.

The Bill is great, because it is so small—
And were it greater it would be none at all.

It is because the nail is driven, not with its broad head, but with its small point, to the wood, that the Cabinetmaker will succeed in driving it home. It is because the insertion of the thick end of the wedge is not attempted, that the thin end will rive the oak of spiritual liberty. The ostensible harmlessness of the Act is its harm. The pickpockets *filch*, that they may not seem to rob. You will not be alarmed until your fears come all too late to be salutary. You "three denominations" of craven Nonconformists, look at what you have done. You Cockney Anti-State Church impostors, who keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope, with the cant of freedom on your lips, and the spirit of intolerance festering in your hearts—measure this brave work! The citadel of Protestantism is betrayed. It is you who played platform fagmen to the parish rector, and became the cater cousins of the curate. The Anglican hierarchy have snifled at you; yet you have prostrated yourselves before them, like the parasites of the spendthrift. They have ignored your very existence—passed you by as the Pharisee would a publican—taken no note of you—made you of no account, except to thrust you from the common footway of populous life, that your "slovenly unhandsome corpse might not come betwixt the wind and their nobility." They have denied your orders, scoffed at your ministry, called to you to stand by, for they were holier than you. But whenever they want a stick to break a head less thick than your own, you are clamorous to be the instrument of their cudgeled play, and meekly fall before them, to pray that you may be the mat on which they may wipe their dirty shoes. The whole country cries out upon you. The shrewd thinkers of the North, that they may learn whom to trust and whom to doubt, measure your stunted soul's figure with their keen eyes, and say, "Let us look, that we may know you." The honest inheritors of the good old cause would "hang a calf's skin on those recreant limbs," that the bray of the ass may no longer be mistaken for the roar of the lion. The ball was at your foot—you might have kicked it home—and you have chosen rather to be kicked back again yourselves. The day was your own, and you have sold your birth-right for a mess of Ministerial pottage. Your Nonconformity consists in hatred of all who do not conform to you. Your Dissent means no more than enmity to all who do not agree with you. Your equality is not spiritual, but Protestant, equality—your toleration extends no further than the endurance of those who are infected with the itch of your own creed. Your brotherhood reaches only to the fraternity of orthodoxy—your "communion of the saints" excommunicates, as heathen men and publicans, all who cannot mumble your Puritan Paternoster. You are not of "three denominations," but of one—bigots. You are not an "Anti-State Church Association," but a conspiracy of No-Popery persecutors, who run with the hare, and hunt with the hounds. You denounce State prelaty—you effuse your conventional gabble on the grievance of hierarchical ascendancy—and yet

Your affections are

A sick man's appetite, who desires most that
Which would increase his evil—

For your narrow antipathy to Romanism leads you to become the buttress, prop, and pillar of the Anglican establishment, and to lay the foundation of a principle of legislation against Catholics, which is equally applicable to, and will ultimately be used against, all Dissenters.

CATHOLIC INTELLIGENCE.

THE ADDRESS OF THE CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND.

TO THEIR BELOVED FLOCKS, UPON THE PENAL ENACTMENT WITH WHICH THE CATHOLICS OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND ARE THREATENED.

"Dearly beloved Brethren—The approach of a season of trial and tribulation naturally calls forth the admonitions of a voice that has never been absent from you in the hour of suffering and sorrow. Though you are familiar with its accents, and confiding in its assurances, we feel that it will demand no ordinary exercise of the docility and obedience which you have always rendered to its instructions, to receive, in the spirit of patience and conformity to the Divine will, the last and bitter ingredient which is now about to be poured into the cup of your afflictions. It is unnecessary to state that we allude to the penal enactment against the Catholics of the three kingdoms that occupies at present the attention of the Legislature. And yet, in reference to the persecution of which this measure is to be the instrument, as well as to the other sufferings destined for the Church, may we not address you in the language of the Prince of the Apostles to the early Christians—'Dearly beloved, think not strange the burning heat that is to try you, as if some new thing happened to you; but if you partake of the suffering of Christ, rejoice that when His glory shall be revealed you may also be glad with exceeding joy.'—1 Pet. iv. The sufferings thus inflicted he tells you are necessary, in order that 'the trial of your faith (much more precious than gold which is tried by the fire) may be found unto praise, and glory, and honor, at the appearing of Jesus Christ.'—1 Pet. i. 7. Nor is the exhortation of St. Paul on this subject, recalling, as it does, the touching reminiscences of the past, less appropriate and applicable to you in the present emergency:—'Call to mind the former days, wherein, being illuminated, you endured a great fight of afflictions. Do not, therefore, lose your confidence, which hath a great reward. For patience is necessary for you, that doing the will of God you may receive the promise.'—Heb. x. 32, 36.

"We deem it better, dearly beloved brethren, thus early to prepare you for the magnitude of the trial with which our holy Church is menaced both in England and Ireland, than to seek to conceal and palliate its real character. The object and tendency of the measure before Parliament at present will be put in its true light by an eminent lawyer, whom we have consulted on this matter, and whose legal opinion we publish as an appendix to this address. For us, suffice it to say, that the measure we are treating of tends to annoy, disorganize, and crush the Catholic Hierarchy; to annul its acts of jurisdiction; to fetter and impede, as much as possible, the exercise of that ministry by which the truths of Revelation are proclaimed; and the mysteries and Sacraments of religion imparted; and grievously to injure, if not to destroy, those noble charitable institutions which are the glory and the blessing of the land, and which are maintained, as they have been established, by the free offerings of the Faithful. The blighting effects of this Penal Law, if adopted, will be felt by the orphan that is now sheltered in the bosom of Catholic benevolence, and by the destitute sufferer on his death-bed, whose pangs are so often soothed by the devoted Daughter of Charity, whilst they are consoled by the Christian Ministry that has called those institutions into existence—by the power of that kindling and creative Word which it has been commissioned to preach.

"Nor are the grounds on which this measure has been proposed more in accordance with truth than its objects are with justice and humanity. We need scarcely remind you dearly beloved brethren, that what has given rise to the proposed enactment against us is the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England. Our beloved Father the Pope, desirous to promote the spiritual welfare of his Catholic children in that kingdom—to enable them to make greater progress in every virtue, and to afford more abundant opportunities of providing for the eternal salvation of their souls, determined to give them a number of pastors more proportionate to their wants, and therefore appointed an Archbishop and several Bishops, with ordinary jurisdiction. As supreme pastor of the flock appointed by Jesus Christ, in the person of St. Peter, to feed his lambs and sheep, both pastors and people, he had a fully recognized divine right to do so—a right essential to his office—a right without which he could not maintain his authority over the universal church of Christ. We need not tell you, dearly beloved brethren, that Roman Pontiffs, from the earliest ages, and in the times of the most cruel persecutions, exercised this authority to its full extent, and that all the Churches of these kingdoms owe their establishment to his acts. The episcopal sees of Ireland can trace back their origin to St. Patrick, who was sent to this country by the holy Pontiff St. Celestine, and it is our glory to be able to state that the chain of the apostolic succession has not been broken since that time in our portion of the Catholic Church. The principle churches of England were founded by St. Augustine, and his companions, sent by St. Gregory the Great to bring the tidings of salvation to a nation that was then sitting in darkness and in the shades of death. It was in virtue of his Primacy over all the churches, that the Pope exercised this right, and of that supremacy which made one of the most ancient Fathers, St. Irenaeus, assert—that every church, and all the faithful, should have recourse to the Roman Church, on account of her greater principality; and indeed St. Cyprian to consider 'the Chair of Peter as the principal Church, from which the unity of the priesthood has arisen, and to which perfidy cannot have access.'

—Year 59 'Ad Petri cathedram, atque ad ecclesiam principalem, ad quam perfidis non possit habere accessum.'

"But whilst exercising a purely spiritual authority for spiritual purposes—for the promotion of God's kingdom on earth—for the more ready administration of the sacraments—for the salvation of souls, we can assure you, dearly beloved brethren, that the Pontiff made no aggression on any one's authority; that he did not interfere, directly or indirectly, with the administration of the temporal affairs of this kingdom; that he did not in the remotest manner, insult the crown or diminish its privileges; and, we may add, that he did not, in the slightest degree, trench on the authority, the revenues, or the territorial possessions of other religious institutions. If an outcry has been raised against his Holiness, it is not on account of any usurpation or aggression on his part; it must have arisen from a misapprehension of the nature of his acts, or it must be allowed that it is directed to impede the exercise of that divine and indefeasible jurisdiction, which all Catholics are bound to acknowledge in the successor of St. Peter, and the acts of which they must admit unless they wish to incur the guilt of schism.

"As one of the effects of the penal measure now pending over us, would be to separate the faithful from the Supreme Head of their Church, so also another consequence would be to sever the priesthood from the people. Do not allow yourselves to be persuaded that this would not be a serious injury to religion. Would not the flock be necessarily scattered, if the pastors were smitten? If the branches of the vine were torn from the parent trunk, would they not necessarily wither? If separated from its Head, would not the mystical body immediately languish and decay?—There may be other religious establishments which require no such unity between the pastors and their flock—which, stripped of a sacrifice and almost of sacraments, and giving an unbounded liberty to the interpretation of doctrine, demand little more than the nominal exercise of the Ministerial functions; but in the Catholic Church the action of the priesthood is the vivifying principle that gives life and energy to the entire body—that follows the faithful from the cradle to the grave—from the sacrament that gives admission to the church to that which soothes and fortifies against the pangs and terrors of death—that watches with assiduous care over the sacred deposit of faith, and preserves it from the contagion of error. To destroy that principle, therefore, or impede its action, is to inflict a fatal or a dangerous wound on the body itself.

"Having briefly pointed out to you the real nature of this penal enactment with which we are menaced, and the substantial injuries which it embodies, we implore of you dearly beloved brethren, to adopt the best and surest means of defeating it—namely, the fulfilment of all your duties, loyalty to the crown, obedience to the constituted authorities, moderation, patience, and above all, a fervent recourse by prayer to the Throne of the Most High, who bends the hearts of princes, and has in His hands the destinies of nations. Implore of Him to preserve His Church, to guard His chaste spouse, and to put to nought the designs of those who would enslave her. Let us cry out in the fullness of our affliction, 'Turn, O God of Hosts, look down from Heaven, and see and visit this vineyard' (Ps. 79). Do not allow 'the boar out of the wood to lay it waste, nor the wild beast to devour it' (Ps. 79). Inspire those that would excite the spirit of bigotry and intolerance against us with better counsels, and do not permit them to incur your indignation. 'Give us help from trouble, for vain is the salvation of man' (Ps. 59).

"But whilst we exhort you to have recourse to Heaven in your afflictions, we are not to be understood as if we condemned the peaceful exertion of those legal and constitutional rights for the redress of political wrongs and injuries, which are the birth-right of every British subject. It is not however necessary to make any suggestion on this matter to you, as we perceive that you have already commenced to petition Parliament, and to take other legal steps to resist the encroachment on the liberties of the Church with which we are threatened. Instructed by you, those who represent you in Parliament will not only assert the independence and freedom of your religion, both in England and Ireland (for the interests of the Catholic body are the same in both countries), but they will insist that Catholics shall be put and maintained on a footing of perfect equality, with all the other subjects of the Crown, and that every remnant of persecution shall be obliterated. We ask for nothing but what is conceded to others, and we cannot be content with less than the full and free right to practice our religion in conformity with its doctrine and discipline. Nor can we doubt, that whilst defending your rights as Catholics you will be promoting the interests of the empire at large; for it cannot be in accordance with justice or humanity to deprive so many millions of faithful subjects, guilty of no offence, of their lawful rights; nor can it contribute to the stability and welfare of the country, to excite discord and bad feeling among those whose interests should be common; nor can it ever tend to encourage morality, to enact laws which it must be the conscientious duty of millions to evade.

"But whilst exerting yourselves to impede an unjust measure, recollect that the man who outrages the peace of society, and violates the law, not only offends against the moral code; but grievously injures the cause that he supports, and strengthens the hands of his enemies. Based upon the eternal principles of truth and equity, the cause with which you are identified cannot fail to succeed, when advocated by means which are consonant to its justice and holiness, and such, dearly beloved brethren, are the only means which we feel convinced you are disposed to employ. 'Whatever temporary tribulation the Church may

have to endure—whatever combats to sustain—her ultimate success and triumph are placed beyond the possibility of doubt. We can appeal to the experience of eighteen centuries.—The powers of earth, the wisdom of Greece and Rome, error, heresy, schism, infidelity, have been successfully leagued against her—like her Divine Master, she has been placed as a sign to be contradicted; but whilst all human institutions have fallen away round her and disappeared, she has always continued her beneficent career, ever triumphant over the assaults of her enemies, ever fresh in the vigor of youth, ever unchanged. How vividly has the royal prophet predicted her destiny in her great type of the elder covenant. 'Often have they fought against me from my youth, let Israel now say. Often have they fought against me from my youth, but they could not prevail over me.'—(Ps. 128). And every day bears testimony to the truth of the fire-touched lips that said of her—'No weapon that is forged against her shall prosper, and every tongue that resisteth thee in judgment thou shalt condemn. The children of them that afflict thee shall come bowing down to thee, and all that slandered thee shall worship the steps of thy feet, and call thee the city of the Lord, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel.'—Is. lx., 14.

"Fortified by these glorious predictions, and still more by the most consoling promises of our Divine Redeemer, 'that the gates of hell shall never prevail against His church,' and that 'He will be with her all days, even to the consummation of the world,' we exhort you with the apostle, dearly beloved, to bear your trials with patience and resignation, and not to lose your confidence, which hath a great reward. 'Wherefore lift up the heads which hang down and the feeble knees, and make straight steps with your feet, that no one halting may go out of the way, but rather be healed. Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see God.' But may the God of Peace, who brought again from the dead the great Pastor of the sheep, our Lord Jesus Christ, in the blood of the everlasting testament, fit you in all goodness, that you may do His will, doing in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever Amen.—Heb. x. xii. xiii.

"† Paul Cullen; † D. Murray; † Michael Slatery; † John, Archbishop of Tuam; † P. M'Gittigan; † Cornelius Egan; † John Ryan; † Patrick M'Nicholas; † Edward French; † James Browne; † William O'Higgins; † John Cantwell; † G. S. Browne; † Cornelius Denvir; † Michael Blake; † Nicholas Foran; † Francis Haly; † Thomas Feeny; † Charles MacNally; † Lawrence O'Donnell; † E. Walsh; † Wm. Delany; † John Derry; † J. Murphy; † Francis Kelly; † Milesius Murphy; † W. Keane; D. Vaughan, Vicar Capitular of Killaloe.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL.

St. Jarlath's, Tuam, Feb. 20, 1851.

"If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye."—Acts of the Apostles.

My Lord,—Since the days in which those memorable words were uttered by Peter and John, in vindication of their Apostolical power against its unrighteous prohibition, it has been often the duty of their successors in the Church to remonstrate against a similar despotism in the use of the same Apostolical language. How early were the founders of the Catholic Church doomed to feel the jealousy of the powers of this world, prohibiting them from preaching in any other name or title? "Let us threaten them was the resolve, that they speak no more in the name of any man, and calling them they charged them not to speak at all, nor teach in the name of Jesus." There are, then, edicts often issued, and laws framed forbidding the assertion of the sacred rights of the Catholic religion, as there were then, to arrest its infant promulgation, and I need not lay down what line of conduct the holy example of the Apostles point out in such circumstances to their successors.

From the very nature of your responsible position you are jealous of the due observance of the laws. You must feel anxious that a becoming respect should be always paid to authority. So are we. You should then feel an equal solicitude that these laws should be in perfect consonance with reason, with liberty, with conscience; and that the authority to which you are anxious to secure respect should not trench upon the higher authority of God, which the Apostles declared they were not free to disobey. Only snap one link of that mysterious chain that connects our obedience with the throne of Heaven, you break the firmest bonds of society asunder. And if your laws teach a violation of the laws of God, you are thereby laying the foundation of a disregard for all subordinate authority. You may once more bring the rack and gibbet, the sword and the dungeon, to your aid in enforcing the penal enactments, by which freedom may be outraged, conscience violated, sacred rights trampled on, and the persons against whom such wicked ordinances are framed, exposed to a repetition of the cruelest tortures that may be found in the records of your own sanguinary legislation. What will be the issue of this conflict into which you are rushing with such headlong precipitance but another glorious monument among the many yet recorded of the utter powerlessness of the world to subdue the Catholic Church, as well as of the frustrate attempts of England to annihilate the Catholic Hierarchy.

I have just read the draft of your Ministerial edict for the destruction of the Episcopacy in Ireland, and for the confiscation of Catholic charities, and I must confess, were it not that there is nothing new under the sun, and that in the worst enactments of the present times I but fancy the similar atrocities of past ages passing in review, I should feel surprise and horror at the wide range of physical and moral extermination which it embraces. Now, my lord, you appear in your genuine colors—the true and legiti-