

votes as a sacred trust for the defence of their religion, and, secondly, to use all lawful means for increasing that strength upon future registries. The association will consider any co-operation which they can render in this work as among their first and most legitimate objects.

The ultimate objects of the parliamentary party described in the resolution must of course be the establishment of perfect religious equality—by the repeal of the 'ecclesiastical titles act' (by which the Catholic religion has been deprived of all legal existence in these islands), and of all other laws which place Catholics upon a footing less favorable than their fellow subjects—by the entire abolition of the Irish ecclesiastical establishment—by a reform which shall ensure fairness and justice to Catholics on the administration of the public education grants, of the army and navy, of the union workhouses, and of every other branch of the public service; in all which the influence of government is now systematically, though unostentatiously directed against our faith, and in favor of the attempts of proselytizers. But without forgetting these ulterior objects, the association feel bound to declare their deliberate conviction, that its first and immediate object must be the removal from office of the present administration, of which the great meeting of August unanimously resolved, 'That the present ministers have betrayed the cause of civil and religious freedom, and have forfeited the confidence of the Catholics of the United Kingdom.' Should any one think this object beyond our power, they would remind him that in the House of Commons, no less than in the constituencies, a small body of members combining to vote against Lord John Russell's administration upon every question which involves a trial of strength, may reasonably expect to turn the balance between parties otherwise so nearly equal. Such a systematic opposition to the existing governors of their country must ever be, to Catholics, an unpleasant necessity, but they confidently appeal to all reflecting men, whether it has not been forced upon them by an administration which has repaid their long and faithful support by a measure of wanton and insulting, though ineffectual, proscription, and by threats of more stringent measures of the same character. They entirely disregard the objection urged by the supporters of Lord John Russell, that should we succeed in removing him, his successor may be some still more rancorous enemy of religious liberty, if such can now be found. First because the lesson impressed upon all future claimants for power, by the remembrance that the attack of Lord John Russell upon the religious liberties of Catholics was the signal for his expulsion from office, will be our best security that none shall have the courage to assail us, be their will what it may; next, because all experience shows that Lord John Russell has ever been the friend of civil and religious liberty whenever he is speaking office; however, his conduct has belied his professions since he has succeeded in gaining it. The question then is, whether it is better for us to have him as our supporter upon the opposition benches or as our oppressor on the Treasury bench? They would therefore entreat the Catholic electors of every English and Scotch county, city, and borough to be prepared for the approaching election—to hold back their votes, abstaining from any early promises, which would limit their freedom of action, and lessen their influence at the crisis of the contest—and (when that crisis arrives,) to combine in favor of the candidate who shall pledge himself to the support of religious freedom on its broadest extent, or if there be no such candidate, then of any who will assist in removing Lord John Russell from office, however he may himself be opposed to the just claims of Catholics. There are many constituencies in which Catholics cannot hope to return a member pledged to do men justice, but in which, by thus acting, they can return one pledged to remove from office the minister who has betrayed and proscribed them.

Another most important object is to act upon the public mind in England and Scotland, by making known to all fair and candid men the actual state of the Catholics of this empire, and especially in Ireland. The association appeal to the general fairness and justice of their fellow-subjects, hoping that they will be ashamed to see their Catholic brethren any longer the one solitary exception to the salutary effects of those good qualities. They would fain believe, that the injustice suffered by Catholics is caused chiefly by prejudice, misrepresentation, and ignorance of facts on the part of the great mass of Protestants. They hope, therefore, to do good service by acting as a medium of communication between defenceless Catholics and the British parliament; and public acts of injustice and oppression, especially in the remote parts of Ireland, are often unknown beyond the immediate district, which, if known, would, we believe, be indignantly condemned, even by our more generous opponents. But the victims are detached, feeble, unbefriended, and too often depressed and spirit-broken by poverty and starvation. The committee, therefore, earnestly invite communications from all under whose observation such things are done, and they will do their best to secure that they shall be forced upon the notice of those who can and ought to correct them. It is only by shunning the light that those deeds of darkness can maintain themselves.

Among these frauds upon well-intentioned English Protestants we must class the present system of proselytism in Ireland. Meetings are held and money is collected in England from Protestants of every class, from the highest to the lowest, and often at much sacrifice on the part of the givers, who imagine that they are extending by lawful and honorable means the religion which they have been taught and think to be true.

We are sure that many of the contributors to those funds little know how they are expended. The local agents, in many instances Catholics, who have been raised from poverty to abundance, by the salaries which they receive as Protestant ministers, schoolmasters, inspectors, readers, and the like, have to earn those salaries by reporting to their employers lists of converts, attendants at Protestant congregations and scholars at Protestant schools; and not content with grossly exaggerating those whom they have, they have been utterly unscrupulous as to the means employed to obtain more. Bribery has been used with much effect among the starving peasantry of the poorest districts; and wherever the agents are upon their side, intimidation has been freely combined with bribery, especially towards parents who refuse to send their children to schools in which they are taught to blaspheme with infant voices the most sacred objects of our faith. These things are so notorious in Ireland—it is so well known that multitudes have died of hunger and pestilence, who might have saved their lives by a pretended conversion to the established

religion—that hypocrisy has been endowed, that unbelief in all religion has been suggested and fostered by this monstrous system of education, in opposition to the solemn convictions of the people; that Irishmen in general assume that the money was given with this intention, and are too indignant to expostulate. The association fear that in fact too many of the subscribers are willing that parents should falsely simulate apostasy, so that their children may be brought up aliens at least from the Catholic religion, and (as they vainly flatter themselves) believers in Protestantism. Still they are sure that others would sincerely recoil from the vile use made of their money if they knew it, and that all would be heartily ashamed to have it generally known and exposed, and this the association purposes to secure.

Another wrong which must be made known before we can hope to see it redressed, is the gross injustice at present suffered by Catholics in the naval and military service of the British empire. Much, of course, depends upon the character of individual officers; yet, as a general rule, the children of Catholic soldiers and sailors are compelled to learn (in the schools supported at the public expense of the nation, to which Catholics contribute in their full proportion) Protestant catechisms and Protestant Bibles, in utter opposition to the faith of their parents; and Catholic soldiers and sailors themselves are often deprived for years of all opportunity of exercising their religion, while they are unpardonably exposed to all the moral and bodily dangers of their arduous calling. Even were justice and humanity forgotten, the association conceive that, while the British army contains so many thousands of earnest Catholics, policy alone should suggest to government the doubt, whether it is prudent to make every Catholic soldier feel that he is suffering an injustice by which his own soul, and the souls of his children, are endangered.

To turn to civil life. The union workhouses of England—the common refuge of misery—are so administered, with very few honorable exceptions, that Catholics cannot resort to them for shelter without the utmost danger—almost the certainty, of being deprived of the exercise of their religion, which the law professes to secure to them, of having their children educated in entire opposition to it. Hence, in most parts of the country, the Catholics who have any property, whilst they are obliged by law to contribute as much as any others to the parochial expenses, find themselves compelled in addition to support the poor of their own religion, instead of allowing them to avail themselves, in common with others, of the parochial relief, which they cannot accept without danger or ruin to their own souls, or those of their children. Even in Ireland Protestant teachers are still sometimes appointed to conduct the education of Catholic children in the union workhouses, and Catholic orphans are given from them to Protestants, who avowedly intend to educate them as aliens from the religion of their parents; while, as a general rule, the deserted children (who in so poor a country are numerous) are educated as Protestants, even where the whole poor population (and therefore their parents among the rest) are known to be Catholics. These things are tolerated by a people which loudly professes its zeal for religious liberty, and which is not ashamed boldly to reproach the intolerance of other countries; by a people too which has seen, without any expression of indignation, the clergy and gentry of an English town memorialising the government against a grievance, because one poor Catholic was appointed, at a salary of a few shillings, to carry round letters from the post-office. But although tolerated, we feel sure that they are too glaringly unjust to be defended, even by those who are not ashamed secretly to practise them.

The same must be said of the injustice of the administration by which the faith of the Catholic prisoners in the gaols of England is exposed to perpetual dangers, and the exercise of their religion denied to them.

But the monster grievance which the Association desire to keep continually under the eyes of their fellow subjects is the Irish ecclesiastical establishment, to which they feel that no exaggerated language, no exciting appeals to the common sense and justice of mankind, can be so damaging as a full, clear, and dispassionate statement of facts. They have already been assisting a gentleman, admirably qualified for the work, in the task of collecting information as to the revenues and official duties of the dignitaries and incumbents of this organised iniquity. They will take care that the subject is never allowed to sleep—that all men shall be found continually to ask themselves, whether it is just, honorable, or expedient—whether it tends to the dignity or safety of the empire, to maintain an enormously rich Protestant establishment for the religious benefit of a handful of Protestant gentry, leaving the starving peasantry to provide for their religion at their own expense. With this view they purpose to continually publish in the newspapers, in books, at public meetings, and in every other manner, the most flagrant enormities, in other words, the principal facts, involved in the present state of the revenues and duties of the Irish ecclesiastical establishment.

Yet, even if the establishment were in itself tolerable, it should still be observed that while the law gives to the Protestant clergy, both in England and Ireland, an income varying with the price of grain, as determined by an average of seven years, and while the English tithe commutation act provides a simple and effectual machinery for securing the practical operation of this law, the Irish tithe commutation act, on the contrary, obliges every tithe payer who would avail himself of this equitable arrangement to have recourse to a law suit, with the certainty of great expense, and the utter uncertainty of final success. Thus the means of relief afforded by the legislature to each individual tithepayer are, in England a rule-of-three sum, and in Ireland a suit at law; and in consequence, while no Protestant clergyman in England is now receiving a larger income than the law assigns to him, the Protestant law pastors of the Catholic population of Ireland are receiving, and, until the legislature interfere, will continue to receive, an income calculated upon the high price of agricultural produce under the old protective duties.

But while they appeal upon these and other subjects to the justice of our fellow-subjects, the association do not forget that those who would be secure of justice must be prepared to win it for themselves, and whether this appeal be successful or not, they are resolved never to remit their own exertions until these grievances, and all the social miseries still existing in Ireland, as the necessary consequence of centuries of unjust penal laws (now at length removed), have been remedied. Their first exertions are required to meet the system of proselytism which has been described. They would feel ashamed to propose to Catholics to

encounter this system by means like its own; such means they despise and abhor, as unworthy alike of gentlemen and of Christians. They would leave bribery and intimidation to the religion which has no instrument for its extension; but remembering that these instruments are freely employed in the poorest districts of Ireland, where the parochial clergy, whose physical and moral powers are already over-taxed, share in the poverty of their flocks, and cannot afford the expenditure required to meet them, they propose to answer freely to the call of the bishops and clergy wherever these evils exist, and to assist in furnishing the temporal resources by which their high and spiritual warfare must be carried on. They have here the greatest encouragement from experience. They rejoice to find that in several of the seats of this evil not only have many unhappy men who had fallen away from the faith been restored to it, but for some time no new case of apostasy has taken place. In these cases, to borrow the words of an Irish poet, "The arms of hell have been broken by those of heaven." Bribery has been encountered, not by bribery, but by a mission preached by the father of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, followed up by the permanent settlement of schools taught by the Christian Brothers and other similar means. The church which has means to be there to baffle the assaults of her enemies has no need to borrow from them the poisoned weapons of bribery and intimidation. If the devil and the world are on their side, we know that God is on ours.

The association would gladly look forward to the time when they can extend their care beyond the spots where attacks have been made upon the faith of our people. The unanimous resolution of the great meeting of the Catholics of the empire declared it to be among the objects of the association 'to obtain and secure for all classes of Catholics sound Catholic instruction and education; to contribute to the intellectual and moral training of the people, and to the improvement of their social condition; to assist Catholic institutions and protect Catholic endowments, especially those established for educational and charitable objects; and upon all occasions to promote the removal and alleviation of the prevailing social misfortunes of the people.' The power of the committee to carry out these objects must evidently depend upon the amount of funds entrusted to them; but, though they cannot at once enter upon this extensive field, the members of the association are surpassed by none in their deep sense of the importance and necessity of the objects themselves, and they rejoice to further them to the utmost of their power.

The attention of the association has of necessity been arrested by the present enormous amount of emigration. Its very existence is an awful testimony to the need of our labors, when we see a whole people, ardently attached to the land of their fathers, yet driven from it by the most urgent misery; although no one believes that land to be overpeopled in proportion to its natural resources. This indicates a complete disorganisation of the social fabric, which cannot but demand our most earnest attention. Some of the causes of this disorganisation are already before the world. The population of Ireland, which, at the census of 1851, ought, in ordinary course, to have exceeded 8,500,000, had actually fallen to 6,515,794. We cannot, therefore, reckon at less than two millions (or nearly one quarter of the whole population), those who have sunk beneath the stroke of famine and pestilence at home, or have fled from them across the ocean—in too many instances only to perish in their flight. Alas! the Irish members of the association have seen miseries which no description can paint to those who only read of them! They have seen places in which more than half the population has perished on the spot, until those who remained have lost, in the extremity of their own sufferings, even that care, proverbially the first in the breast of the Irish poor, for the decent burial of the dead. These things are past, but the flight of the population still continues; and when we consider the great danger to the religion of the emigrants in their new country, as well as to their lives on the voyage, we cannot but deeply lament it for their own sakes, as well as that of the country. To check it, by remedying the misery by which it is urged, is evidently among the first duties of the legislature. Meanwhile the association desire to do what they can towards lessening the temporal and spiritual dangers of emigrants, by providing a system of agency for their embarkation, and for safe reception on the western shore of the Atlantic; and respectfully request the bishops and clergy of America to assist them, by information as to the districts where Catholics will find the freest access to the sacraments, and to Catholic education for their children. They would also desire (should they hereafter find it possible) to assist in extenuating these opportunities in the districts chiefly inhabited by Catholic emigrants.

Without mentioning other subjects which will demand their attention, the association would impress upon all Catholics, in the words of the circular, signed months ago by the Lord Primate of Ireland, that 'these great objects cannot be attained without combined exertions, great personal sacrifices, and the command of large funds.' To assist in the work the committee have secured offices in Dublin for the ordinary business of the association, and have endeavored to combine with this another object, by taking premises in which there is room for their meetings, and in which also they can offer to their lordships, the bishops, a suitable place of meeting, whether upon the affairs of the association itself, of the Catholic University, or any other object which requires their collective consideration. This, they trust, will afford to the Catholics of the empire a centre of operations, the want of which, on former occasions, has been found inconvenient.

The association would now respectfully invite the Catholics of the empire immediately to commence that co-operation with their committee, without which they cannot effect their designs. They would suggest either that trustworthy and zealous persons should be nominated by the clergy and other principal Catholics in each place to collect and transmit subscriptions to the association, or (if it be thought more desirable) that a local committee should be organised for the same purpose. In either case it should be one principal office of the local managers, whether clerical or lay, to keep the committee constantly informed of every event which affects the Catholic cause—of all dangers by which it is threatened, and of the means by which those dangers have been, in any instance, successfully combated—of the grievances which ought to be made public, connected with the local union workhouses, gaols, asylums, the army, navy, and the like.

The information thus obtained will enable the general committee to put forth, from time to time, such reports of all events which concern the Catholic Church as will secure unity of action, &c. It well deserves our serious consideration, that while there is among

Catholics a real unity of faith, principles, and interests, which is nowhere else to be found (for every Protestant sect, we well know, is divided against itself, even upon fundamental articles of faith); yet, in consequence of the long persecution from which we have so lately emerged, and which for many years obliged Catholics to limit their ambition to the almost secret maintenance of their faith, and prevented any combined action, there is no body less prepared than they to act together for a common object upon any emergency. This evil the committee believe would be removed by some such measures as have been suggested. They will gladly send persons to co-operate in carrying them into effect, wherever such is the wish of the Catholics in any place, and they invite immediate communications, addressed to the Secretary, at his office, from all who are desirous of co-operating with the association.

When the means have thus been afforded to the association of ascertaining the actual state of Catholics in every part of the empire, their grievances, and the required remedies, the committee propose that a report, containing in a clear and condensed form the result of their inquiries and correspondence, should, from time to time, be published by the committee, and thus every Catholic can see how matters really stand, to which objects our efforts ought to be directed, and what means should be employed. We shall thus ensure the important result, that no abuse can prevail in any quarter unnoticed and uncondemned, and, we may hope, eventually unremedied.

It is the attention of the association, by God's help, to labor zealously in carrying out these objects; having in our hands such a cause, which is not ours but the cause of God, they cannot be doubtful of success if they are not wanting to it, and they confidently trust that the Catholics of the British islands will not leave them destitute of pecuniary means necessary for their operations. It will be seen by the rules that every precaution has been taken to secure the due and careful administration of the funds entrusted to them; and they also propose in addition, that every subscriber who wishes to do so shall have the liberty of selecting any of the objects proposed by the association to which his subscription, as donation, shall be exclusively devoted.

Under these circumstances they confidently solicit from every Catholic such liberal assistance in donations, annual subscriptions, or both, as shall enable them to carry out effectually the great object of the association; and they would earnestly commend the success of those objects to the sacrifice and prayers of the reverend bishops and clergy, and of all the faithful of the Church.

In conclusion, this association cannot conceal the reluctance with which, at the present moment, when the government of this country is calling upon the people to increase the national defences, the Catholics of the empire feel themselves compelled to reply by a demand for the redress of grievances. They do not forget that their country needs the services of all her children. They do not forget that union is strength—that the security of nations lies in the combination of all hearts and hands in one common cause. They do not forget the great names which, in common with their Protestant fellow-subjects, they have inherited from the Catholic ancestors of both; but they appeal to the justice of the civilised world—they appeal to the sober judgment of even English Protestants, from that so lately passed under the intoxicating influence of prejudice and misrepresentation. Judge ye yourselves, then, Protestants of the British empire, whether we demand anything unreasonable for ourselves or for our religion. We ask no new endowment—no exclusive privileges—no special favors. We ask only, that although we plead guilty to the charge of holding the faith of the existing Catholic world and of your own Catholic ancestors, we may not be deemed unworthy of such treatment as you glory in extending to all, even those who deny all religion and all faith. We ask that our religion may be left alone—that the law would take no cognizance of it—that it may be neither honored nor insulted—neither established nor proscribed, by the laws of the British empire; and if you refuse us this common justice, upon you, not upon us, be the blame, that one-third of your fellow-subjects are compelled to spend in pursuit of justice to themselves, and in defence of the religion and the souls of their poor brethren (no less precious than those of princes) those energies which they would gladly devote undivided to the service of our common country."

CATHOLIC INTELLIGENCE.

THE PASSIONISTS—ST JOSEPH'S CHURCH AND RETREAT, NEAR LONDON.—On the morning of Monday, Jan. 19th, the Provincial of the Passionists, with the approbation of his Eminence Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, laid the first stone of a new retreat of his congregation, in the neighborhood of London. The site selected is at the Hyde, Edgeware-road, about four miles beyond Kilburne Gate, and easily accessible by the Edgeware omnibuses, which leave the city frequently during the day.

GREENWICH.—We are glad to hear that, as the "No-Popery" bigots dreaded, the Catholic religion is advancing at Greenwich by the zealous exertions of the Rev. Mr. North, and his able coadjutor, Mr. Bonus, whose attractive eloquence, exemplary life, and assiduous labors, are bringing many strangers into the fold of Christ. His Lordship the Bishop of Southwark, sang Vespers and preached in the beautiful church of our Lady, Star of the Sea, on the second Sunday after Epiphany, the feast of the holy name. Upwards of 1,000 persons were present. After the service a deputation of the congregation presented an address to the Bishop, to which his Lordship replied in his usual affectionate manner.

Died on the 19th January, at the Seminary, near Monaghan, the Rev. Francis McNally, for many years curate in Enniskillen.

HAMMERSMITH, CONVENT OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD.—On Saturday last died at Hammersmith, the Rev. Mother Marie Joseph de Rogaudat, the foundress and superiress of the first convent of the Good Shepherd in England. This extraordinary woman, accompanied by two religious, left the mother house in Angers, and came to London with a letter of introduction to the Abbé Voyaux, who died before her arrival. She then presented herself to Bishop Griffiths, who encouraged her in her deep charity for the fallen ones of her sex, and finally established the present large convent at Hammersmith.—*Tablet*.