

against the audacity of unscrupulous criticism, only ventured to indicate the organization and the formalities with which it would be prepared to meet a concession of new power from the Government of this Realm. We now know what we may expect if these powers are granted. The Irish Resolutions are conceived in the unconditional and peremptory tone. In principle, if not in terms, they embrace every thing. They demand unlimited power for the priesthood: the absolute direction of schools, colleges, and universities: the right of setting up insuperable bars against all dissentients: an indefinite interference with leases and other industrial arrangements, in behalf of tenants and labourers; and, above all, the reversal not only of particular Acts of the British or the Irish Parliament, but of centuries of legislation, on the ground of nullity by reason of injustice. This is done in a tone which defies compromise, which refuses compensation or equivalent, and which will not be satisfied unless extreme vengeance be added to sufficient redress. Victory, not its fruits, are desired. Nor is it the Church Establishment alone that is openly menaced, "the Catholic Church in Ireland." England is told has a right to all the property and revenue of which it has been unjustly deprived. The debt, it is evident, and indeed implied, will never be paid or the inexorable creditor satisfied till the abbey lands and the absolute title of the produce of all Ireland be reclaimed not only from the Protestant clergy, but also from the landowners, and from the persons now let off so easily on the payment of small rentcharges. If all this legislation, which certainly at the time had the concurrence of all parties, is to be reversed, and every public act tainted with injustice is only waiting a declaration of its nullity, there is nothing before us but to write history back again, and find out in the oldest records of Ireland the state of things to which we must return. That this consummation, or rather original, would be entirely to the taste and convenience of these revivalists we venture to doubt, for we cannot accept as an historical fact that the Protestant Establishment is the fountain-head to which are to be traced all the waters of bitterness which poison the relations of life in Ireland. History tells us something of the state of things there before the days of Henry VIII., and even of Strongbow, and if it is to be trusted, there never was a time when the waters of bitterness were not flowing there, and had not a rather bloodstained hue, whatever the fountain-head.

There is a circumstance in this proceeding which either escapes the notice of these high-minded and high-flying ecclesiastics, or which they knowingly slur over. By whom and before whom is the gauntlet thus thrown down? The only recognized power in this country is Parliament, in which Ireland is well represented. Ireland has a far larger share of the representation in proportion to its numbers than this metropolis, than any of our first class cities or most important and populous counties. No other equal population can pretend to have had so much weight at the most critical periods of our Parliamentary history. Ireland has its full share of patronage, and there

is probably not one Bishop assembled at the Dublin meeting who would not be better able to obtain an appointment or other favour for a friend than any Protestant Bishop of either island or most English gentlemen. But the point we insist on is, that the only governing power in this realm is elected by all of us, and represents all of us, and is quite as much the creation of these Bishops themselves as of any other body of men or portion of the public. We can understand a Christian martyr defying a Pagan Emperor; we can understand a patriot or a nationality proclaiming its wants or its wrongs in the face of the Power that simply possesses and rules it. But England does not possess Ireland, or rule it, except in a sense in which Ireland has often ruled England—that is, by turning the political scale. Year by year national differences, national inequalities and, with them, those of a religious character, have diminished and disappeared, till we are come to a real fusion and substantial unity, only exceeded across the Atlantic or in the Southern Hemisphere. There is no community composed of several ancient races, so much one socially and politically, as this of ours, constituting the British public. It is to this body, consisting of themselves as much as any other persons, that this appeal is made. The appeal is to themselves as much as to any twenty Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, or Welshmen. Of course, we fully admit the right of any number of British subjects to combine for the effectual declaration of their opinions or prosecution of their interests, or for any object they may think just and adequate. But what pretence is there for the adoption of a style and tone only justifiable in the case of those who have no constitutional means of righting themselves? The authors, their predecessors, and their co-religionists have been playing the game of politics with great spirit, and no little success, for all this century at least. They certainly have been wiser in their generation, and have done more for themselves in the open arena of the Imperial Parliament, than the Established Church has, whether in Ireland or in England, not to speak of the Established Church of Scotland. They have achieved much, both as allies and as principals, and have excited not only the disgust, but even the envy of less successful religionists. For this we blame them not. They are full entitled to all they can win in this field. But when they put on the aspect and tone of victims, martyrs, and confessors, and tell a tale of sufferings going no one knows how far back, we ask against whom is this declamation delivered and this indictment framed? It must be against themselves as much as against anybody else or any other community.

The indictment does, indeed, fall on their own heads, for there can be no doubt that long before this they would have obtained all they ask for, if they had not continually demanded with threats, not without accompanying violence, what they might urge with reason. But they do not wish the victory to be one of reason. They wind up this very manifesto with a loud innuendo that secret societies and open insurrection have their origin, and in a way their justification, in the endowment of the Protestant Church and the fact of tenants being left