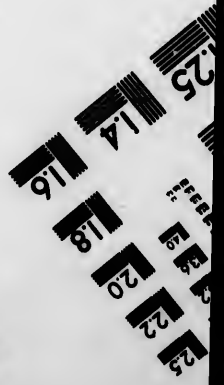
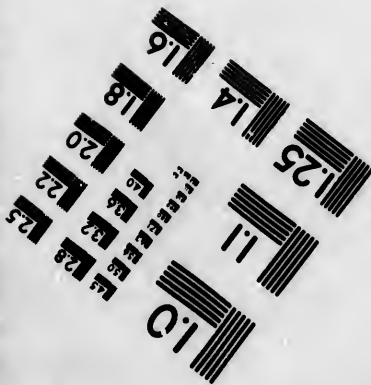
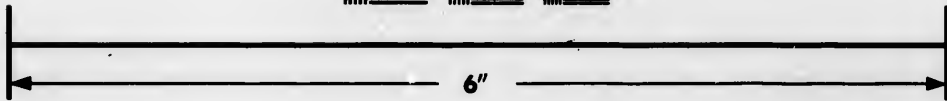
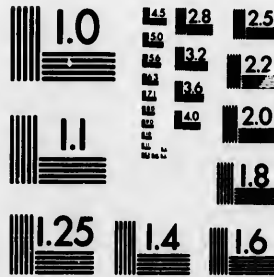
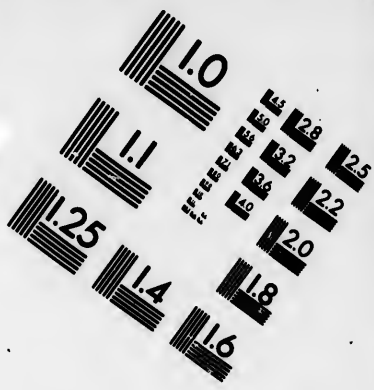


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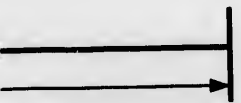
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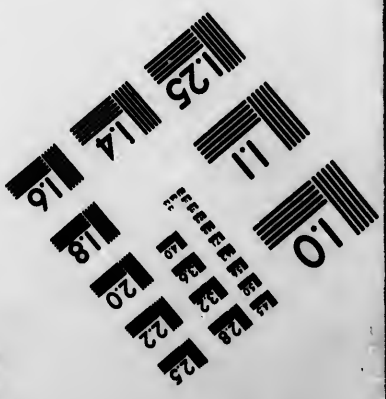


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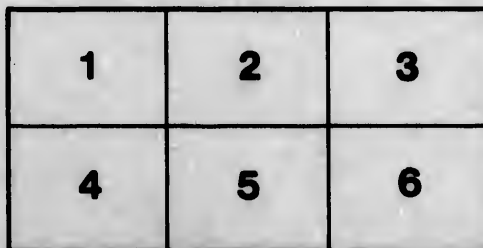
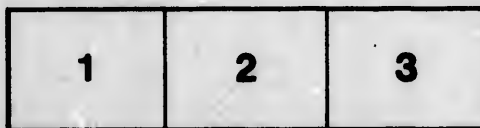
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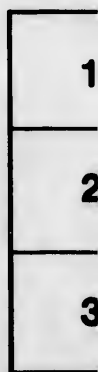
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Clara, Carroll, Dublin

REPORT

OF

THE SPEECH

DELIVERED BY THE

REV. JOHN C. MARTIN,

FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

AT THE

FIRST GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Brunswick Constitutional Club of Ireland,

HELD IN THE

ROTUNDA,

ON TUESDAY, NOVEMBER THE 4th, 1828.

—♦♦♦♦—

PRINTED BY ORDER

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1828

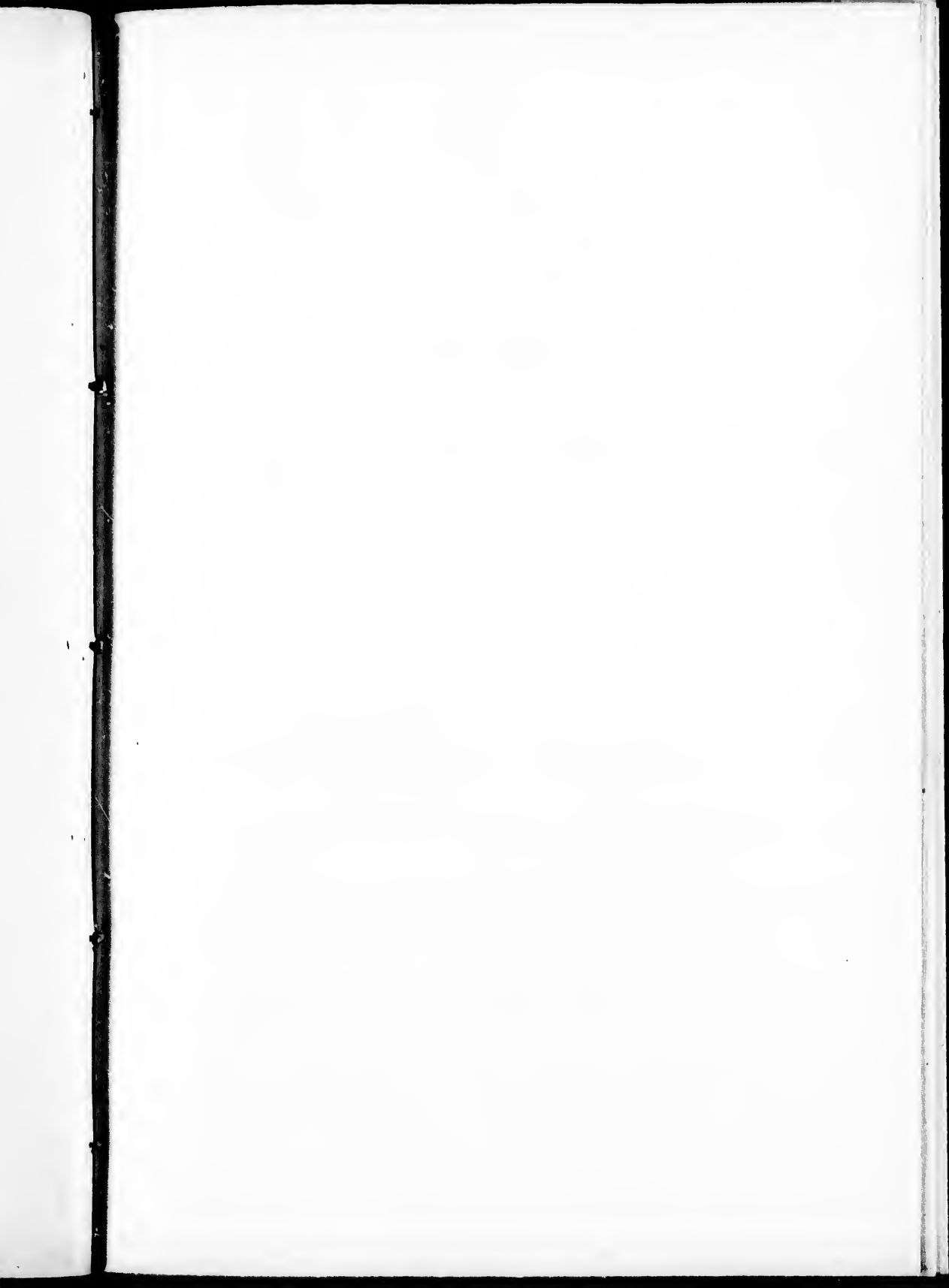
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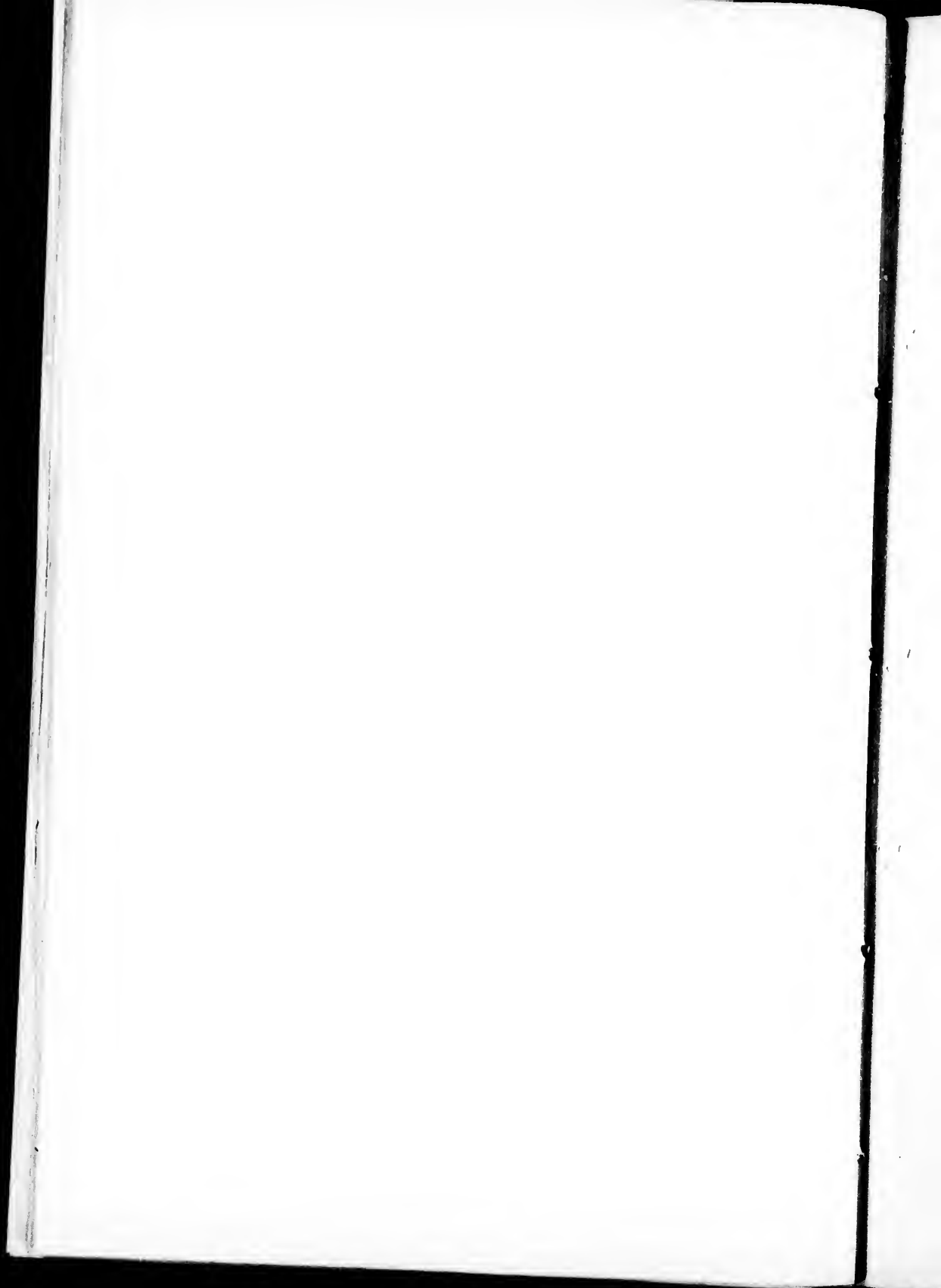
the civil and church history for instance of this country for centuries, and the histories of corresponding states and churches; the leading emancipating speeches too, which afford a matter for grave reflection, betraying as they often do a wonderful ignorance of a matter upon which they legislate, very fearlessly and superciliously, and often too so wildly, that their most popular arguments if they prove any thing to my judgment prove this, that the "rights of man" require that Government and Legislation should be granted, even to a banded conspiracy of men, solemnly pledged and infallibly able to overturn the liberties and happiness of a nation!!—and lastly, I shall scarcely allude to any particular speech or proceeding of the Catholic Association.

Some of these latter topics have been already dwelt upon, and I choose, therefore, to pass them over for one perhaps more important.—In fact, 'tis my impression—that many facts of observation or history may be regarded as only passing or casual occurrences, and many, as the caprices of this or that man—that even the present proceedings of Roman Catholic Leaders, and the general consent, sympathy, or approbation they meet with, are not—if considered in themselves—unanswerable arguments, though they are strong grounds, for predicting events yet to come; they are not *prophetic* unless connected in some natural way with *Romanism itself*, and viewed as emanations from the system, or illustrations of its power and its spirit—'Tis only, I repeat, some permanent collection of *principles*, some established constitution or organized system, that can—and that may by itself, without history or experience—support the sage deliberations and the anticipations of a statesman.

But as the view of this system is wide—embracing the arrangements and sentiments of large communities, I shall just illustrate the argument upon which I mean to dwell by a simple illustration: it is the first that occurs to me and though not in all respects alike; it may yet do all that I want or wish, help slightly to give you some idea of a view more general. Suppose then, my Lord, a man were placed in any dangerous situation and were suddenly startled by the advance upon him of a stranger, what would be his natural proceeding? would he not narrowly observe the armour and dimensions of that stranger, compare them with his own, try too to ascertain his designs, and if they seemed formidable would he not feel inclined to keep any high or vantage ground he occupied—not to desert his shield or sword—much less for purposes of conciliation present them to the stranger, and prostrate himself in token of friendly submission at his feet!—his rule then was *caution*, and plainly the two great points of interest to him would be the *power* and the *disposition* of the man; or how far he was able and how far willing to do mischief.

In Ireland, my Lord, two such individuals are found, the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities—Neutrals at present, I consider as non-entities—the Protestant body is in possession of the ascendancy—a part indeed, an all-important part, of its *armour* it has already surrendered—the elective





franchise—but still 'tis in possession of the shield and helmet, the legislative, executive, and judicial powers—(as far at least as these functions of the state, have not been transferred to a newly-created body, and withdrawn from the hands in which the Constitution has placed them)—such defensive armour we still possess, handed to us by an ancestry whose skill in matters of law and politics is superior to praise or imitation, and whose established Constitution—in defiance of rebellions, wars, foreign or domestic foes—has made Britain to be the Queen of nations! Before, then we give up these inherited defences, and make a vital change in an illustrious Constitution—which we are bound by every tie of interest and honor to transmit unimpaired to posterity—should we not at least cautiously make inquiry, first, respecting the power, and secondly, respecting the disposition, that moves and governs the Roman Catholic Body.

These two points I take to be the most essential of all connected with “the question” and yet they are not the oftenest examined nor the best known, plainly they can only be known, by ascertaining what *that* is which gives to the body its *objects, union, and name*—by ascertaining in fact what Romanism is, or its system of Church polity, and discipline, and doctrine—yet these are matters, as I said, but rarely inquired into, thought to be things *merely ecclesiastical*; fit only for divines and pedants, and respecting them accordingly most modern politicians, whether occupying seats in the Imperial Legislature or deliberating in a more humble sphere, express an absolute indifference if not a sovereign contempt. First, then, let us look to the power of the Romanish body.

The power, my Lord, of any community may be learned at once from an old *sablé*—in one word, it is union, or combination; an army, we know, of 100 men might disperse 100,000—and in civil matters, though the disproportion be not at all so great, yet the least experience will prove the overwhelming power of an extensive indivisible combination—over which suppose there presides an able Governor, and the whole plan of which presents, like the military plan, a system of graduated and well adjusted subordination, every part being simply governed by the law of obedience to its superior.

The consideration of the efficacy and the existence of such a combination is, I think, a matter worthy of present attention; and in this I am glad to find myself agree with the noble lord now holding the helm of the state, who in Parliament, last Session, imputed the troubles of Ireland to the remarkable combination, now existing in the country—a view which I shall endeavour to open and pursue—and, as philosophy requires a *successive* investigation of causes, I shall try to investigate the *source* and *principle* of that combination; and mark, Gentlemen, particularly that, should that source and principle be permanent or be allowed to remain, the danger is permanent and will remain—in that case, even for the combination to cease in point of fact is nothing; it is but a passing and a returning phenomenon; 'tis as if a thunder cloud should roll away, and yet the electric fluid still

overcharge the air, and the principle of new clouds and combinations exist undiminished.

How far then, the principle of dangerous combination may peculiarly belong to Romanism we are now to inquire, and for distinctness let us look first to the ecclesiastical department, and then to the lay-population. Pope Hildebrand my Lord—perhaps the most cunning statesman and imperious tyrant the world ever saw—was the first that usurped, and traced for his successors, the way to supreme dominion over his brethren the Christian Clergy. Having possessed himself by a train of wily policy of the powers of episcopal consecration and Investiture, he saw that these enabled him to impose on all Bishops and their dependent Clergy—who should afterward be promoted—ANY CONDITIONS HE PLEASED; and then all his schemes of spiritual domination went on quietly: the canon of celibacy was but a step—the great move was an oath of fealty imposed on Christian Bishops—an oath which, with those of Priests and Regulars and some useful doctrines &c. for the Laity, forms the pillars on which the whole system of Romish Church militancy mainly rests.

The oath of a Roman Catholic Bishop is indeed, my Lord, very admirable! if you were to sit down, and frame one to secure all things possibly desirable, you could not perhaps add a single clause to those of the wily Hildebrand. Thus—by the strongest tie ever yet invented to bind human conscience—it binds a Christian Bishop as far as his ability reaches, first, to keep secret all secrets entrusted to him—secondly, to prevent and communicate any pernicious design—thirdly, to defend the royalties of Peter—one of which royalties is the kingdom of Ireland! fourthly, to increase the Pope's privileges and authority—and lastly to obey all Apostolic decrees and commands. (It was, I suppose, owing to the first of these items that this oath itself was kept a profound secret *even from the Romish Priesthood* for centuries, and that perhaps other important *secrets* still remain unknown to us!) There are other clauses too of less importance, for which I must refer you to the oath itself.—Thus being himself away from the field of action, this able statesman saw that the clause of mere obedience was by no means enough (for much liberty must be left to local and confidential officers,) but what more could any man contrive or desire, than to bind his sworn vassals—who are yet far the most influential men in our or any land—to energetic devotedness—offensive and defensive—to confidential secrecy, and to the office of spying out and communicating all things useful!

This oath however, with all its clauses, is not the only security for the good behaviour of *Irish* Prelates and their dependent Clergy; Popes have also in their hands the two important supplements of reward and punishment. Thus, in this country all patronage to places of chief rank is *in* the Pope—he appoints to Bishoprics, Deaneries, and to the chief posts in the *Regular* system—and seeing this, no doubt, many a holy Priest and zealous Bishop or ambitious Friar is induced,

with the laudable view of self-promotion, to add wings to his exertions—to preach a sermon, write an essay, or publish a convincing pastoral, which shall denounce all reason or judgment, enjoin the most blind obedience, and uphold all the high doctrines! And then as to punishment, beside admonition and minor censures—in cases of plain violation of oath, or contumacious opposition to the interests of Rome—or to what it should call the interests of religion—to use a Pope's own language, he can “strike with the edge of an excommunication”—a weapon, my Lord, very sharp and cutting, and not often permitted to grow rusty in its scabbard, but drawn sometimes against the highest dignities—Thus, in the Gallican Church no less than one hundred Bishops were excommunicated at once, and in our history five Bishops at a time were smitten by a Papal legate—Now Priests and Bishops have always taught that, as Bishop Doyle says, “communion with the Pope is essential to Catholicity” and that out of Catholicity there is no salvation—such at least is the *rule*, though there may be fencing about possible exceptions—(indeed if an anathema be added, it *sentences* in express terms “to eternal fire with the Devil and his angels”)—excommunication therefore is very formidable; it would separate Priest or Bishop from absolution and Church sacraments, and what is worse, suspend their jurisdiction, and all their episcopal or priestly ministrations.

If we now look a little lower, we shall find that the order of Priests did not escape notice; for that order, indeed, direct superintendence was partly unnecessary—the Priesthood being completely *under* the Bishops, by them ordained, priested, promoted, and in various ways controuled and rewarded—however, there seemed to be no supererogation in devising for Priests also an oath, and accordingly that which they are forced to take, swears obedience to the Pope, the LORD'S VICAR!—It swears too an undoubting reception of *all things* defined and declared by the canons and General Councils—a collection of which councils I have seen in several volumes folio! and that, moreover, out of THIS Catholic faith there is no salvation.

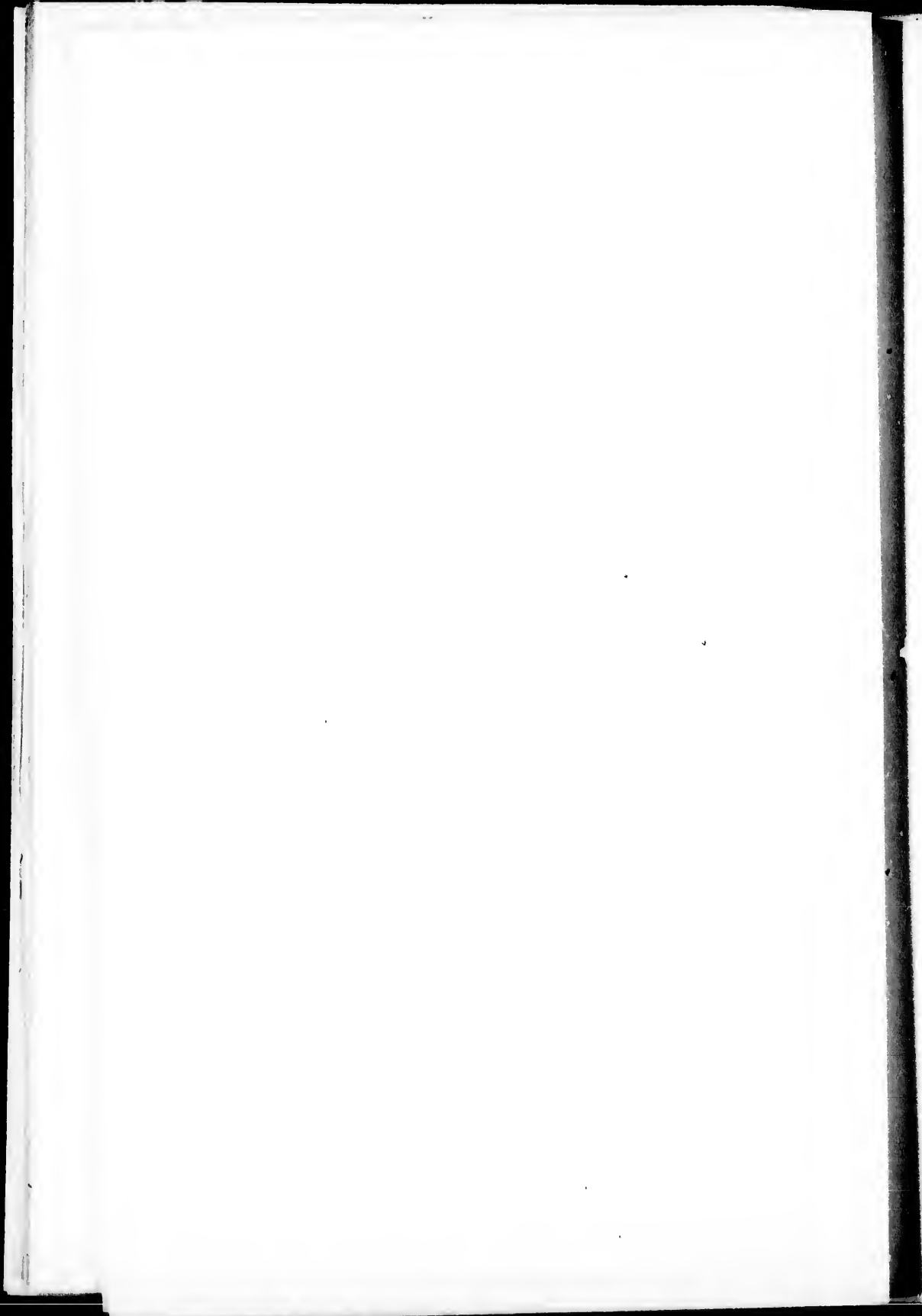
Now upon this oath and the former, a remark may not be amiss—first, that Bishops are *doubly* bound, having formerly taken the oath of Priest or Regular—next, that the exclusive interpretation of oaths as well as of the Bible belongs to the Roman Court—whatever it states to be the sense is the undoubted sense!—thus for instance, Priests are bound to maintain the important signification attached to the character of “Vicar” or visible representative.—and a third is, that if the Pope or his Cabinet wanted, which indeed they scarcely can, a better oath, all they have to do is to order it; in the twinkling of an eye 'tis done by saying merely “be it so”—while the British Government could not by its direct authority dictate an oath of allegiance to its Romish subjects, nor was it able to obtain one after endless years of negotiation, until the very form and words of the oath, “which alone would be allowed,” and “which

his children of Great Britain might take with a safe conscience," were drawn out and dictated by the Papal Government.—Here then, my Lord, we see as it were an adamantine chain of motive and moral obligation, that hangs from the Papal throne, and that binds permanently the whole body of Secular Clergy from Metropolitan down to Curate—something like the imagination in Homer, of a chain let down from heaven, and holding all inferior deities, who, though beings of power and weight, are yet wheeled to every extremity of heaven by the swing of the omnipotent Jupiter!!

So far we have considered the Secular Clergy; but there is another very dangerous body in the land, one to which as yet sufficient attention has not been paid—nor has that body been once considered in any of the securities connected with what is called qualified emancipation—I called it particularly dangerous, for its Members are generally more select than Seculars, and more united; residing in the same house (in which is their library and club-room) and thus having more the character of conspirators, and illuminati!—They are called Regular Clergy—a name which embraces a vast number of orders, distinguished by various and picturesque names—and as the Pope might create new orders *ad libitum*, and send, too, by a word communicated through their General, whole corporations upon a mission into Ireland, there is no knowing what flights of these Reverend Gentlemen may one day come to perch or pounce upon us—Some of these, the Jesuits for instance, have been expelled from different European nations for self-preservation, but in this intolerant country there is no law against them—in fact the children of the Roman Catholic Aristocracy, are this moment chiefly educated, at the two large establishments of Clongowes and Stoneyhurst, by Jesuits!!—here then they may settle and emigrate, my Lord, in numbers unlimited; indeed various orders, Jesuits, Dominicans, Carmelites, &c. are settled, and seem to be gradually creeping into the country, building and purchasing, as we see, in many places—with what fund no man can tell!—it is a curious matter, and one that is veiled in a mysterious obscurity.

All these Regulars, of course, are properly secured. By their obligations of celibacy, and vow of individual poverty, they are freed from all strong ties of interest or sympathy with the country they inhabit—and then comes in, as usual, the vow of obedience—of unqualified obedience—to their general! This general, or head of the order, is thus, you see, a man of weight, and deserves the attention of "the See"; and accordingly it is not inattentive to him: he is appointed by the Pope—is himself sworn to obedience—he is bound to reside at Rome under the eye of the Roman court—there his letters are sent—and if he evince a holy zeal for the exaltation of the Church, and eradication of heresy, they know how to honor and reward him—or if suspected of trea-

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chery, castigation is at hand—But even Regulars do not complete the enumeration—I might add Nuns too, and female orders well disciplined, to whom the education of females—a most important engine of policy—is a good deal committed; and lay orders too—sodalities, fraternities, confraternities, &c.—a kind of whippers-in to the clerical company! all of them bound by appropriate vows. In every diocese, too, as we are informed by Dr. Phelan—who has amassed such valuable information on this whole subject, and to whom eminently I am delighted to acknowledge my own large debts of pleasure and instruction—there is a mysterious class of legal personages called “Apostolic Notaries;” and they are sworn to defend the royalties of Peter.

Here then is an ecclesiastical combination of many thousands, properly subordinated, and over them a foreign power, having, (by the united influences of education, reward, punishment, and moral obligation,) far more despotic sway than ever Field Marshal had—a large compacted body, governed and moved by a will, of which all I shall say at present is, that it is *not* the will of the State, and that its aim is not the interest of Great Britain.

But hitherto we have only mentioned the officers of the ecclesiastical army, to ascertain the number or spirit of the soldiery, we must ascertain the influence of the clerical combination upon the lay “subjects,” as they are properly called—Now I will not assert that this influence is universal, or all-commanding. The Roman Catholic Aristocracy, no doubt, and educated men, who are not prepared to surrender all reason or judgment, are manifestly not so liable to priestly influence—They have, indeed, a great temptation to consider the priesthood but a useful department of state machinery, and Christianity itself but a pious fraud, since that priesthood proves to them the truth of Christianity precisely as Turkish or Chinese priests might verify the religion of Mahomet or Confucius—Yet even they too, have the prejudices of education, and the prejudices of inheritance; they are born with the name of Roman Catholic, and belong naturally to the party which that name associates; they like, too, local influence and political weight, which in this country can scarcely be had except by union or party; and thus they always, as we see, predominantly join in the throng with more pious devotees—But whatever be the principle or extent of obedience amongst the aristocracy, amongst nine-tenths at least of the general population, clerical authority is absolutely predominant and overwhelming—I shall not allude to passing facts—to recent elections, for instance, (which in my opinion have saved the country, by seasonably informing it)—but, as before, confine myself to the necessary and unalterable *sources* of this authority.

Over education, then, priests have always to exercise a superintendance; they inspect schools, and can introduce a *good* book or expel a *bad* one; they have catechisms too, in which they expound and cross-examine; and missals and breviaries well worth your inspection; and in this way the doctrines they

like the best are so deeply impressed, and interwoven with all the early sentiments of youth, that scarcely any degree of mental or moral exertion can afterwards disengage them. The doctrines most popular are doubtless that cluster of doctrines, of which no trace is to be found in Scripture, or in any early Father, and for which the evidence is oral tradition, or the *ipse dixit* of the Roman See—they are popular, for it is a remarkable character of these novel doctrines, that perhaps every one of them is calculated to uphold Church authority, and to impose a slavish obedience upon the lay “subjects.”—Indeed—without descending into minute examination—the concerns of futurity, the interests of an immortal soul, and terrors of perdition, even in an indistinct and general view, when once a temporal principle can be engrafted on them, such as exalt the Church, depress its enemies, must evidently have a paramount influence over all the transactions of mortality with submissive believers.

But there are particular doctrines and disciplines, upon which priests can dwell with emphatic advantage. Thus, one most comprehensive and dominant article of belief is always taught, one which, as the celebrated Dr. Milner intimates, every untutored peasant in the land receives, and which, it seems, can make a true believer of him—by what is called “implicit faith,”—though he were not to know a single iota about Christianity! that strange article is this: “I believe all that the holy Church requires me to believe.”—A plan of implicit faith, Gentlemen, which has always reminded me of the plan of evidence of a witness, who, when asked in some legal process what he could swear, said, “I’ll swear all that my landlord swore.” Thus testifying all things desirable at once, by what Dr. Milner would call “comprehensive” and “implicit evidence!!” For a miracle, again, that far surpasses all the performances of eastern Magi, there is transubstantiation—Look again to the commanding authority assumed and acknowledged in Auricular Confession, in Penance, Absolution, Extreme Unction, as they are taught in the Roman Church. All these are important matters, which *they* only can sufficiently know, who know the details of Romish faith and discipline—and these are not the only points, connected with emancipation, in which statesmen might derive assistance from well-informed divines—I do not wish on this occasion to dwell largely on them, but how, my Lord, can the mass of believers once doubt the unspeakable value of Church sacraments, or the indispensableness of all priestly ministrations, when these matters are deeply *engraven* upon them from infancy, and engraven too by priests themselves?—Purgatory, indeed, may deserve distinct notice as an invaluable imagination—for out of that horrible place you can rescue your friends or family only through the intercessions of the Church, intercessions which the Church will not make gratis—they are offered only *on conditions*.—Indulgences too are a distinguished source of influence—they grant remission of sins to the penitent, but not unless he add to his repentance some one *condition*, that is arbitrary and

pleasing to the distributor.—Thus to the Crusaders Indulgences were given for military achievement, afterward for gold—and thence chiefly sprang the Reformation—Afterwards for exterminating heretics, and now in this country a very usual condition is that of frequent and fervent prayer repeated so many times, for “the exaltation of the Holy Church, and the extirpation of heresy”—This very power of ordering prayer, without permission of the state, I take to be a dangerous political engine.—When millions are collected in different chapels through the land, the Priests can prostrate their respective congregations by a word, and make them in that impressive attitude, with uplifted hand and eye, express any sentiment desired.—It was a Dr. Coppinger, I think, that composed a prayer lately for the simultaneous meetings, and whether in such occasional prayers they speak plain English, or whether we are shielded by unintelligible Latin, I am not able to say.

All this, then, partly shows you the *source*, as you have often seen instances, of Church influence upon the lay population—You see education, ordinances, liturgies, catechisms, disciplines, all religious instruments, and spiritual artillery, in full play—and the whole view, embracing laity and clergy, may partly establish and derive from the peculiarities of Romish polity and doctrine, a system of close and formidable combination, (well illustrated by the “simultaneous meetings” assembled on Sundays, and by the universal “organization” so graphically described by an eloquent Association orator)—a system of combination, I say, for carrying any grand point that may be useful to a foreign and a hostile government!!—In that system you have seen the monastic, priestly, and episcopal orders all invincibly secured and sworn to promote, energetically, the power and interests of Rome—and the laity, not indeed so strongly or universally bound, but still combined to a degree, and by an influence, that is fearfully extensive—You thus see, in part, the wheelwork of Romish machinery; the main-spring, indeed, is not so visible, while local bishops and priests, and still more, their instruments, are seen in full motion, taking their rounds with a mischievous and apparently self-originated activity; still all are held fast and fettered, and are moved mainly by one common object.—It is the name and exaltation of Rome that is the primum mobile, the principle of union, and of all general motion! It acts, in fact, upon the combination as gravitation acts upon the earth, allowing waves to traverse the ocean, winds to blow, and all the peaceful or fiery elements to exert their several activities, while still it maintains all the busy atoms in sufficient union, and guides them in their proper course

But, Gentlemen, we have accomplished two things at once, for in ascertaining the power, we have ascertained the disposition that moves and governs the whole combination. And mark particularly, that we are only concerned with the disposition of *the government*; as for the “subjects,” a submissive obedience and blind guidance, (or in some cases, mere consent

and imitation) will carry them on thoughtlessly with the mass, and down the current; but—just as for the general movements of an army, or the “foreign affairs” of Turkey, you have to look to the Sultán or the General, so—here we have only to look to the Generalissimo, or his Staff, the government of the whole body. Now of the Papal Government, the sentiments have been already proved to you—they are indeed recorded, and are open for universal inspection—sentiments which may be compressed into two connected principles, exalt the Church, and depress its enemies; or, as the formula has it, extirpate heresy.—Indeed, if any court or ministry have the uncontrolled government of a subordinated body, as some one says in Hamlet, it requires “no ghost from the grave to tell us,” that self-interest will be the secret of its managements.—But if you wish for other proofs, you may find them in the priest’s oath—that maintains the canons, the vicarship and exclusive salvation—you may find them in the bishops’ oath—not forgetting a clause but very lately omitted, and which I shall not venture to translate—“*Hereticos,*” &c. “*persequar et impugnabo*”—a clause lately omitted for Irish bishops, on a petition intimating that it was an impediment to the exaltation of the Church in this country, but one that had been retained here for centuries, and is still retained elsewhere, and is thus good evidence for the “*animus imponentis*”—Look too, to the prayers I have quoted, and if you have inclination, to the dreadful canons of slavery and persecution, which still form a part of the *unalterable* Roman law—and to the terrific enforcements lastly, of these canons, which stain the annals of former times, and, even now, of countries in which Romanism controuls the legislature, over which matters I willingly throw a veil. Connect then the governing will with the power of the combination lay and clerical, that tries to give effect to that will, and you have a view—though from this description not near so decisive as the case would warrant—of the Romish system; one which, I am sorry to say, to my judgment contains within it the elements of danger and of national degradation as essentially, as an acorn contains the elements of an oak! elements which will be sure one day to appear, although an unfriendly soil like this might retard the progress of the branches and the foliage.

Ever then, since that system, planned by Hildebrand, and for ever unalterable, *except the civil authority interpose*—that system, I say, of canon law, of doctrine, and polity, has existed—the source of dangerous combination against freedom of conscience, and of action, has existed—and in all times and countries, its’ unhappy effects do exist, more or less, in proportion to the extent of Romanism and to its power over the Legislature, or Ruling Magistrate. A principle of combination, my Lord, always dangerous to civil and religious liberty, waiting, but for a leader, or an opportunity to start into physical existence, and restrained only from direct assault by the fear of inconvenient resistance.

Let us see, however, more distinctly in what way the spiritual part of this Combination can introduce itself into civil concerns? The way, my Lord, is very simple: Briefly it can reward or punish men *greatly for any thing it pleases*. It can do what it has endlessly done, and will do whenever circumstances advise it, refuse sacraments, grant various spiritual benefits, decree sentences, denounce Church censures for *whatever* as I said, *it pleases*—particularly if it call it a matter of conscience or religion—and *whenever it sees it expedient*—and in this way oblige all, who value these privileges or dread these censures—Lords, Legislators, Magistrates, and all classes of subjects, spiritual or temporal, in or out of authority—to employ their several energies, influences, and powers, to exalt the Church, subdue heresy, assault civil liberty, and promote any of its views in gross or in detail! —But no doubt you wish to see proofs, at this moment, and in this country, of church power, and ecclesiastical interference! You shall see them, my Lord, at once; and how much do I say in a breath, and perhaps indeed surprise you, when I name as proofs all the proceedings and influences of the Catholic Association!!

It deserves, indeed, to be often repeated, and it never should be forgotten that this Association is the creature, and instrument of the Romish clergy, and more immediately of their supreme directors and managers, the Bishops, as these again—both Bishops and Clergy—are of the Roman Court—that its powers and privileges are gifts and grants—powers and privileges, by permission or delegation! No doubt, like other free creatures, the Association is permitted to exercise its liberties to a large extent and within a wide range, restrained only by the inclosure of a few general rules or plans—but this obviously does not prevent its being, first, the creature, and next the instrument—whenever its instrumentality is wanting—of the Prelacy or Clergy—and the motive for the mutual connection, which I shall prove to exist, of patronage on the one hand, and active service on the other, is this:—The leaders know that they can't at all 'get on'—gain fame and influence or cause agitation—without the Priests and pulpits; the Bishops again and Clergy require some speaking trumpet and engine of perpetual motion—for exalting the Church and upsetting all free and heretical institutions—without such a show of immediate interference, as might open men's eyes, or provoke hostility. Now then the Association is, as we see, openly supported by the Episcopal bench, with them go the whole body of Priests and Curates, and with them again, the immense mass of population, that can be moved by their several influences. Hence, chapels are lent to the Association, its Missionaries harangue from altars one addresses a mob, as I am told, bearing in his hand, a Crucifix, and another prostrates himself in the street before a Reverend Father—the rent, in the mean time is collected by Priests, sermons are preached, and private advice given, votes are secured, and simultaneous meetings assembled.

On the other hand, should the Irish hierarchy once change its

mind, find the Association disobedient, and assert that it opposed the interests of religion!—You will I know find it hard, at first, to conceive this case, for how you ask by possibility, can the views of these two parties clash? not easily I own, I shall try, however, to make the supposition intelligible to you: suppose it then possible, that the Association should, for the sake of liberty and their country, generously risk, or rather sacrifice all the social and electioneering influence, popularity, &c. that is now conceded to them—and dare to touch upon a matter, directly affecting the bishops or their dependent clergy—suppose for example, they should do—what would do far more for their civil and religious emancipation than all the ‘agitation’ they have caused—petition the Government, namely, to take the nomination to Romish Bishoprics, and to pass a law—prohibiting the unconstitutional oaths of Bishop, Priest or Friar, and permitting only such an oath or subscription, as should retain the whole body of Roman Catholic faith, and remove only a system of wily and worldly policy, that is ingrafted or stiched upon it; thus sufficiently securing all points of doctrine, while it made security also for civil liberty and public safety—should they I say, act thus!—then I think and hold that almost in a single week, perhaps before another meeting of the Association, it would be a lifeless and powerless body—And the plan for effecting this is very simple: let each Bishop but write his Pastoral, and order it to be read by every Priest of the diocese in chapel on the following Sunday, to be backed moreover by pulpits, confessionals, &c. as long as might be necessary—or let a National council of the Bishops issue a general proclamation to be read and enforced in the same way—all together denouncing as enemies to religion the society of the Corn Exchange—denouncing moreover, its contributors and supporters—and what I ask would become at once of this independent and omnipotent Association?!—

No doubt a few of the Gentry would, for a time, continue their subscriptions, thinking it might still retain a weight in election politics; but the “rent” would be soon withdrawn when once they found the Association missionary, with his candidate, on one side, and ranged against him a phalanx of Priests and pious freeholders, denouncing the missionary and his protégé as enemies to their church and country.

Within twenty years indeed an experiment was tried, somewhat like to this, though not employing measures so decisive—and I am glad to remember, seasonably, a document, quoted by Dr. Phelan In 1810 when some securities were in question, which looked, as the only real securities must do, to the ecclesiastical system of Romanism—an episcopal Council met and addressed a letter, (bearing on its front a sign of the cross) to the Roman Catholic clergy and laity of Ireland, containing resolutions which, they say, are on points of Roman Catholic religion and doctrine” —one of these resolutions states, that the oath of allegiance is the *only* security not conflicting with conscience, or causing Catholic degradation—

and another—that the “Bishops alone without any lay intervention, are to judge on points of general discipline, by which the universal Church is connected into one mind and one body as the body of Christ” (so that it would seem all plans of combination are to be left exclusively to the judgment of bishops).—And the fact is notorious—that now no Roman Catholic utters a breath respecting securities of THAT (or indeed of any) kind—I by no means propose this as a sufficient example of Episcopal power—Still connect for a moment these facts—first, that the oath of allegiance was after much delay and difficulty, a concession or dictation from Rome—next that a synod decrees that no other security is to be allowed—and that on securities, particularly, connected with discipline (or combination) laymen have no right at all to judge—and lastly that these decrees are observed, and this connection may partly shew you which has hitherto the greatest power *even in granting securities to our established institutions* the papal Government and overwhelming spiritual combination, or the legislature of Great Britain.

Be it then, my Lord, a recorded principle that no Roman Catholic body in this land, have political weight, unless in vital matters—(which, though all important are but few, and hence the rare Legislation of the spiritual Government) unless I say, on these matters, it support the views directly of the Romish Bishops or Clergy and ultimately of their masters; and indubitable, accordingly, was the remark of Bishop Doyle, that the Roman Catholic Aristocracy in this country “ceased to wield the public mind” when they desired emancipation, with certain qualifications disapproved by the Bishops; or, as he says, “at the expense of what the Priesthood and the other classes deemed the interests, if not the principles of their religion”—the inferior classes obviously looking to the Priesthood, and the Priests again to their superiors as the proper guardians and final judges of these interests.

And thus we see how the influence of a formidable government is spread and breathed over our population, and how the Æolus at Rome I might say can blow his blasts of hurricane or Simoom, through proper conductors, upon every little village almost, or cottage, in Christendom! In Ireland, the prime conductors are the Bishops and the Leaders—and the plan virtually taken, for superintending the agitations of the country, is this—the papal cabinet say to the Irish bishops “reverend sons, we have in your oath and character, security that your aim will be ever to promote our interests by all ways and means possible—of these ways and means you are the best judges, you are on the spot and know circumstances—Proceed therefore; write regularly an account of your proceedings, and consult us seasonably on all important matters”—The Bishops again say to the Leaders—“Gentlemen, you manage the Association very respectably; the publication of your speeches and proceedings weekly, and the agitation it excites, are of vast advantage to the Church and Catholic cause;—It is useful also to yourselves; it gives you influence—fame—fort-

tune—You can now return eighty members to Parliament, and in this election matter, even, we shall not immediately interfere; take, for the present at least, the nomination and selection of the candidates, and restrain them by proper pledges—we know in a word your views, character, political judgment and religious principle, and *you* know the matters which we alone can judge, and the settled limits you can never pass—our views then are identified, and all details of a minor character, and ordinary proceedings, must clearly be left to you—remember, however, that these advantages are granted only *under condition* that you still proceed ever promoting the interests of your church and religion—if it be otherwise—you shall be denounced at once and new Leaders and a new Association be set up by us” !!

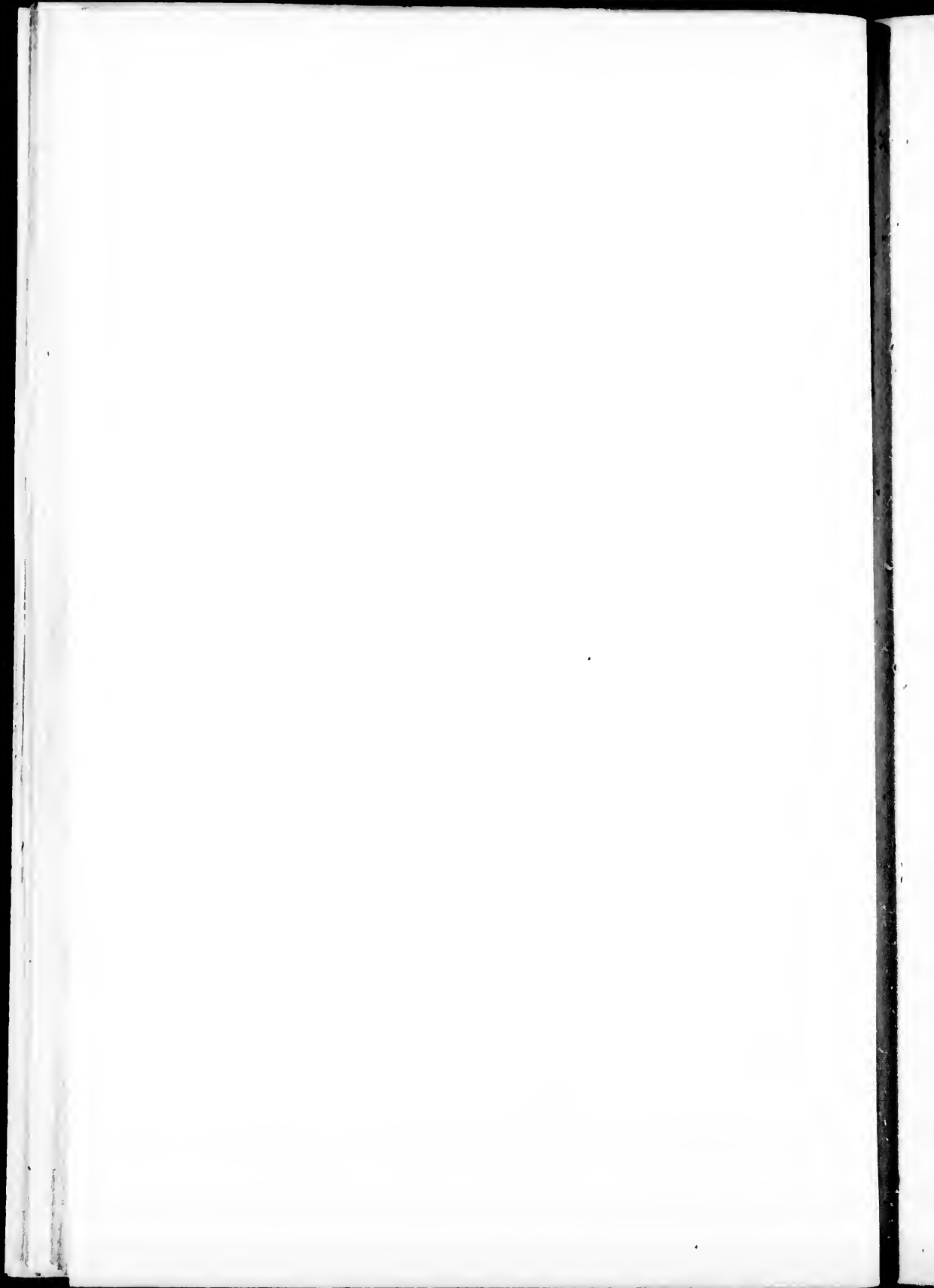
Thus then, strictly speaking, the fountain of all the authority that combines and agitates the country is the Roman Court, but to subordinate and local instruments, or aid-de-camps, for its own sake, many trusts and powers must be granted. It must leave the bishops much of liberty and influence—and they must leave the leaders much of liberty and influence—each superior power, but little obstructing the general proceedings of the inferior, exercising only a constant surveillance, and interposing an occasional check or regulation.

But in answer to *all this*, good-natured people simply tell us, that they love quietness, and they hope if emancipation once pass, the country may be restored to peace and the matter be ‘settled!’ Quod volumus facile credimus. Still before men act upon mere wishes, they should consider whether they can reasonably calculate upon the happy result. Are you then sure, my Lord, quite sure, that unqualified emancipation will not be the signal for increased agitation? that the *great* troubles of the nation will not begin with Roman Catholic admission to the legislative function, if other matters remain. Look to analogy. Hitherto then, confessedly, the claims of Roman Catholics have always advanced—every privilege conceded has been made but a step, on which they stand, and try to reach higher—Why then now stop—why stop if any thing further or higher seem desirable—why stop, till they wield, if possible, all the powers of the country?—or is it indeed in expectation of no very important change that the Priests, &c. are now so actively interested? or have not *they* indeed ever, or the Leaders declared openly, that ulterior measures are the grand aim!

But, my Lord, more particularly, if emancipation pass—while the Bishops and Priests still remain feudal vassals to a foreign directory, and while the state of the elective franchise converts their spiritual influence into constitutional power—tell me, what is possibly to prevent the existence of the Catholic Association!—its speeches—its rent too—and seeing that Ireland has been always esteemed the strong-hold—“the island of saints”—with the loss of which Popery is itself to decline and fall, and by which and Britain’s navy it may yet be wafted triumphant-

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ly to every extremity of the earth ! why not add a re-inforcement of rent (*remitted from Rome and raised from the whole world of Papal Christendom,*) for extending Romish influence over our Legislature, purchasing boroughs at any price, and giving command of all the sinews of war ! What is to prevent, I say, all its present proceedings and influences ? It is a question worthy of an answer and a pause !—What to prevent Association Missionaries, backed by Priests, from still capturing votes at each election, turning out from every county the Protestant member, and putting a Roman Catholic in his place, and in that way sending, perhaps, eighty Roman Catholics to Parliament !?—What to prevent the unconstitutional imposition of *pledges* by this church—combination and the introduction of such new pledges, as the concordat between the Hierarchy and the Association, from time to time, may recommend ?—

Gentlemen, I can see no conceivable end to these pledges ; if not seasonably checked, they may soon reach to a length overturning all the principles, and upsetting all the freedom, of Legislation itself !! For instance, Radical Reform is a pledge. Why not make it a pledge, that every benefice or see of the Established Church, when vacated, should be filled by a Roman Catholic churchman ?—of which single measure the result would be the overthrow of the only bulwark against the unceasing encroachment and the (no doubt, remote, but still ultimately possible,) establishment of civil and spiritual despotism even in Great Britain !—according to us, and—according to the sworn opinion of Mr. Blake, an education-commissioner, and himself a Roman Catholic, the result would be—inevitable “ danger to all our general securities for liberty, property and order, and to all the blessings we derive from a lawful government, and a free constitution.” Why not pledge them, again, to vote for the extinction of the City of Dublin Corporation ?—whose late proceeding doubtless the Hon. Member for Dublin will admit, is beyond all patience—of Trinity College too, or any other Corporation that may be offensive to them ?—Why not to make different formidable canons of the Romish Church, or Court, to which I have alluded, laws of the realm ?—to extinguish the Kildare-place Society, and establish some system of national education, entirely on Roman Catholic principles, and enforcing all the rules of the “ Index Expurgatorius”—to repeal the Union—to repeal the Sub-letting Act—to free the town of Galway—to new model the House of Lords or Peerage—to extinguish boroughs, if not to assist in obtaining them—in fact Gentlemen, there is no conceivable end to these pledges !! Any measure be it great or small, may be inserted in the list ; there may even—more than all that I have said—be a pledge to secure the parliamentary union of these eighty members, and their submission to appointed chiefs or leaders, and a pledge obliging them to oppose the Government, *in every measure*, to stop the supplies, and thus control the other powers of the State, till the subject of every newly invented pledge be successively conceded !!—

Here, then, my Lord, we see eighty Members of Parliament virtually returned—or allowed to be returned—by a small body of men, whose oath, I hope, you remember—by men who have comparatively no interest in their country's welfare—and who are predominantly guided by the interests or commands of a foreign government—hostile to civil and religious liberty, and hostile to Great Britain! Yet to this hierarchy, with its dependent clergy and its accredited civil agent or plenipotentiary, these eighty Parliamentary Members owe their seats—they are turned out at its pleasure—are bound by pledges of its dictation, and are united as a phalanx on every measure that concerns the interests or wishes of their masters. The leader again of these creatures is far the most powerful man in the House of Commons; by only passing from this side of the House to that, he can make a difference on any question proposed of one hundred and sixty votes!—If joined to any respectable opposition he can impede all the functions of Government, and turn out, in fact, any ministry by a judicious plan of watching opportunity and of seasonable surprises—joined to the Whigs he can turn out the Tories—and then, as his pledge requires, he must join the Tories, and turn out the Whigs; thus making a football of the British State!!—or if permitted to become a Cabinet Minister, still, in the Cabinet his influence and office are retained, only by retaining his followers, and these he retains only through permission of the Romish Clergy—He must therefore still proceed in the same course, exercise, no doubt satisfactorily, his Ministerial patronage in the Church of England, still shew his old respect for the pledges, and for ever, in fact, disturb the House, the government, and the country, by successive measures and motions of Romish suggestion. And what should a new king arise, or heir apparent, and become a convert—by the influence of this Jesuit-Minister, or of some Romish episcopal peer, now one of the high Lords Spiritual, and having free access to Majesty—can any one present predict or follow all the awful consequences of such a possibility?

So much then for the plans of tranquillising the country, and “settling the question;” and so much for the argument that we have conceded, and, therefore, must “go on”—an argument more like the principle of a ruined and desperate gambler, than of a sage legislator or patriotic statesman. For such a man, my Lord, there is but *one* principle—to act at all times for the good of his country—and as that principle directs, he must go either forward or backward—he must, I repeat, go any way, to which the public good may elad him.

And thus we may understand slightly, the possible modes of Romish interference even with the Legislature and Government of the Country. And yet, one Romish Bishop, before the Parliamentary Committee, tells me, that the powers of Church and State are parallel lines that never meet; and another states “that they have an alliance of perfect equality, and sometimes admit an interchange of powers”—that is, that the parallel lines

do, at times, bend into an intersection ! But, my Lord, I neither like the Mathematics of these gentlemen, nor their Politico Theology. Parallelism we see, can mean continual intersection—alliance—open war—and the equality, as I shall now prove, is a great disproportion—for see how unequal the government of the country has always shewn itself in conflict with the Romish clergy, *even when backed by a Protestant Constitution!* Respecting the oath of allegiance, the Government was put down ; respecting the nomination of Romish Bishops, it is put down—our Government had it, the exiled Royal Family kept it, Rome then usurped it, without a shadow of claim, at the death of the Pretender, and holds it since, and our Government has not the spirit to take it—respecting the securities too, as we have seen, the Bishops gained another triumph—a mere instrument again of the Roman court, or of its local representatives, as the member for Derry tells us, is in all matters far superior to our Government.—That Association could be extinguished in a week, as I have proved, if on a vital point offensive to the Romish bench of Bishops, and cannot be touched by the Imperial Legislature.—Seventy or eighty Irish Members of Parliament the Roman Catholic Church can indirectly appoint, and the Government cannot perhaps appoint ten—and now it claims that these seventy or eighty creatures of its own, should be Roman Catholics, and should piously legislate for our Church and State, while the State is not to exercise the least control over any of its concerns—It aims too, confessedly, at the translation of the Established Church rank and property to itself, while the Pope is to retain directly all episcopal patronage, and indirectly all inferior patronage, that is (not to look to other and far more important consequences) it modestly claims a recognition by our State of Papal Peerages and other titles of honor—and a donation, moreover, from our's to a foreign Government, equal to the entire property of the Established Church, and this without any proposed equivalent !!!—So much for the alliance and equality of the State and the Romish Church.

I have now shewn you, Gentlemen, three links by which our Imperial Legislature itself is chained to a foreign power. The first connects the Papal Cabinet with the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy—the next binds the Laity to that Clergy—and the third binds the Commons to that Laity—Some of these links must be weakened or broken, otherwise our state loses its independence and we our liberty—If indeed it be sound doctrine, that for national independence and individual freedom, the ruling powers of a state, should be mainly free from the control of a foreign Court, and a despotic system. The centre of these links, can perhaps only be touched indirectly—by education and not law—but the other two may more directly, (particularly if the State will legislate about concessions and securities, and not *negociate* about them !)—thus may not all the present oaths of Bishop, Priest, and Regular, be abolished, and the nomination of Roman Bishops be reassumed, and an Act passed to prevent the intrusion of Jesuits,

&c. ?—(for why should they invade us?—have they not congenial souls enough in Italy or Spain, where their church system, too, is not constrained to *wear a mask* ?)—These small matters are the best of all securities ; and if they are secured, more than half my difficulties vanish at once.—(As to the proposed *Veto*, or the privilege of rejecting two in three, it is absolutely worthless) The apparent difficulty in these things, is not insuperable—the worst is for Rome to resist or refuse consecration—in which case there are various modes of proceeding.—And as to the third link, that connects the Legislature with its subjects—why not new-model the elective franchise ? (for in it lies the root of the evil)—And make the pledges, and the application of ‘the rent’ or a national stock purse to election purposes, as illegal as they are unconstitutional ?—and for the suppression of any society, dangerous to the state, might not a power be granted to the local Government for a limited time, to countermand or disperse any *such* meeting—a discretion lodged in safe hands, being in times of public commotion, a more effectual and constitutional remedy, than a law ; which having to describe by *generals*, must infringe upon the liberties of the wise and good, while it cannot restrain the extravagancies of the turbulent. Other measures, too, there are, needless now to mention, which might be carried, if the public safety requires, *independently*, and not be tacked as usual to the question of emancipation.

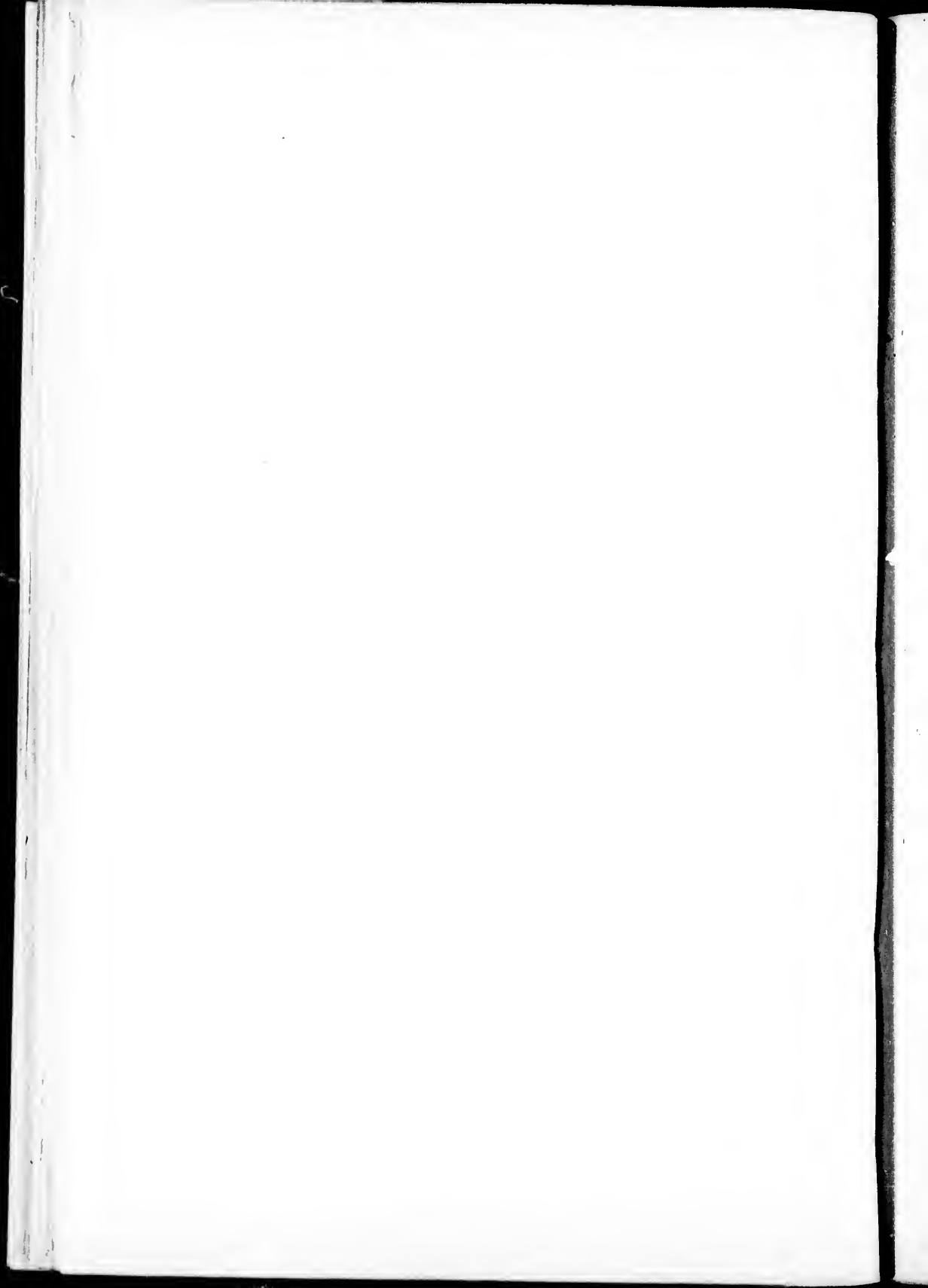
But, my Lord, that all the best measures will be adopted, we have a hope from the wisdom and firmness of our Prime Minister. Yet even he would generously excuse our fear—did we feel it—that a spirit accustomed to difficulty and danger, might possibly feel strong temptation, to take a step bold and ir retrievable ; and the Legislature too will listen, complyingly, to our prayers, that it should not at last be tempted to get rid momentarily of a complaint—never ending—and always acting on the principle that “ *importunity will do much.* ”!—Let such prayers then, as this resolution recommends, be addressed to the legislature, let every *parish* if possible, in the United Kingdom, come forward, and their petitions almost fill the two houses so as to leave there an indelible impression and a standing record of national feeling !—and if this be done, I promise that—as has always happened—the sentiments of legislators, will undergo a great and a permanent change—in fact our great practical principle is this “ *if we do not support the legislature, it cannot protect us* ”—it cannot protect us if our sentiments be smothered or unknown.

Let then, all classes of Protestants come forward, and act their part nobly—’tis unworthy of an honorable mind, to leave to others all the trouble, odium, or expence ! in a common cause, the exertion should be common and *individual*—And is not this, my Lord, a common cause ?—the cause of freedom, civil and religious liberty, is an *universal* concern. Even liberal Roman Catholics should feel this, and resolutely refuse to lend themselves, to a plan of spiritual despotism, when once they see

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its existence, and its aim—remembering the many sad experiences of men at first its instruments, and then its victims, and seeing too that the clergy, *whatever they might wish* are prevented, from openly attempting their liberty, by the very oaths, &c. that fetter them. They should suspect, too, a popular outcry—a thing easily raised when a well organized system has the ignorant, and bigotted, and discontented to play upon—as in Spain, that for the Inquisition, in Portugal against the Constitution, and here for unqualified Emancipation. But especially over and over again, I would say, let ENGLAND remember that this is her cause—that we have a common legislature, a united Church, a united Kingdom—let her then, if there be weight in any thing we have urged or might urge—and remark, all our arguments are *general*, scarcely a word said of Ireland peculiarly, all the great mischiefs must come from a legislature, common to the three countries!—Let her then as I said STAND UP in defence of the Constitution—let her freeholders assemble, like the brave men of Kent, and display to representatives the sentiments of those they serve; and thus the flame of civil and religious liberty will spread itself.

And why should not Brunswick Clubs too, for the present, arise there?—unless some better plan be found for uniting Nobles, Clergy, Yeomanry, and Gentry, in expression of sentiment, and defence of liberty, some better plan for—promoting petitions—preventing, as they have already largely done, the emigration of our scared and persecuted Protestant tenantry—interrupting that stillness and silence, which have been so long a triumph to our opponents, and even to our best friends a doubt, and dread, and mis-construction;—and shewing to the country the learning, talent, numbers, property—the pre-eminences of heart and head upon our side—shewing, in a word, WHAT WE FEEL, and WHAT WE ARE!—I see, at this moment, no better plan for effecting all these things, and therefore I have joined them, and advise their formation: no doubt, against them, something may be said—but at this crisis they are so necessary, that *but for them* perhaps—within one small year, the Constitution might be sacrificed!—Let them then be formed in England. The mode of creating them, my Lord, is exceedingly simple. If two or three gentlemen, in every town, will appoint a time and place of meeting, and communicate the fact, some friends to the Constitution will attend. Whether they be few or many, let them form a Club, and name its officers, and before a week hundreds will flock to join them! And thus a Briareus will arise with a hundred arms in defence of liberty!—and his Stentorian voice will be heard by the country; and if that voice be clearly heard, then, in the worst possible case, there is still a hope and a remedy. A dissolution of Parliament might prevent a representative body from opposing the feelings, or sacrificing the interests of its constituency!

Meantime, while danger overhangs, let Brunswick Clubs continue, and disappear along with the danger; let them prove that their aim is to

support the Government—that their motives are not bigotry, not monopoly, not any unchristian or unmanly spirit, but simply a love of liberty, and a well-grounded fear that it is in danger—let US especially, my friends, meet, unite, encourage and know each other—and contribute liberally—for I tell you, that, to carry on our objects, *liberal contribution is indispensable*; and lastly, let us adhere to our plans and principles—promulgate sound political doctrines—correct misrepresentations—awe outrageous violences—redress the victims of persecution—abstain from every thing of insult—from every thing of injury—exercise eminently the spirit of charity, especially to our Roman Catholic countrymen, and thus maintain the characters which should peculiarly be ours—the illustrious characters of loyalty, of legality, and of universal benevolence.



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