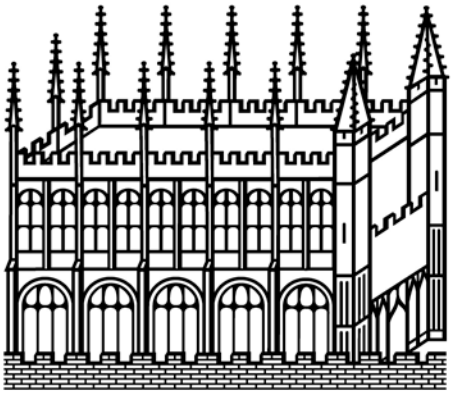


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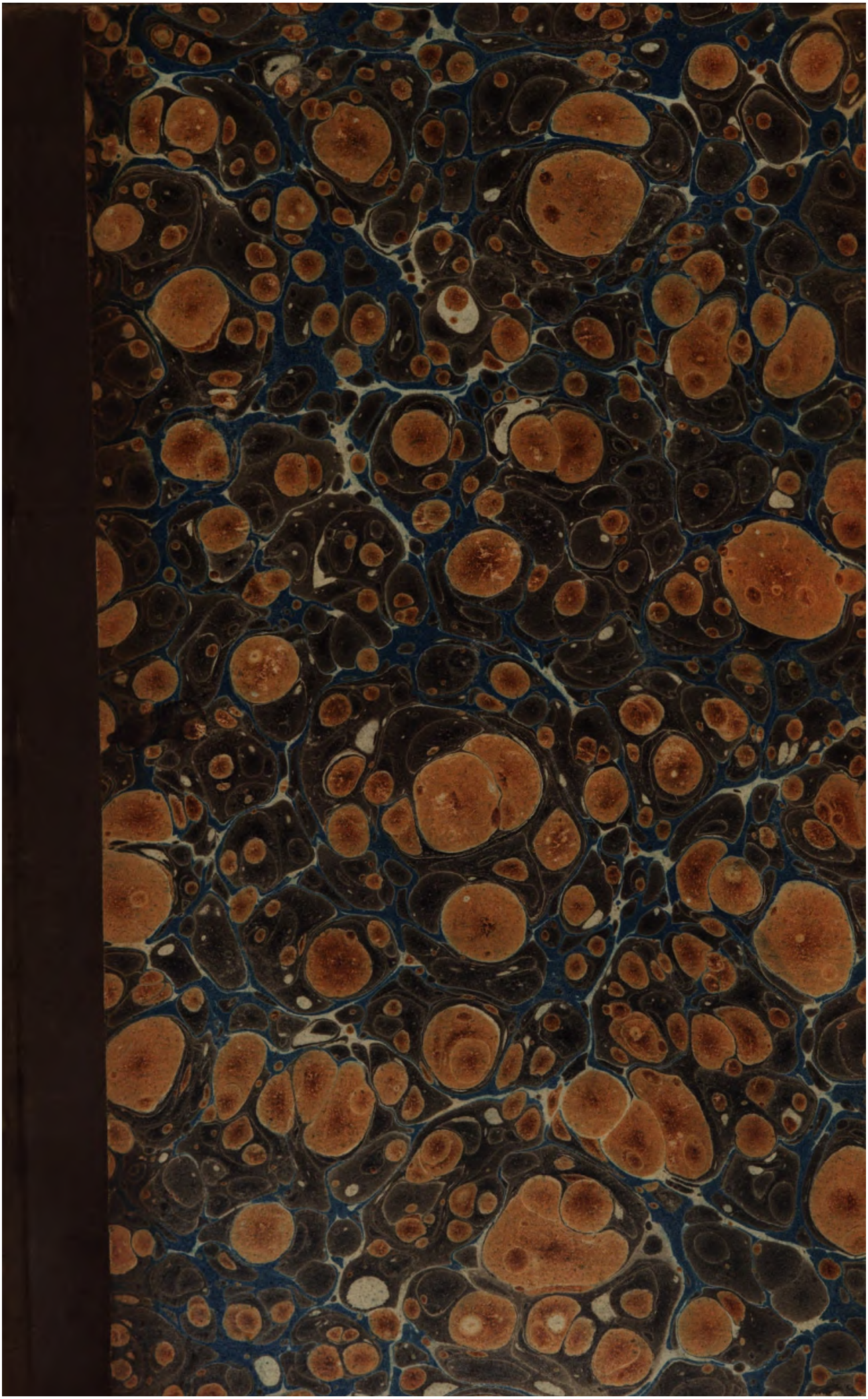
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THE PRESENT POSITION AND ASPECTS OF

POPERY,

AND THE DUTY OF

EXPOSING THE ERRORS OF PAPAL ROME.

A LECTURE,

FIRST DELIVERED IN SHEFFIELD,

DECEMBER 12, 1839,

AND AFTERWARDS IN YORK, MANCHESTER, BIRMINGHAM, BARNSLEY, AND BRADFORD.

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LECTURE.

"And the rest of the men, which were not killed by these plagues, yet repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and wood: which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts."—Rev. ix., 20, 21.

"THE PRESENT POSITION AND ASPECTS OF POPERY, AND THE DUTY OF EXPOSING THE ERRORS OF PAPAL ROME," are the terms which designate the Lecture I am called upon to deliver. Neither the place I occupy, as the first, in the order of time, to commence this new and somewhat responsible course; nor the topics I am about to handle, are of my own selection. However, being urged by the voice of my brethren to treat the subject they have selected, no choice remains; they have a right to my most cheerful obedience to their call, and on such a subject it is accorded with much readiness, though with an unfeigned impression of great inadequacy for the task.

Advantages and difficulties, both, arise out of the general and somewhat discursive nature of the topics selected for consideration. The advantages consist in the scope which is afforded for extended remark and discussion; the difficulties are, those of selection, accuracy of observation, and a just and sober analysis of facts, principles, and opinions as they present themselves in the ever-moving panorama of public affairs. It is also requisite to guard against anything approaching to a false estimate of danger on the one hand, or of means of defence on the other; of the morbid spirit of the alarmist, who can behold nothing but the imps and fairies of the Popish *limbo* rising, flitting, and performing their task of desolation in every storm which descends in darkness on our earth; or, on the other hand, of a stupid and purblind imperception of real danger.

It is essential, to a true estimate of the power of Popery to do mischief in the world, to ascertain its *internal state.*

Any institution, whether existing for civil or religious purposes, must be powerful for the accomplishment of its proposed objects, primarily, from its internal organization, the spirit by which it is animated, the number and character of persons comprising its devoted partisans, and the talent, judgment, courage, and perseverance by which its machinery is made to work out the contemplated result. A series of accidents, auspicious times, the clashing and shifting policy of parties, the repose of peace, or the casualties and changes produced by war, together with innumerable other circumstances, may further or

retard the progress of such an institution for a season, but it must depend mainly on the innate strength of its own body. The means possessed by Popery to maintain her assumed ascendency, to enforce her laws and establish her hierarchy, in this and other states, to place her yoke of despotism on the necks of a prostrate and enslaved world, and to cause her superstition, like the darkness of night, to obscure and put out those lights which the Bible, faithful preaching, the Christian education of the people, and the noble spirit of piety which true religion have united to create amongst us—we say, the power to effect all this, must depend, humanly speaking, on the organization of the Romish Church itself. Our facilities of arriving at an accurate knowledge of the *real* power of Popery, together with the kind of agency she employs, and the means she adopts to carry out her schemes of aggrandizement, are necessarily limited. Her system is secret; she moves in the dark, a visor is on her countenance, and she only reveals just so many facts as may emblazon her own fame, and encourage her disciples. However, these precautions are now, in consequence, it is presumed, of the progress already made, and the prospect of certain, universal, and final triumph before her, beginning to give way, and the veil is partially removed. From her own publications, together with the evidence of sense and fact, we invite you to the following particulars respecting the present position and aspects of Popery:—

I. THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT POPERY, AS A RELIGIOUS SENTIMENT AND FEELING, HAS GREATLY REVIVED, AND BEEN MUCH STRENGTHENED, IN RECENT TIMES, AMONGST ITS OWN DISCIPLES.

We now find a warmth of enthusiasm, of zeal, and of devotedness, both amongst the Clergy and Laity of this community, which were not witnessed in ancient times. This is unquestioned as to the fact. Every Roman Catholic we now meet with, however poor in his circumstances, servile in his occupation, or dependent in his condition, is found well instructed in the dogmas of his religion, a confessor in his spirit, and by all the humble means in his power, prepared to support and extend the power of the Church to which he is attached.

Now, the difficulty is to account for the phenomenon, that a religious principle and feeling can grow up in the midst of ignorance and vice. Well may it be felt as a difficulty by all those who are only accustomed to associate feeling, principle, devotedness, and suffering in a religious cause, to personal piety, the power of God, the animating hopes of immortality, and the grace of the Saviour in the heart. You must recollect, my dear Brethren, that there is a false as well as a true religion; that there is such a thing as superstition as well as a pure faith; that the sympathies of the soul may be enlisted on the side of phantoms, and of imaginary powers, as well as on the side of God and his truth; and that it is just as possible to petrify man through his fears, and thus fasten him down as a statue in the midst of the idols he adores, as to melt, purify, and exalt him, through the medium of his sanctified affections.

Then, by a growing zeal for religion in the Roman Catholic Church,

is meant, an increased enthusiasm on the part of its disciples for its peculiar doctrines and services. It is believed that the external exertions of the Church, are animated and sustained by a corresponding vivification, impulse, and power within. That instead of being decayed, rotten, and ready to perish, by the superincumbent weight of its own enormous corruptions, these corruptions are in a course of concentration, the evil elements are heating into a state of fusion, and assuming new forms of mischief and misery—if, indeed, a system which has employed the ingenuity of more than a dozen centuries to produce monsters of both—can by possibility originate any thing new. And, moreover, that which has been much relied upon as a remedy, viz: an increased knowledge of principles of general truth, together with the relations, obligations, and duties of men both to God and each other, has entirely failed. It follows, that if general knowledge fails to wean men, and by consequence a nation, from the superstitions, idolatries, falsehoods, contradictions, and fallacies of Popery, it fails in establishing the very first principle of religious truth in the mind. It may well produce conviction of the inefficiency of mere human science to emancipate the mind from its thraldom, when with all their means of information, and the boastful perfection of a worldly philosophy, the disciples of Popery are still seen to press to her shrines. The fact is unquestioned, that a greater number of minds within the pale of the Popish Church, are imbued with the hideous doctrines of her system, than has been the case for many ages. It is a question, indeed, whether at any time so many of the *people* were ever so thoroughly brought under the power and influence of their dogmas. In the middle ages, and in countries where the Papacy reigned in simple and undisputed sovereignty, the system existed more as a *negation* than as a *principle*. If the people were kept from heresy, guarded against the encroachments of the Protestant wolf, remained within the circle of the hierarchy, and obeyed the mandates of the Priesthood, neither numerous, nor irksome, all was left in peace. Nothing was necessary to this, but the absence of a stray spirit. But recent times and events have taught the Priesthood that a mere fence and enclosure could not keep their flocks. They have discovered that their people could not be held to their allegiance by a set of prohibitions. Hence, with great industry, they have given themselves to the task of inoculating them, and especially at the period of childhood, with all the dogmas of the Church.

These dogmas have great power, though, generally speaking, false in sentiment, or at least only a partial exposition of the truth. Indeed, the poor Roman Catholic is disarmed and rendered utterly powerless at the threshold of his initiatory course. He is met by two assumptions which effectually do this. He is first taught that his instructor is infallible, and possesses the unquestionable right to propound all articles of faith; and then, secondly, that he, the disciple, has no right to exercise his own private judgment. All the rest will follow as a matter of course. Once fully possessed by these two principles, of this masterpiece of diabolical knavery, it must be perfectly easy to fill the mind, even to satiety, with all the other falsehoods of

the system. Give to any man, or to any class of men, these two advantages, and he must be a dull teacher, if he fail to win all who yield to these first claims. Just suppose a preacher of the reveries of Joanna Southcote, or of the Atheism of Owen, to go to a congregation of eager listeners, and announce to them in his exordium, that he demanded two things from them: First of all, an admission that he was an infallible man, and then, that they themselves were such perfect non-entities in the matters to be brought before them, that they had no right to the exercise of any jugdment of their own in the matter. Would they not at once be prepared to receive the follies of the one and the blasphemies of the other? This is precisely the case with the Popish Priest. By an infinite series of sophisms, he has established the notion of his own infallibility, and persuaded the poor people that they are without the right of exercising the faculties which distinguish them as men, on the momentous matters relating to their religious state and immortal destiny.

Thus disarmed, the Popish system of doctrines becomes a mighty engine, and must operate when it thus obtains free access to the mind, with irresistible and overwhelming power. The Priest must, under such an admission, be regarded as not merely a mystic, but a superhuman being. In the opinion of the deluded devotee, who bows before him, this sacerdotal personage possesses Divine attributes. He is EX-OFFICIO infallible; stands in a long line of descent from the Apostles, and is entrusted with similar credentials and powers with those honourable and holy men; he is anointed to his office with the incense and unction, supposed to be retained, only, in the regular succession of this royal priesthood; he possesses the right to exact confession of sins, and to demand a knowledge of the secrets of the inmost soul, as well as all the events of domestic and public life; he holds the power of the keys, by which he claims the prerogative of enforcing all the laws, penalties, and observances of the Church; he assumes the right of remitting sins, of closing the gates of paradise, of opening the portals of hell, and of sealing the everlasting doom of his followers. This super-human creature must, in the nature of things, be a much greater and a more awful being in the apprehension of a mind under the full influence of Popish sentiments, than either the Priest of the ancient Delphic oracles, or the Brahmin of modern Paganism. The wizard enchanters of ancient times, as well as the Priests of modern Pagan superstition, are only supposed to interpret the will of the gods, and to foretel the fate of men; but these *Christian demi-gods* are thought to hold the EXECUTIVE of religion in their own hands. They are not mere interpreters of the laws of God, but they denounce and execute; they not only minister the rites, ordinances, and sacraments of religion, but they "*shut, and no man can open, and they open, and no man can shut;*" they are admitted not merely to hold the seal of grace essential to authenticate the right of the "*faithful*" to pass into paradise, but also the thunders of the Divine indignation and wrath. HERE, then, stands the Priest, on one hand assuming that he possesses these powers; and there on the other hand, stands the ignorant disciple, with the admission of the fact fully on his mind.

What must be the effect on this poor deluded soul? He is shorn of all strength of mind; he is filled with trepidation and fear; he is utterly incapable of any kind of resistance, and appears like a mental petrifaction in the presence of the man who holds his fate in his hands. Something like this must be the state of every person when he enters the confessional, or bows before the altar, when the Priest is supposed to change the wafer into the very body, blood, and divinity of the Son of God. How can it be otherwise? The admission of these powers must involve all the rest. Talk of the strength of human reason, the influence of education, the light of science and literature, and the noble advances of the age, to free itself from the barbarism and superstition of dark and distant centuries! Are there not millions of men, and an increasing multitude too, who allow the claims of the Popish priesthood to infallibility; to the right to receive their confessions; to the mystic and divine power to transform a morsel of paste into "*God with us;*" to absolve from the guilt and penalty of all sin; to exalt to heaven, and to doom to hell? It is difficult to conceive how these claims can be conceded by rational creatures, and only shows how low the human intellect is capable of sinking, when removed beyond the true light of the Gospel. However, when once conceded, this one admission must pave the way for the entire absorption of the soul into all the luscious follies of the Popish superstition. When the enquiries of the deluded disciple are all silenced by the doctrine that faith and reason are quite incompatible; when his scruples are ended by the wheedling dogma, that because the priesthood is in possession of an infallible key to unlock the truth, it is a sin for him to exercise his own judgment, or to trouble his own conscience—then the enchantment of superstition begins.

In the religion of Rome, though the laity are denied the use of reason, the system seeks to make ample amends by appeals to the imagination and senses. One thing must have struck the attention of every one who has visited Roman Catholic countries; it is, that in the midst of the employment of poetry, painting, music, sculpture, and scenic preparations of every kind, even to profusion, the emotions of happiness are scarcely ever appealed to. We find no imagery of joy. The tones of their organs, the structure of their melody, the sonorous voices of their priesthood, in conducting the service, are all struck to a deeply pensive and melancholy key. The ceremony of High Mass is only calculated to inspire awe towards the priesthood, reverence and fear for some abstract, hidden, and mystic power connected with the service, and win over the trembling homage of the people to the system. In the midst of the performances of the mitred High Priest, and his retinue of dependents; the blazing light of innumerable candles; the incense and perfume of the censer; the utterance of hymns and prayers in an unknown tongue; and the elevation of the host; every thing seems constructed to inspire dread. There is, even in this highest service of the Church, nothing to call forth the sentiments of confidence and joy. The pictures which adorn their Churches, and the images which they either adore, or at least look upon in order to incite their devotion, are all calculated to awaken

emotions of fear and dread. Relics of the cross, of dead men's bones, and of innumerable other imaginary remains of ancient and departed piety, carefully preserved, and exhibited in their shrines, are intended to excite sombre feelings. The very household gods, so to speak, of these people, all serve to inspire terror. I have seen myself, very often, in one of the most perfectly Popish countries in modern times, lighted candles stuck in human scalls, placed in the corners of the streets of a large town, kept constantly burning, whilst pictures of Purgatory, Popes, Priests, and Devils, were so intermingled as to teach the efficacy of the system, while they struck the mind with awe. O no, there is no joy in this religion—how should there be? Superstition only dwells with the horrible, never with the happy. She throws a midnight darkness over the territory she occupies, and then calls up the furies of her pandæmonium to perform their evolutions of mimic power, to silence any murmurs which may arise, and fascinate her poor deluded followers through the impulse of their fears.

Our present position is, that this superstitious influence has, for the past few years, been greatly on the increase amongst the members of the Church of Rome. The fact, in all probability, is universally true; but especially in countries where Popery had been in a declining, or, at least, a depressed state. We will take that of our own country as an illustration. By its own means, since the passing of the Relief Bill, the Popish Church has, no doubt, succeeded in inspiring her own people with a vastly augmented amount of devotedness and zeal. It was imagined by many Christian and philanthropic men, that the storm from without, in the penal laws which existed to exclude Papists from power, pressed them together for mutual succour; but as soon as this external pressure should be removed, the party would, for the want of a principle of cohesion, fly off into a thousand scattered fragments, or, at least, mingle in good Christian brotherhood with their neighbours. This has been found a fallacious opinion. Popery possesses an internal organization, by which she can hold together. She is now seen to work, *from within*, through all the ramifications of her system, with wonderful effect. The isolated, compact, vigorous, united, zealous, and absolutely devoted state of the Popish Church in Ireland, is the most extraordinary phenomenon in the world. That a people, speaking our language, and, consequently, having access to our literature, as well as the means of informing themselves on questions relative to their rights as men, and their privileges as Christians should be kept in their present state of vassalage, is an event of difficult solution. Here, however, is the unquestionable fact. The Popish people intermingle less with their Protestant neighbours; the lines of demarkation between the two classes are more distinctly marked; the hatred of the Papist towards the Protestant has greatly increased in virulence; the difficulties attendant on the transactions of the common and ordinary business of life, have multiplied exceedingly; and the possession of the bounties of nature and providence in common, is now, next to impossible.

Moreover, Popish places of worship are constantly and rapidly

increasing; the multitudes attending them are great and overflowing; the mass and the confessional are more steadily regarded, whilst the principles involved are now fully imbibed; and a deep, strong, urgent, and glowing zeal for all the peculiar doctrines, services, and claims of the Church has been produced in the entire mass of the Popish population of these islands, as well as in other places.

Those who are in the habit of considering religion as a solemn transaction betwixt the soul and GOD, sustained by faith in the pure revelations of Scripture, and exhibited by the spiritual affections, find it difficult to conceive how it can be possible, in the absence of all this, to beget in the minds of millions of men an enthusiastic devotedness to a false system. It must be recollected that this false system, in the case of these people, stands in the place of the true. It is that on which the mind rests, in the hope of obtaining some indefinite and distant blessings. Besides, it belongs to superstition to clothe its mimicry of religion in the array of a gorgeous drapery, that it may gratify the senses, and ronse the susceptibilities of the heart. The thunders of her dogmas, associated with services which admirably strike in to swell and excite the passions, may well awaken deep and powerful feeling. The disciple of the hierarchy of Rome, is taught to consider his Church as the only true, apostolic, legitimate Church on earth, out of which there is no salvation. This idea dwelt upon, fixed in the soul in all the force of an intuitive truth, and never doubted for a moment, is calculated to produce a most thrilling effect. From this elevated pinnacle, the favoured disciple must be prepared to look, with a strange commotion of feeling, on all the world around him. If true piety could be associated with such a claim, pity to others might possibly be the result; but as it is, and especially when the validity of the claim is disputed, contempt, hatred, revenge, and the spirit of persecution, must be produced. In the estimation of every ignorant, immoral, brutal, and ferocious Papist in the world—on the principle that his is alone the true Church—every saint on earth, though as holy and spiritual as Leighton, as benevolent as Howard, as zealous and indefatigable as Baxter, as exemplary and useful in all the relations of public life as Wilberforce, and as self-denying and devoted to the work of saving souls as Martyn, is abhorred and hated as a heretic, and doomed, in the feelings of his mind, to the anathemas of the Church in this world, and to the vengeance of GOD in the next. Whether the doctrines of the Papacy tend to produce "*good will on earth,*" or not, it is certain that they are highly calculated to produce animosity; and men may be brought to act as ardently from the passion of hatred as from that of charity and love.

Moreover, the notion that their Church possesses rights paramount to all others, and is destined to overthrow all rival power, and reign in universal majesty, powerfully tends to influence the ambitious feelings of the multitude of her disciples. The triumph of the Church, according to the expectation of the spiritual Christian, and the triumph of Romanism, as anticipated by the Papist, are perfectly different events. The glowing hopes of the former are fixed on a period when peace, righteousness, joy, and holiness, shall universally prevail as a class of purely spiritual bless-

ings ; the expectations of the latter rest on the image of a mighty ecclesiastical empire, in which the Roman Pontiff shall be absolute, his throne be exalted in undisputed grandeur, his mandates become the law of all men, his Priestly emissaries be recognized as the viceroys of this "*King of Kings,*" the services of this temple of Idolatry shall be chaunted in "every land and by every tongue," and all Kings, Senators, Magistrates, as well as the teeming multitudes of the general population of the earth, shall bow in solemn adoration at the feet of this "VICAR" and representative of the "*Lord of all.*" *Ambition,* the master passion of human nature, finds ample scope in this system ; and, although the multitude can never hope to possess any elevated position in a grand enterprize of this nature, yet we all know with what ease it is possible to enlist them on the side of any cause which dazzles their imaginations with its pomp of circumstance, and the magnificence of its extent.

But in addition to these present and more obvious appliances of the doctrines of Popery as stimulants to her disciples, whenever they count their Beads, repeat the Pater Nosters and Ave Marias, enter the Confessional, purchase Indulgencies, visit the shrines of the Saints and the relics of the departed, offer Prayers for the Dead, and encourage Masses for those in Purgatory ; they are taught to believe that they are performing works of merit, by which their own salvation will be in some way secured, and a general stock of good works prepared at the same time, by which to serve the general interests of the Church. This again meets, with admirable effect, the pharisaical propensities and pride of human nature. When it is taught that the penalties of the law may be averted, and the joys of salvation secured by purchase, who would not, in the weakness and agonies of dissolving nature, the passing away of all earthly things, and the apprehension of an approaching judgment, part with his wealth to secure the good of his soul, and aggrandize his Church at the same time. A lawyer, of great and almost universal practice, in the midst of a population of upwards of twenty thousand Roman Catholics, in one of the dependences of the British Crown, and who was extensively employed in preparing their wills, informed me, that he did not recollect ever receiving instructions for the device of the property of a Romanist, in which he was not directed to assign a portion, more or less, to the Priests, to say Masses for his soul after death.

This horrid system strikes at every sentiment in the human bosom, but chiefly at the passion of fear. What her own gloomy and sombre services fail to effect, she takes care to complete by example. Just as instances of severe justice are intended to impress the public mind with awe, so the tyranny of this system is not only meant to inflict punishment on those who are deemed enemies and heretics, but also to fill the minds of her faithful adherents with fear. With the Church, there is the gloomy cell. With the hall of justice, so called, the rack, the thumb-screw, and the clanking chain. With the laws of the hierarchy, the Inquisition, and its dismal traditions and *autos-da fe ;* with the exaction of obedience, the recollections of the slaughtered Waldenses, the brutalities of Alva in the Netherlands, the massacres of St. Bartholomew in France ; the butchery of the thousands

of our fellow Protestants in Ireland; and the imprisonment and martyrdom of our own faithful confessors. O YES, though there is little truth, little piety, little holiness, little love, in the Popish Church, there is always that which is calculated to inflame, excite, and stimulate.

The object proposed by the leaders of Popery being invariably a worldly, rather than a distant and spiritual one, to be accomplished through her religious organization as a medium; means have always been adopted to secure this end. When the PEOPLE were the serfs and vassals of the great, Popery paid her Court in the Cabinet of Princes, the baronial halls of the nobles, gained the advocacy of her claims in the senates of nations; and by obtaining the guidance of the consciences of those who directed public affairs, in effect, managed those affairs themselves. But since the spirit of revolution has tended to place power in the hands of the people, and in the exercise of their several franchises they possess the means of controuling and directing political events, the Vatican has changed its policy, and popularizing its system, is seen to dally with the multitude and adapt its instructions to the great body of the people. In ancient times, it served the purposes of the Church to direct the consciences —or rather the heads—which directed all mundane affairs; but since the adoption of the sentiment that all power originates with the people, this policy would not do, and the mass must, consequently, be impregnated with the *virus* of Popish doctrine.

This is now everywhere going on, and nothing can be imagined more awful than its success. Suppose all the millions composing the Church of Rome to be fully impregnated with the leaven of her principles, can any thing on earth be more alarming! The only hope for the peace and quiet of nations must be, that the men will be better than their system. Let the reverse of this, however, be the case— or only let the population of any country be formed on the model of Popery, and then every imaginable evil must instantly result. Her exclusiveness; her claims to supremacy; her persecuting spirit; her dogma that faith is not to be kept with heretics; her curses and anathemas, denounced against all who differ from her sentiments and refuse to yield their affiance to her claims; her superstition, with all its heresies;—all this we say, wrought into the moral feelings of a numerous people, is sufficient to form them to the most desperate character, and produce a state of society next to diabolical. The doctrines of this system truly inculcated and heartily embraced, must create a class of sentiments, which smoulder beneath the surface of society like the latent fires of a volcano. There is every reason to believe that the *material* for a mighty and frightful eruption is being collected. The Church of Rome is charging the minds of the millions of her followers in this empire, with the combustible of her fiendish hatred, her anti-social antipathies, and her virulent proscriptions; and, sooner or later, an explosion must take place. This hollow and inflammable position is our's at this moment. We tread on the edge of the crater. A thousand arts are, indeed, employed to lull us into the dream of security. We are told how peaceful and well-disposed the Roman Catholic Church is at this time. Give her the ascendency she seeks; assist her

in setting up her anti-Christian and idolatrous temple; patronize her Priesthood; and prepare the way for the restoration of the royalties of St. Peter in this kingdom; and, no doubt, the semblance of peace will be conceded to us. But, on the other hand, expose the enormity; lay open the hidden iniquity to public gaze; assert the truth of the Gospel, and the independent rights of British Christianity; and it will be found, that by a previous teaching and preparation, its millions are prepared to assert their principles. This is our state. Meditative men think it absurd to entertain any fears. They imagine it is quite easy to refute the absurdities of Popery. This is not the question. Those absurdities have been refuted ten thousand times, and they have their refutation in the unsophisticated common sense of every man; but when a plausible system destroys that common sense itself, and fixes its dogmas in the place, what then is to be done? The agency which has created this state of mind can easily control it, and it is only, at any time requisite for the master wizard to spring the mine, to ignite the train, and desolation and ruin must instantly and universally ensue.

II. IT IS EVIDENT, FROM INDISPUTABLE FACT, THAT POPERY IS NOW CONCENTRATING ITS ENERGIES, ON WHAT MAY BE DENOMINATED EXCLUSIVE CHURCH PRINCIPLES.

In explanation of this proposition, it may be proper to remark, that the modern policy of the Vatican is, to connect the claims, imagined rights, powers, extension, and universal triumphs of the Church, less with State policy than in former ages, and to depend more exclusively on her own internal means and resources. This may, possibly, have arisen out of causes, not only beyond her own control, but much against her inclination. Necessity, however, having forced this policy upon the Church, by great dexterity and art, she has made it the fulcrum of a mighty power. A great association of men, acting on one common class of rules, animated by one spirit, and governed by one head, when disencumbered of all counteracting influences, must become next to omnipotent in energy. Various causes have led to this state of things. The revolutions which have been going on in Europe, during the past fifty years, have shaken the authority and power of Popery, in its connection with the several States in which it was dominant. In every one of those nations, and especially in France, although the Romish Church was established, yet it was never allowed to exercise its authority without conditions. Church principles were mitigated and softened by royal and national claims. On the appointment of Bishops, the immunities of the Clergy, the adoption of the Canon Law, levying of taxes, and especially the introduction of the Inquisition, the nation uniformly interfered, and only permitted the government of the Church as co-ordinate with the rights of the State. On the re-establishment of Popery, after the terrible convulsions of the revolution, this principle was still more fully and firmly adopted. The effect has been, in that nation, to produce a state of great discontent, and a numerous party in the Church of France has arisen—somewhat after the manner of the Oxford Tract men in the bosom of the Church of England—to assert the highest principles of the Roman hierarchy. The secession from the Church

of Rome, of which we heard so much a few years ago, and headed by a celebrated Abbot, was a movement of this nature. It was no other than the zealous partizans of Rome asserting the highest possible prerogatives of their Church, independently of any human control whatever; and instead of the appeal being made, as in times past, to the kingly authority, the senate of the nation, or the higher classes, it was made to the people. They, the great body of the people, were appealed to as the arbiters in the debate, and were called upon to assist in forcing the most ultra and tyrannic claims of the Papacy on the nation, against the provisions of the constitution, the laws of the state, the judgment of the legislature, and the sense of the reflecting classes of the community. It was, in fact, a demonstration of the Church against the State; the claims of a despotic hierarchy, in opposition to those of the Civil Government.

In like manner, we find in the Protestant Kingdom of Prussia, Rome has had the courage, or the effrontery, to put these Church principles in direct collision with the laws of the State. The much talked of case of the Archbishop of Cologne, and mixed marriages, when stripped of its diplomatic verbiage, amounts simply to an attempt to establish the authority and dominion of the Church, above, and in direct opposition to the authority and constitution of the civil government. The facts of the case seem to be something like the following:—The population of a part of the kingdom of Prussia is of a mixed character; partly Popish, and partly Protestant. Intermarriages constantly taking place amongst them, the law gave a discretional power to parents in the education of the children of these marriages; the effect of which was that a part were educated in the Protestant faith, and part in the Popish. Not satisfied with this mere share of the progeny of these mixed marriages, the Roman Pontiff, in conjunction with the Bishops and Priests, determined to put the authority of the Church in collision with that of the State, and attempt to bring the whole over to Popery. What is denominated *the marriage benediction*, was to be withheld, unless the parties would positively engage to consecrate the whole of their offspring to the profession of Popery by baptism, and educate them in the tenets of that corrupt Church. What would be the consequence of this measure? Supposing, in the provinces most agitated by this question, there should be five or six millions of inhabitants, pretty equally divided as to religious profession, the practical effect of this scheme, if allowed, would be, in one generation, to uproot Protestantism, and rear an entirely Popish population in its place. Dedicate all the children of these marriages to Romanism, and of course, as they grow up, and the Protestant parents die off, the whole race must become Papists. This, it must be allowed, is a master stroke of policy, and it is as bold as it is masterly. Here is a power which has the confidence to come forward, and grapple, at once, with the authority of the law and the rights of the monarchy. This authority pretends to be spiritual, to be independent of all human authority and control, to possess the inherent, and, indeed, the Divine right, to fix its dominion universally in the heart of kingdoms and states, and to assimilate all things to its own interests and power.

The same high claims are asserted in the midst of the rising population of the American Union; but it will be more to our purpose to remark on the audacity displayed on our own soil in putting forth these absolute Church dogmas against the principles of our admirable constitution and the rights of the monarchy. It may be proper to premise, that there appears to be some disagreement amongst the functionaries of the hierarchy of Rome in this empire, on the extent to which it is expedient to act on these high Church principles for the present. No doubt this apparent difference is a mere question of expedience, as to means, times, and modes of bringing about events, on which all must calculate with infinite delight. Nothing can be better fitted to deceive and gull the British people, than to keep up the farce of disagreement, debate, and the appearance of schism, amongst the Popish Bishops on the question of Church authority, Hence we behold a part of these dignitaries zealously, affectionately, and meekly coinciding with numerous parties in their attempts to amalgamate Popery with the *general religion* of the country, and render it something like English, and national, in its tastes and attachments; whilst another party, as zealously and stoutly stand out for all the demands of the Papacy. Dr. Mc Hale seems to be the chosen champion of this party; or rather the selected actor, to perform this part of the drama. Two or three circumstances will illustrate this point.

The first which will be noticed shall be taken from the history of the Irish Educational question. Any one at all conversant with this system would imagine it to be sufficiently Popish. Though called national, supported by the taxes of the people, and under a Board of Management appointed by the State, it is now well known to be, as nearly as possible, directed to Roman Catholic purposes. And yet this is not sufficient to satisfy the cravings of the Popish Church. It is now objected that this State arrangement is inimical to the independent and indefeasible rights of his Holiness to educate and govern the people, not merely in accordance with the faith, but also by an *agency* only Popish. It may be worth remarking, that this objection did not spring up till the work was done. The scheme was devised, the machinery created, the schools built, the extracts prepared, so as to exclude every iota of offensive doctrine; the Board was arranged, and its officials appointed; the money of the people appropriated to carry out the entire plan; and then—but not till then—comes forward *John Tuam*, to sound the tocsin of alarm, that this exquisitely wrought devise is not, even yet, sufficiently Orthodox. This true son of the Church, in various letters and published documents, has, in the name of his master, the Roman Pontiff, repudiated the notion of a mixed executive, or, indeed, of the interference of heretics, in any way, with the education of the children of the faithful. He assumes that the Popish Church possesses an absolute right over the instruction of its children, and that the erection of the Dublin Board is an invasion of this prerogative. Let it be recollected that this power over the religious destinies of the rising generation is not a claim set up for heads of families; that it is the unquestionable right of parents to educate their own offspring; neither is it the assertion

of the principle that a *Church* has the undoubted right of providing for the instruction of its own children, *voluntarily*, in the faith of their fathers, to be accepted or not, as the parents of the children may think proper. No; it is the assertion of the absolute sovereignty of the Church in the matter; and that it is a direct infringement of the prerogatives of the Holy See, in this Kingdom, for Parliament to exercise any kind of jurisdiction in the matter of education. This is not all. To complete the case, it is understood that Dr. Mc Hale has appealed to the Pope from the authority of the State; so that his Holiness is brought in to decide whether the Three Estates of this realm have the right to establish, and, to a very limited extent indeed, direct even a pro-Popish system of education in this country.

Here, then, we have the high Church principle put in direct opposition to the law of the land; and, indeed, to the right of the nation to exercise any kind of power in the case in question. How the different parties in this somewhat curious case will act, it is difficult to divine. Will the English Parliament concede to Dr. Mc Hale that it really transgressed its own functions, and invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, when, in the exercise of its wisdom, and, no doubt, benevolent and good intentions, it made provision for the education of the children of the Queen's subjects, even by so far compromising its Protestantism as to exclude the Bible? Will it be allowed by the grave Senators of this great empire, that they really have nothing at all to do in the instruction or government of the people? If so, it follows that any corporation of Atheists, or of Anarchists, of any description, would have the undoubted right, not only to hold their own opinions without molestation, but also to employ their organized influence to disseminate their principles to the entire overthrow of society. No reply has yet been made. No assertion of the integrity and independence of the British dominions, of the right of the Parliament to legislate on all questions connected with the well-being of society, and of the essentially Protestant nature of the constitution. Dr. Murray, the Popish Archbishop of Dublin, is one of the Board of Governors belonging to the Irish school system. What will he do? Will he take sides with the nation against his brother, Mc Hale, and the Church? Oh, no; he may keep up a shew of regard for the rights of the country till it becomes expedient to surrender; and the probable course will be, that he and his party will occupy the citadel, till, by some fortunate weakness, or conciliatory compromise, the whole school system may be turned over to the entire guidance of the Popish Church. In the mean time, all parties are waiting for the decision of the august and infallible successor of St. Peter. *Rome is again to decide a question of English legislation, and government, and a Bull of his Holiness is to determine whether, or not, an Act of Parliament shall be carried into effect.* The response of the oracle will, probably, have more meanings than one. It may be thought somewhat alarming to set aside an Act of the British legislature; and yet, of course, the supremacy of the Holy See must be vindicated.

But this is not all. Dr. Mc Hale, in a letter to the Duke of Wellington, employs the following terms :—

"Your Grace is not, I trust, one of those persons who imagine that the *mere*

will of a Sovereign, or his Ministers, imposes the obligation *of law;* nor is it, I trust, your impression that every *enactment brings with it that solemn* sanction, provided it is passed by a *majority of the Senate.*"

This is speaking out, most assuredly. The right of enacting laws, and of performing the functions of Government, is denied altogether to the Civil state. Neither Sovereign nor Senate possess the power to perform these high offices. On this principle, there can be no Civil Constitution, no National Government, no Kingly or Magisterial power, no legislation, no human laws, and, in fact, no such thing as the body politic. This audacious Priest at once annihilates our nationality, and that of all other kingdoms, by the stroke of his pen. Then, if laws enacted by Sovereign and Senate are not binding and obligatory, the question arises, *whence are* they to emanate? What is the centre of power? Who possess the rights of legislation and of government? The answer is, the Church. The Pope is the only and the universal Sovereign; the Vatican the only forum of legislation; the Conclave of Cardinals the only legal Council of State; the Canon Law, the Bulls, the Decretals, and the Mandates of the Court of Rome, the only code which can be binding on the consciences of men.

If these sentiments were put forth by some isolated and inefficient person, as the reveries of his own independent fancy, they would be of trifling importance; but they are fulminated from the Archiepiscopal chair of *Tuam;* they are issued as the sentiments of one, amongst many, and are uncontradicted by his co-pastors; they are avowed by a man who stands in the position of a leader; and, moreover, they are the dicta of a person of consummate talent, as well as unbounded assurance.

Here, then, we have Rome against England, without any, the most flimsy disguise. All the Papists in the diocese of Archbishop Mc Hale, together with their brethren through the British dominions, are taught that the laws of their Sovereign, and the Parliament united, are by no means binding on them.

Now these facts and considerations shew, that a grand, simultaneous, and powerful effort is being made to consolidate the strength of Popery on its own ecclesiastical basis. My belief is, that the present Church of Rome cares very little about the Kingly office, the diplomacy of the Statesman, and the enactments of Senates. She is reposing on first principles, asserting her own dogmas, putting forth the mandates of her own power, and building up her fallen fortunes by means of the highest, independent Church claims.

Partial success has attended the enterprise, and general success must fill the world with the purest despotism. The object is to erect an earthly empire of universal extent, on the foundations of the Church. This is not so perfect a chimera as many would fondly imagine. It has been done once, and may be accomplished again. Let the Popish Priesthood fill the people of their communion with their own undoubted sentiments, and the work is done. Attached to the same head; ruled and governed by the same system and laws; animated by the same faith; inspired by the same spirit in all lands, and under every variety of external dominion, this people may, for any thing which appears, become so bound in one indissoluble fellowship, as to force its millions on any given point with irresstible power. If it is

affirmed in opposition to this notion, that an antagonist force of sufficient strength exists in states to prevent this catastrophe: alas, some facts, if they might be gone into, are near at hand to invalidate this opinion. What carried the Catholic Relief Bill? The innate strength of Popery itself; which so caused the greatest and bravest warrior of modern times to quail, as to deem it expedient to sanction a measure he did not approve, rather than hazard a civil war. You have directed me to treat on the present aspects of Popery. This is one of them. An evident purpose exists to collect around the throne of Anti-Christ, in concentrated energy, all the force of the Roman Catholic world, that she may, by the assertion of her claims, beat down all human opposition, and establish her dominion universally. The individual rights of men are playthings in her hands! She aspires to the thraldom of all nations, and even now does not fear to grapple with the most powerful; not merely through the aid of political partizans as in other times, or by the hazards of war; but singly, in her *jus divinum* character and claims; and, if we mistake not, the most powerful Protestant nations of the earth begin to feel the tenaciousness of her grasp, and the most invulnerable of their bulwarks begin to tremble by the pressure of her assaults.

III. WE HAVE THE FULLEST POSSIBLE EVIDENCE NOT MERELY THAT THE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM OF ROME IS NEITHER ABANDONED NOR MODIFIED, BUT THAT STRENUOUS EXERTIONS ARE BEING MADE TO ESTABLISH IT IN EVERY PART OF THE GLOBE. It would lead us too far to attend to any evidence of this, beyond the boundaries of our own empire. This Ecclesiastical System is divided into the followiug particulars:—

1. The fountain of authority.
2. The code of laws acknowledged, and, so far as circumstances will allow, enforced.
3. The institutions which are fostered and set up. And
4. The extent to which these arrangements have been carried.

1. The fountain of all ecclesiastical authority is the Pope, and the Court of Rome. The seat of this *throne* is a foreign country; the power itself is held to be irresponsible and independent of all earthly control; the functions of the Pontiff are supposed to be delegated directly from Heaven; he is the Vicar of Christ, the Viceroy of the King of Glory, not inferior to him, but in possession of the same identical rights, only in the one case they are underived, and in the other communicated. Setting aside, for the present, numerous assertions on this point by more ancient writers, let us hear Dr. Wiseman, who appears to be a sort of Missionary, employed in every part of the Popish Church to expound its doctrines. This writer says:—

"What then do Catholics mean by the Supremacy of the Pope, which so many years we were required to abjure, if we could hope to be partakers of the benefits of our country's laws. Why, it signifies nothing more than that the Pope or Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, possesses *authority* and *jurisdiction* in things spiritual over the ENTIRE CHURCH, so as to constitute its visible head and the VICE-GERENT of Christ upon earth. The idea of this Supremacy, involves two distinct, but closely allied prerogatives; the first is, that the Holy See is the centre of *unity*; the second, that it is the *fountain of authority*. By the first is siguified that all the faithful must be in communion with it, through their

respective Pastors, who form an unbroken chain of connexion from the lowest member of the flock, to him who has been constituted its universal Shepherd. To violate this union and communion, constitutes the grievous crime of schism, and destroys an essential constitutive principle of Christ's Religion."

He does not say here in plain terms that there is no salvation out of the Church, but comes to the same thing by another route, viz:—separation from the Church of Rome destroys one of the "essential principles of Christ's Religion,"—or in other words—Christ's Religion is limited to the Papacy, and a separation from Rome is a separation from Christ. He goes on:—

"We likewise hold the Pope to be the source of authority; as all the subordinate rulers of the Church are subject to him, and receive directly, or indirectly, their jurisdiction from and by him. Thus the *executive power* is vested in his hands, for all spiritual purposes within her; to him is given the charge of confirming his brethren in the faith; his office it is to watch over the *correction of abuses*, and the maintainance of discipline throughout the Church; in case of error springing up in any part, he must make the necessary investigations *to discover it* AND TO CONDEMN IT; and either bring the refractory to *submission*, or separate them as withered branches from the vine. In cases of great and influential diseases in faith or practice, he convenes a General Council of the Pastors of the Church; presides over it in person or by his Legates; and sanctions by his approbation its Canons and Decrees"

These terms, though sufficiently strong, are the very quintessence of meekness and modesty, compared with those employed by many advocates of the royalties of St. Peter in times past. But what kind of object is this which is here presented before us? A living man claiming to be the Vicar, the Viceroy, the visible Representative of the Lord Jesus Christ, the centre of unity, the fountain of power, the creator of all ecclesiastical functions, the chief shepherd of the flock of Christ, the universal governor, the propounder of the faith, the guardian of the truth, the watchman to detect all rising error, the extirpator and punisher of all heresy. This power is called Spiritual; so it was in all times past. But this Spiritual power not only propounds all terms of acceptance with God, and the modes of religious worship, but it embraces all morals; this again embraces all the relations of life, all dealings and contracts, all oaths and obligations, together with the rights and duties of all governors and subjects. So that, in fact, this spiritual power comprehends every form of authority.

Now the oath of every Popish Bishop obliges him to swear to observe an entire, absolute, and undeviating fealty to this power; through him the same is the case with the whole Priesthood; and by the instrumentality of the Priests, a similar fealty is exacted from the people. What does this amount to but an alien empire, of the most potent description, established in the midst of the country? The Pope is the mighty master, the spring-head of authority, the presiding and directing genius of the entire Popish hierarchy in these kingdoms; this hierarchy includes about nine millions of people, consequently he is, to all intents and purposes, the Monarch of this number of subjects.

2. The nature of the laws by which this hierarchy is governed, must be briefly adverted to. A vast amount of subterfuge, equivocation, and Jesuitical denials and admissions has taken place before various tribunals, as well as in public debate, and writing, on the subject of

the recognition of these laws, as the basis of government in the Popish Church of these realms. One remark may be made on this subject, as regards our own country; viz., that in consequence of the non-establishment or recognition of Popery by the State, there exists no intervening power betwixt the authority of his Holiness and the people, constituting the subjects of his government. This accounts for the somewhat singular fact, that whilst Popery appears, in most of the Roman Catholic countries, in a mitigated form, it stands out in Ireland, in all its enormities. No Roman Catholic State will allow that the Canon laws and Bulls of the Pope shall have direct and unlimited sway in their dominions; whilst in our country, because the civil power does not interfere with this Church, it can, within the limits of its own pale set up these laws in all their force. It is known that France always refused to allow the Decrees of the Council of Trent to take effect in that country, whilst, in this nation, nothing now exists to prevent the recognition of those Decrees, and, with them, all the Canons, Councils, and Bulls which that assembly acknowledged as binding. This being the case, it only remains that we ascertain the nature of these statutes.

The first of these laws to be noticed is the celebrated BULLA CŒNÆ DOMINI: LETTER OF PROCESS ON THE DAY OF THE SUPPER OF OUR LORD.

Previously to passing the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, various enquiries were instituted, as to the acknowledgment of the Canon Law, Bulls, and Decretals of the Popish Church, by the Irish hierarchy. As the avowed fealty of the Bishops and Priests in these iniquitous and anti-national laws must, in the then state of things, stand in the way of that measure, it will be seen, that, by an almost unexampled series of jesuitical equivocation and falsehood, it was denied that they had been recognized, or had any force or authority in the Irish Popish Church.

Extracts of Dr. Doyle's Examination before the Committee of the House of Lords April 21, 1825.

"Pope Gregory the XIII. sent a Bull to Ireland exhorting the Irish to take up arms against Queen Elizabeth; was such an act justified by any power ascribed by the Church to the Pope of Rome?

"No; the Church has uniformly for nine centuries, by her Popes themselves, by her practice, and by her doctrines, and by her academies, maintained that the Popes have no right whatever to interfere with the temporal sovereignties or rights of Kings or Princes; and if there have been flatterers of the Court of Rome who maintained that the Pope had that right so to interfere, it is hard to make us responsible for their opinions. Whereas, both as individuals and as a nation, we have disregarded this doctrine, and always opposed with our lives and fortunes, those Bulls which went in any way to affect the rights of our Kings to whom we have been most devotedly attached, at all times. We do, then, regret that doctrine, as not supported by, or as opposed to the Scriptures and to the tradition of the Fathers, and to many authorities of the Italian Church itself, of the German Church, of the French Church, of the English Church, and the Spanish Church, and as resting on no foundation but the authorised proceedings of Popes and their Italian flatterers, and we ought not to be charged with it."

"Is the Bull Cœnæ Domini now in force?

"There are portions of that Bull that were in force from the time of Christ, but the Bull as a Bull, is not in force, nor ever was in force in Ireland, and has been rejected from nearly all the Italian countries of Europe; if that were in

force there is scarcely any thing would be at rest amongst the Catholic states of Europe, and they have been as solemn and as earnest in protesting against it as we have been at any period in England or Ireland.

"Did not the Pope's Nuncio at Brussels, in the year 1768, send a letter to the Archbishops of Ireland, expressing his disapprobation of their acceding to any oath which disclaimed the dispensing doctrine?"

"I do not know that he did; I believe he may have done so; but that should furnish to the Noble Lords a strong proof how little we regard the letters of a Nuncio when they go to prescribe what we are to do in those matters; surely we are not less competent to determine what is lawful in an oath than a Nuncio at Brussels."

"Was not the same Bull, namely, the Bulla Cœnæ declared to be in force in the year 1793?"

"Not only that, but it may, for aught I know, have been declared, during the last year, to have been in force; but their declaring it to be so in force, does not make it to be in force with us; we have never received it, and surely never will."

"Was it not again insisted upon, by the Pope's Nuncio at Vienna, in the year 1805?"

"I am quite confident that they are in Austria, as they always have been, fully resolved not to admit it; and I am sure they are as jealous of not suffering the Pope to interfere beyond the limits of his rightful jurisdiction in Austria, as they are in London."

"How many sorts of excommunication are there?"

"The greater and lesser."

"What is the consequence of the lesser?"

"That the person who incurs the lesser excommunication cannot receive, during the time he is subject to it, the sacraments: it is a censure so light as scarcely to be known, and in use scarcely ever incurred; because, to incur any censure, a knowledge of the law is necessary, and the people generally do not know by what acts they would incur the lesser excommunication, so that that is a matter of little or no moment; but the greater excommunication is the most awful censure the Church can inflict."

"What are its particular consequences?"

"They are expressed in these words:"

"Os, orare, vale, communio, mensa negatur."

"Those words express the cases in which a faithful person is not allowed to hold communication with a person who happens to be excommunicated, unless one of the following reasons entitle him to hold such communication; these are as follows:"

"Utile, lex, humile, res ignorata, necesse."

"If any one of the conditions inflicted in those words exist on the part of any one, or any number of persons, such individual, or such number of persons, are entitled thereby to hold communion with the person excommunicated."

"Does not this greater excommunication affect the temporal situation and rights of the parties excommunicated? Certainly it does, and may be understood by the effects as described by me in the verse or words I have first here quoted."

Now, let the reader bear this evidence in memory, and then attend to the following extracts from the evidence of Dr. M'Hale, before the Commissioners of Education, as they may be found in the Appendix to their Eighth Report.—November 4th, 1826.

Examination of Rev. Dr. M'Hale, 4th November, before the Commissioners of Irish Education, 1826.

"You will observe that, so late as the year 1741, there is a Bull excommunicating all persons, without exception, or without any limitation of time or place, who bring Roman Catholic ecclesiastics before lay tribunals. Can you explain how it is that that does not apply to the case that is put?"

"With regard to Bulls of this sort, they are never binding upon us unless we receive and publish them; that Bull was probably never published in this country, and therefore we have nothing to do with its contents."

* * * *

"In the first section of this Bull, there is an universal excommunication of all Lutherans, Calvinists, Hugonots, and all and singular other heretics, by whatsoever

name they are called. Is that excommunication confined to any particular country, or does it extend to those heretics wherever they are found?"

"It extends to those heretics wherever they are found, in the sense I have explained the Bull; provided the Bull is received and published in those countries where they think it necessary to receive and publish a Bull, in order that it should have force. In Italy, for example, it is considered sufficient that it be published at Rome, in order that it should have its effect: it is not so in other countries. But in the sense in which I have explained the Bull, and in those countries in which the Bull would be received and published, it would affect them, but in no other sense."

"Although the Bull might not have validity in a country in which it had not been published, is it not sufficient to shew what is the doctrine and what are the principles of the Court of Rome upon those points?"

"Not at all; the doctrine and principles of the Court of Rome are not sufficient to establish the doctrine of the Catholic Church. We distinguish between the Court of Rome and the See of Rome; for the Court of Rome may be a scene of much intrigue and cabal, without affecting, at the same time, the authority of the Holy See, or decrees of the Catholic Church."

"By the Court of Rome, it meant the Pope.

"The Court is a political expression.

"Is not that Bull sufficient to show the principles of Benedict the Fourteenth upon those subjects?

"His Bull is sufficient to show his principles, because his Bull I consider an expression of his mind.

"Is there any definite time within which a Bull must be received in any particular country after it is issued?

"I am not positive as to the number of days required.

"Is there anything to prevent this Bull of 1741 being now received in Ireland, or at any future time, supposing it has not been received here already?

"There is the collision that would be supposed to result from the reception of that Bull with the established authorities of the country. This is an insurmountable objection.

* * * *

"Have no Papal Bulls been received and published in this country, in the sense which you attach to those words?

"I do not know any lately.

"To what period does that apply?

"It may extend to a remote period; I have said lately that I might not include some ancient Bulls of historical notoriety.

"How would it be known by a Roman Catholic clergyman in this country, whether a particular Bull of the Pope was, or was not, received in Ireland?

"Either from his Bishop, or the Metropolitan.

Supposing it was thought desirable to know whether a particular Bull had been published in this country or not, how could that be ascertained?

"From the Bishops.

"Is there any official or other means by which it would be possible to ascertain what Bulls have been received in Ireland during the last century?

"I cannot say; I should think Dr. Murray, or Dr. Kelly, or those Bishops who are old in the ministry, would be able to furnish information upon that subject; but as far as my information extends, none have been received."

Mr. Mc Ghee says on this,

Now, let any man, whatever be his creed, who has common sense and common honesty, compare the statements of these men with the facts of this case.

Dr. Doyle swears that "this Bull is not in force, and never was in force, in Ireland."

He swears it "has been rejected from nearly all the Christian countries of Europe."

He swears that "if it were in force, there is scarcely anything would be at rest amongst the Catholic states of Europe, and that they have been as solemn and as earnest in protesting against it, as they have been at any period in England or in Ireland."

He swears they "had never received it in Ireland, and assuredly never will."

Dr. M'Hale swears it "probably was never published in this country, and, therefore, we have nothing to do with its contents."

He admits it extends to all heretics, wherever they are found, provided it be received and published in the country. But,

He swears that "the collision that would be supposed to result from the reception of this Bull with the established authorities of the country, is an insurmountable objection" to its publication.

He swears that it is from the Bishops, or the Metropolitan, the Priests are to know whether a Bull be received in Ireland, and he names Dr. Murray and Dr. Kelly as the best authorities on the subject.

Now, what is the fact in opposition to the oaths of these two men?

In that very college in which Dr. M'Hale was then a Professor, and where for a period, I think, of twelve years, he was forming the minds and principles of the generation of priests for Ireland (and indeed they do honour to their Preceptor). In that very college, one of their highest standards of canon law speaks thus of that Bull.

Reiffenstuel—Lib. V. Dec. Tit. 7, de Hæreticis.

No. 80—Nay, in conversation we may sometimes hear, and (which is to be especially lamented) even secular ecclesiastics and regulars, who dare to say that the Bulla Cœnæ is not absolutely received, and, consequently, has no obligation in those places; which doctrine, as it is not only unsound, but even extremely prejudicial to the clerical order, and to the immunity and jurisdiction of the church (of which the chiefest, the firmest, and, as if almost the only pillar, is the Bulla Cœnæ) we have thought useful and necessary, especially to refute it.

No. 81—Wherefore, as to the objection already mentioned, and as to that of Layman and Becanus, and their simple assertion, it is answered by absolutely denying their whole supposition, that the Bulla Cœnæ can be justly not received in any province whatsoever, or in any place, and, consequently, also denying that any where it is not so received, that it does not fully impose an obligation upon all, according to all its full sense.

No. 82—The foundation of our answer, we take from the title of the constitutions or the laws, aud from the nature and qualities of the Bulla Cœnæ itself. From the title of the constitutions, we have, that according to the more common and true opinion, the acceptation of a just law on the part of the subject, is by no means required for the obligation of the same, as we have proved at large, Lib, 1, Tit. 2, de Constitut, 6. But the Bulla Cœnæ is a most just law, as all concede. Therefore, no acceptation of it is required for its obligation, consequently it cannot be concluded by reason of the non-acceptance of this Bull that it does not impose an obligation.

No. 85—From which we thus argue; for no place, kingdom, or province, is there given, or can there be assigned any just and reasonable cause of not accepting the most just and most holy law comprehended in the Bulla Cœnæ, therefore it is not possible that it is not accepted, consequently, all persons everywhere, always, and continually sin, if they do not accept it. The antecedent is plain, as well, because none of the doctors to this day, as far as it appears to us, have dared to allege in writing any reason or cause in appearance, and to say this is a just and reasonable cause in this or in that place of not receiving the Bulla Cœnæ; as well because the whole Bull, in every part, and in respect of all, is most just and equitable, as being that which, besides the excommunication of all heretics (which indeed is most just) principally consists in this, that under the the heaviest excommunication reserved for the Pope, it prohibits all acts, from which heresy, or the danger of heresy, could follow, or be introduced, or being already introduced, could be cherished and more widely spread; such acts as are those to cherish and defend heretics, to read, retain, print, or defend their books; also, those acts which are opposed and prejudicial to the most holy liberty, immunity, or jurisdiction of the Church, or to the laws of the Roman Church, or to the power, authority, and jurisdiction of the Pope, the Vicar of Christ on earth, all which prohibitions are most just from every part of the evidence; so that no one can seem to be able to have any just or reasonable cause of not accepting them, especially when reasons, perhaps imaginary, and the interests of private individuals, ought always to be postponed to the common good, especially to that of the

Universal Church of God, on account of which the aforesaid prohibitions were made."

The Canonist then goes on to anticipate an objection:

No. 89—That supposing there were no just cause for not accepting this Bull, that still it might be abrogated by practice, and contrary custom legitimately prescribing against it, since any human law, as this Bull, might be abrogated by the legitimate prescription of custom against it."

To this he answers, and the answer is worth recording, as it tends to throw progressive light on the evidence of these Romish Bishops.

No. 90—To this objection (which we may frequently hear from some who are badly grounded in the law) we answer again by denying the supposition—namely, that any rational or lawful custom can be either introduced, or afford any legitimate prescription against the Bulla Cœnæ, as well because any custom even for time immemorial was always illegal and invalid against ecclesiastical liberty and immunity, as we have proved at large from both civil and ecclesiastical law (ex utroque jure). Lib. 1, Tit. 4, de Cons: but any custom against the Bulla Cœnæ is most especially opposed to ecclesiastical liberty and immunity, as being that for which it was principally published, and of which it was in fact the most prime, and as it were the only pillar; as also, and indeed chiefly, because this oft-mentioned Bulla Cœnæ continually revokes and annuls all and singular customs, even though immemorial, and prescribing from the remotest times, and also all other imaginable evasions, by this most salutary and most worthy clause, which runs thus."

"Non obstantibus privilegiis," &c. See Bull, Sec. 25.

The Canonist then reasons on this, and answers other objections, and then goes on to say,

No. 92—From these it manifestly appears, that all practices and customs, whether actually existing in Germany, or in other proviuces, are by no means legitimate, lawful, and valid customs, but mere abuses and corruptions, not in the least excusing from crime and censure, notwithstanding that the ordinaries of places for the most part do not proceed against transgressors, nor declare them excommunicated, because these (Bishops) while, to avert greater evils, and for other just causes, they necessarily dissemble similar even open violations of the Bull, they by no means approve them, but leave them to God to be punished, before whom, since no one is free from sin, under the empty pretext of the Bull not being accepted or abrogated by custom, or of any similar futile reasons, so no one shall escape punishment here or hereafter; which, I wish certain politicians would more consider, both secret and even open enemies, scoffers, and contemners of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity, and of the Pope's authority also, degraders of their own ecclesiastical state, lukewarm defenders, or neglectors of the same.

Now it appears from this book, taught in their College, that not only were there inculcated these principles in flat contradiction to the evidence of these men on this Bull, but we see an actual provision made for that evidence upon the subject, and that, "when to avoid greater evils, or for other just causes, they might dissemble necessarily even open violations of this Bull, they did not approve of them." But what will be said when the fact is further stated, that while they were both swearing deliberately, that the Bull was never published, or received in Ireland, it was actually at the time not only published and received, but briefed in Dens, that standard set up eighteen years before they gave their oaths, and maintained as the standard, at the time they were giving their oaths, by all the Popish Bishops, read in all the Colleges, the general Conference Book, and the rule by which the Priests were to direct the consciences of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

But this was not all. While this was the standard in which these men had been trained themselves as Priests, and in which they were training others, as professors and as Bishops; when they acquired the reward of this and similar evidence, and also of their oath and declaration of 1826, in being admitted to political power; what was the first act of this very Dr. Doyle, of those men who are now living, and who may disprove the facts if they are able to attempt it, Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and his two co-provincial Bishops, Dr. Keating and Dr. Kinsella? It was to enact their code of Diocesan

Statutes, in which they set up afresh their same standard of Theology as a Conference Book for their dioceses, and to add to it the Supplemental Volume of Papal decretals never before published out of the Papal States, in which this Bull is recognized (see 8th Volume, Supplement to Dens, pp. 73, 74, 82, 84, 98, 99, 101, 164, 165) as of standing authority, and referred to, and in which are to be found all the Papal decretals briefed and cited as authorities for their respective principles of tyranny over Roman Catholics, confiscation of Protestant property, dispensation for all crimes, persecution, and torture, which be found in the Bulls here presented to the public.

This is a sufficient introduction for the Bulla Cœnæ Domini, which Dr. Doyle admits would not allow even a Popish state to be at rest, and which we have, on Dr. M'Hale's admission, is in collison with the civil authorities of the country, and on which there is no necessity for any comment.

It follows that the famous Bulla Cœnæ Domini is now in full force, and constitutes an integral part of the law of the Papal Church in Ireland. It may be proper to give some extracts from this document.

BULLA CŒNÆ DOMINI.

LETTER OF PROCESS ON THE DAY OF THE SUPPER OF OUR LORD.

Paul, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to perpetuate the memory of the thing (now decreed.)

The Pastoral vigilance and anxiety of the Roman Pontiff is, by reason of the duty of his office, not only continually employed in procuring the utmost peace and tranquillity of the Christian world, but it also most eminently shines forth in retaining and preserving the unity and integrity of the Catholic faith, without which it is impossible to please God—so that the faithful of Christ may not be as little children wavering, nor be carried about with every wind of doctrine by the crafty wickedness of men, whereby they lie in wait to deceive, but that all may come in the unity of the faith and the knowledge of the Son of God unto a perfect man, and in the society and communion of this life, may neither injure themselves, nor offend each other; but rather that, being joined together in the bond of charity, as the members of one body under Christ the head, and his Vicar upon earth, the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, from whom the unity of the whole Church proceeds, they may be increased in edification, and thus, divine grace assisting them, may so rejoice in the tranquillity of this present life, that they may also fully enjoy the happiness of the next. For which reasons, truly, the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, have been accustomed, upon this day, which is the stated anniversary for the commemoration of our Lord's Supper, solemnly to exercise the spiritual sword of ecclesiastical discipline, and the salutary weapons of justice, by the Ministry of the Supreme Apostolate for the glory of God and the salvation of souls We therefore, to whom nothing is more desirable than, in the authority of God, to preserve inviolable the integrity of the faith, public peace and justice, following this ancient and solemn custom:

Section 1.—Excommunicate and curse on the part of God Almighty, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the authority also of the blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by Our Own, all Hussites, Wicklephists, Lutherans, Zuinglians, Calvinists, Hugonots, Anabaptists, Trinitarians, and Apostates whatsoever from the Christian faith, and all and singular other Heretics, under whatsoever name they may be classed, and of whatsoever sect they may be, and those who believe, receive, or favour them, and all those who defend them in general, whosoever they be, and all those who, without Our authority, and that of the Apostolic See, knowingly read or keep, print, or in any way whatsoever, from any cause, publicly or privately, upon any pretence or colour whatsoever, defend their books, which contain heresy, or treat of religion; also, schismatics, and those who pertinaciously withdraw themselves or secede from obedience to Us, and to the Roman Pontiff for the time being."

2.—"In like manner we excommunicate and curse all and singular, of whatsoever station, degree, or condition they may be, (but the Universities, Colleges, and Chapters, by whatsoever name they may be called, we interdict,) who appeal

from the ordinances or commands of Us, and of the Roman Pontiffs for the time being, to a future general council; as also those by whose aid or favour the appeal shall be made."

7.—" In like manner we excommunicate and curse all those who carry or transmit to Saracens, Turks, and other enemies and foes of the Christian name, or to those expressly, or by name, declared heretics by our sentence, or by that of this Holy See, horses, arms, iron, wire of iron, tin, steel, and any sort of metals, and instruments of war, piles of timber, hemp, ropes, as well of hemp as of any other matter, and the matter itself, and other things of this sort, with which they fight against Christians and Catholics; as also those who, by themselves or by others, give information of things concerning the state of the Christian world, to the Turks, and to the enemies of the Christian religion, to the hurt and injury of Christians; or to heretics, to the prejudice of the Catholic religion, or, for that purpose, give them, in any way whatsoever, aid, advice, or favour: notwithstanding any privileges whatsoever, which do not expressly mention this sort of prohibition, hitherto granted by Us, and the aforesaid See to any persons whatever, Princes or Commonwealths"

13.—" In like manner we excommunicate and curse all, as well Ecclesiastics as Seculars of whatsoever dignity they be, who pretending some frivolous appeal from the grievance or future execution of apostolic letters, although in form of a brief, concerning as well mercy as justice, as also of the citations, inhibitions, sequestrations, monitions, processes, executorials, and other decrees which have been issued, and which shall at any time be issued from us, and the aforesaid See, or from our Legates, Nuncios, Presidents, from the auditors of our Palace and Apostolic Chamber, from our Commissaries and other Apostolic judges and delegates, or who otherwise have recourse to the Secular courts, and to Lay power, and who cause appeals of this sort to be admitted by it (the Lay power) even at the instance of the Procurator or Advocate of the exchequer, also those who cause the aforesaid letters, citations, inhibitions, sequestrations, monitions, &c, to be seized and retained: or those who hinder or prohibit them to be put in execution, simply, or without their good will, consent or examination; or who impede or prohibit scriveners and notaries from making or delivering when made, to the party interested, the instruments or acts concerning the execution of letters and processes of this sort; and also those who apprehend, strike, wound, imprison, detain, banish, from cities, places, and kingdoms, plunder of their goods, frighten, harass, and threaten by themselves or by any other, or others, publicly or privately, the parties or their agents, their kindred, their connexions, their friends, notaries, the executors, or sub executors of the aforesaid letters, citations, monitions, &c., or who in any other way presume to hinder, directly or indirectly, any persons whatsoever, in general or particular, that they should not go or have recourse to the Court of Rome; or to ordain or command that they should not go, or have recourse to the Court, to prosecute their affairs of any kind whatsoever, or to obtain indulgences or letters, or hinder them from obtaining those very indulgences or letters from the said See, or from making use of them when obtained, or presume to retain the said indulgences or letters, with themselves, or with notaries or scriveners, or in any other way whatsoever."

14.—" In like manner we excommunicate and curse all and every one of those who, by themselves or by others, by their own authority, and *de facto* under pretext of any exemptions whatsoever, or any other indulgences, or letters apostolic take away the cognizance of causes relating to benefices and tithes, and other spiritual causes, and annexed to spiritual matters, from our auditors and commissaries, and other ecclesiastical judges; or prevent the course and hearing of them; and prevent the persons, chapters, convents, colleges, who wish to prosecute these very causes; and who interpose themselves as judges respecting the cognizance of them; or who, by a decree, or in any other way compel the parties who have instituted, or do institute the proceedings, to withdraw, or to cause to be withdrawn, the citations or inhibitions, or other letters decreed in these causes; or to cause, or consent, that those against whom such inhibitions have issued, should be absolved from the censures and punishments in them contained, or in any way prevent the execution of apostolic letters, or executorials, processes and decrees aforesaid, or for that purpose afford their favour, counsel or assent, even under the pretence of preventing violence, or of any other pretences, or even until they,

for the purpose of informing us, as they say, shall petition Us, or cause Us to be petitioned, unless they shall prosecute petitions of this sort before Us and the Apostolic See in lawful form, even though they who commit such things be Presidents of Chanceries, of Councils or Parliaments, Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors, Counsellors, ordinary or extraordinary, of any secular Princes whatsoever, even though they were Emperors, Kings, Dukes, or invested with any other pre eminent dignity whatsoever) or Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Commendatories, or Vicars."

15.—" Or (that is, we excommunicate and curse those) who, under pretence of their office, or at the instance of any party, or of any others whatsoever, draw, or cause or procure to be drawn, directly or indirectly, upon any pretence whatsoever, ecclesiastical persons, chapters, convents, colleges of any churches whatsoever, before them to their tribunal, audience, chancery, council, or parliament, contrary to the disposition of the Canon Law; as also those who, from any cause or pretence whatsoever, or even under pretext of any custom or privilege, or in any other manner whatsoever, shall make, ordain, and publish, or use when made or enacted, statutes, ordinances, constitutions, pragmatics, or any other decrees, in general or particular, whereby ecclesiastical liberty is violated, or in any way injured or depressed, or in any other way restricted, or the rights of Us and of the said See, and of any other churches whatsoever, are, in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, tacitly or expressly prejudiced."

16.—" As also those who, by imprisoning or molesting their agents, proctors, domestics, relations, connections, or by any other means, directly or indirectly, on this account, prevent Archbishops, Bishops, and other superior and inferior Prelates, and all other ecclesiastical judges whatsoever, from executing their ecclesiastical jurisdiction against any persons whatsoever, according to that which the canons and sacred ecclesiastical constitutions, and the decrees of general councils, and especially that of Trent, do appoint; and also those who, after the sentences and decrees of the ordinaries themselves, or even of any persons whatsoever delegated by them; or at any other time (or by any other means) eluding the judgment of the ecclesiastical court, have recourse to chanceries and other secular courts, and thence procure prohibitions and even penal mandates to be decreed against the aforesaid ordinaries or delegates, and executed against them: those also who make and execute these decrees, or give aid, counsel, protection, and favour in the same."

17.—" Again (we excommunicate and curse) those who usurp the jurisdictions, fruits, revenues, and emoluments which belong to Us and the Apostolic See, and to any ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, upon account of churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, or even who sequester, upon any occasion or cause, the said revenues, without the express license of the Roman Pontiff, or of others having legitimate faculty for that purpose."

18.—" So we excommunicate and curse those who impose assessments, tithes, tolls, subsidies, and other burdens upon clergymen, prelates, and other ecclesiastical persons, and upon their goods and the goods of churches, monasteries, and other ecclesiastical benefices, or upon the fruit, revenues, and proceeds of this sort belonging to them, without a similar special and express license from the Roman Pontiff, and those who in divers even artful or exquisite ways exact, or receive them so imposed from the clergy, even if they should of their own accord grant and give them. As also those who, by themselves or by others, directly or indirectly, do not fear to do, execute or procure the things aforesaid, or to afford aid, counsel, or favour in the same, of whatsoever pre-eminence, dignity, order, condition, or quality they be, even though they were emperors, or kings, or princes, dukes, earls, barons, and other potentates whatsoever over kingdoms, provinces, states, and territories, counsellors and senators, or invested even with any episcopal dignity Renewing the decrees set forth concerning these things by the sacred canons, as well in the last council of Lateran, as in other general councils, even with the censures and punishments contained in them."

19.—" In like manner we excommunicate and curse all and every magistrate and judges, notaries and scribes, executors, sub-executors, in any way whatsoever interposing themselves in capital or criminal causes against ecclesiastical persons, by processing, banishing, arresting them, or by pronouncing or executing any sentence against them, without the special, specific, and express license of this

Holy Apostolic See; and those who extend license of that sort to persons and cases not expressed, or in any other way wrongfully abuse it, even though such offenders should be counsellors, senators, presidents, chancellors, vice-chancellors, or by any other name entitled."

23.—"If by chance any, contrary to the tenor of these presents, should *de facto* presume to bestow the benefit of absolution upon such as are involved in excommunication and anathema, or upon any one of them, we include them in the sentence of excommunication, intending afterwards to proceed more severely against them, both with spiritual and temporal punishments, as far as we shall learn the same to be expedient."

25.—"Notwithstanding any privileges, indulgences, grants, and letters apostolical, general or special, granted to the above-mentioned persons, or to any one of them, or to any other persons, of whatsoever order, station, or condition, dignity, or pre-eminence they be, although, as is aforesaid, they were bishops or emperors, or kings, or eminent for any other ecclesiastical or secular dignity; or granted by the aforesaid See to their kingdoms, provinces, cities, or places, for any cause whatsoever, even by way of contract or remuneration, and under any other form and tenor, and with any clauses whatsoever, even though derogatory of those which derogate from them, or even containing that they shall not be excommunicated, accursed, or interdicted by any apostolical letters not making full and express mention, and exact repetition, word for word, of this sort of grant, and of the orders, places, proper names, surnames, and dignities of the said persons: as also notwithstanding all customs, even immemorial, and prescriptions howsoever long, and any other observations whatsoever, written or not written, by which the aforesaid persons and places may be able to assist or protect themselves against these our processes and censures, that they may not be included in them. All which, as far as relates to this matter, and the whole tenor of them all, as if they, nothing at all omitted, were verbatim inserted in these presents, we, considering them as expressed, utterly abolish and entirely revoke: and notwithstanding all other pleas whatsoever which may be alleged to the contrary."

26.—"But that these our present processes may be more easily brought to the public knowledge of all persons, we will make the papers or parchments containing the processes themselves to be appended, in the city, to the doors of the Church of St. John of Lateran, and of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles, that those whom processes of this sort concern may not be able to pretend any excuse, or to allege any ignorance, as if they had not come to their knowledge, or as if they were ignorant of them, since it is not likely that that should remain unknown which is openly published to all."

27.—"Moreover, that these processes themselves, and these present letters, and all and singular the things contained in them, may become better known, the more cities and places they are published in, we, by these writings commit, and, in virtue of holy obedience strictly charging, give it in command to all and singular patriarchs, primates, archbishops and ordinaries of places, and prelates, whersoever constituted, that, after they shall have received these present letters, or have knowledge of them, they, by themselves, or by some other, or others, once in the year, or even oftener if it shall seem expedient, solemnly publish them in their Churches, when the greater number of the people shall be assembled in them for divine service, and bring them (the processes) back again to the recollection of Christ's faithful people, relate them, and declare them.

"And furthermore, we command that all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries of places, and prelates of churches, as also rectors and others having cure of souls, and priests, secular and regular, of whatsover orders, deputed by any authority to hear confession of sins, have a copy of these present letters in their possession, and diligently study to read and understand them.

"Our will is, that the same credit as would be given to these presents, if they were produced or shown, shall in all places be altogether given, in judgment and out of judgment, even to copies of these said presents even printed, subscribed by the hand of a public notary, and fortified with the seal of the ordinary judge of the Court of Rome, or of any other person in possession of ecclesiastical dignity.

"Therefore, let no man at all infringe, or with audacious daring oppose this our letter of excommunication, curse, interdict, innovation, innodation, declara-

tion, protestation, abrogation, revocation, commission, mandate, and will; but if any one shall presume to attempt it, let him know that he shall incur the dis pleasure of the Almighty God, and of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of our Lord's incarnation, and thousand six hundred and ten, on the sixth of the Ides (that is, the 8th) of April, in the fifth year of our pontificate."

This singularly arrogant and audacious law, now in force, will be found to contain a concentration of the venom and poison of the Popish system.

1. It curses and anathematizes all who are not of the communion of the Romish Church as heretics. It follows that the Queen, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal not being Papists, the Commons, the Clergy, and all kinds of Dissenting Ministers, together with every individual, however high or low in these realms, are, one and all, not merely denounced and accursed by an old musty Bull, fulminated from Rome many ages ago—but are so anathematized by the deliberate act of their fellow-countrymen, the Bishops of the Irish Popish Church. Moreover, this *authoritative* adoption of a document which denounces the wrath of Rome against every Protestant of Great Britain, has been formally dragged from its skulking obscurity, and sanctioned as recently as 1832. So much for the softened charity of modern Popery!

2. This document also contains a non-intercourse law. It is against the Canons for the "*faithful*" to furnish any of the means of defence, or of life, to those who are declared "*heretics*" by the Holy See, as well as to Saracens and Turks. Here is the germ and root of those anti-social movements which have disgraced the age. By an infamous refinement in wickedness, this Church, under the guise of religion, perpetuates, from year to year, a barbarous law, which strikes at the root of all social intercourse, security, and happiness. Those who would understand the nature of Ribbonism, and its animating and inspiring spirit, will find a clue to its mysteries in these fiendish rules, taught to the young Priests, and communicated by them through the confessional to the people.

3. This Bull effectually deprives the people, as far as its authority extends, of the protection and benefits of the civil code. Section 13 deprives them, whatever may be their rank and office, of appeal against an ecclesiastical authority to the courts of law. This places the people at the mercy of the Spiritual hierarchy without redress. Hence their property, their freedom, and their life, are at the disposal of the Church. This is no doubt meant; and the extention of this tyranny must place the neck of every human being under its iron hoof.

4. But, by implication, this precious document sets aside the civil government of the State. It denies to all parties the right of appeal to the laws of the country, and of consequence annuls and destroys those laws. This is Popish loyalty! What in the face of this, can be meant by the new, high, and vociferous avowals of attachment to the throne of Queen Victoria by modern Papists, but an attempt to move it from its Protestant foundation. *I, for one, most deliberately avow my conviction, that the Bishops, Priests, and Church of Rome,*

in these lands, having now adopted this Bull and other similar authorities, cannot give any security for their peaceful allegiance to the throne, constitution, and laws of this Protestant State.

2. THE RESTORATION OF FORFEITED PROPERTY PROVIDED FOR BY THE BULL OF BENEDICT XIV., ENTITLED, "OF THE GOODS OF CHURCHES WHICH BEING ONCE SEIZED BY UNBELIEVERS, THEN CAME INTO THE POWER OF CHRISTIANS," AND SET UP BY THE POPISH BISHOPS IN IRELAND FOR THAT PURPOSE.

It may be proper to premise that the principle of the Reformation, on the question of Church property, is, that it is national; the principle of Popery is, that all such property is purely ecclesiastical, and of right belongs to the Holy See. By the adoption of the Protestant rule on this subject, all the wealth of the Church within the limits of the country being deemed national, is consequently at the disposal of the State; whilst the Papal rule consigns all the estates of the Church, in every form, to the indefeasible possession of the Pope. When the Roman Catholics were seeking admission to power by the Relief Bill, it became a subject of anxious enquiry whether their faith, as subjects of the Holy See, allowed them to acquiesce in this national appropriation of property, or compelled them to seek its restoration.

EXTRACT FROM THE DECLARATION AND OATH OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS, 1826.

"The Catholics of Ireland, far from claiming any right or title to forfeited lands, resulting from any right, title, or interest, which their ancestors may have had therein, declare upon oath, 'they they will defend to the utmost of their power the settlement and arrangement of property in this country, as established by the laws now in being.' They also 'disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead. And further, they swear that they will not exercise any privilege to which they are or may be entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant religion and Protestant Government in Ireland.'" —*Dr. Doyle's Letter*, p. 302.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, ESQ.

"What are the facts upon which the conscientious opponents of the claims of further privileges to the Catholics rest, and upon which you think, if better informed, they would withdraw their opposition?

"We understand that some extremely high names, and there cannot be higher possibly than some of them, rest their opposition on the danger of the reassumption of the forfeited estates. There were opinions published of persons of rank and weight, that the Catholics, if admitted to the administration of justice, would not do equal justice to Protestants as well as Catholics—opinions that Catholics looked for the establishment of their church in the room of the present Established Church—that they looked for a transfer of the ecclesiastical property—that they looked for the means of oppressing the Protestants of Ireland, and obtaining a Catholic ascendancy in the room of the Protestants. These appear to me, from my present recollection, to be the facts upon which it seems there is a conscientious objection to the admission of the Catholics; and I should wish to say, that if they were founded, or any of them founded, I should certainly admit them to be most valid objections to Catholic Emancipation. I know that there is not the least danger of the re-assumption of forfeited estates. The forfeited estates are of two natures—estates which belonged to the Church when it was a Roman Catholic Church, and estates which belonged to individuals who were Catholics and forfeited. Now I know that in practice the more recent forfeitures, which would be, of course, the most exposed to danger of re-assumption, are considered

now the best titles to be purchased by Catholics. I know that there is an impossibility at present in tracing out the persons who, if there were a re assumption, would have what would be considered legitimate title to those forfeited estates, even the most recent, or so great a difficulty, as to amount in any one case in my judgment to an impossibility; but take three, or four, or five cases, I would venture to assert, and I do assert it to amount to an impossibility. The forfeited estates are now constituted the properties of the Roman Catholics. I do not know a Roman Catholic who even purchased any thing but a portion of a forfeited estate, forfeited either by the Church or by private individuals; so that I can state with confidence to the Committee, that all the estates the Catholics have purchased since 1778, have been forfeited estates. Then the Catholics have a number of leases for lives renewable for ever, and leases of lives and valuable terms of years; all that I know, and I believe the proposition may be stated universally, are upon forfeited estates. Of course, if there was a re-assumption, the Catholics would lose those. In my own individual instance, if I may be permitted to say it, I have but one small property that was not forfeited; the rest, which, although comparatively trivial, is, of course, of great importance to me, is either forfeited by individuals, or forfeited by the Church, for I have both. The property I allude to as forfeited by the Church, belonged to the priory of the Canons Regular of St. Austin, in the Barony of Iveragh; the parish which is still called the priory parish. The word forfeiture certainly is not an applicable term, but the term of re assumption would apply to both; it was confiscation. All the property of both my brothers—and they are each of them quite independent, is forfeited estates, if I may use the expression of one or the other kind; for my youngest brother, before I came here, completed a purchase of a fee simple estate of about £700 a-year, that was forfeited by a Colonel Roger M'Killigut at the usurpation, it appearing by the patent of the family of Morris, that it had been so forfeited, stiled in the book of distributions of an Irish Papist. My other brother has one estate that produces him £1,000 a year at present, and being set on determinable leases, the reversion is very valuable. That was the estate of the Abbey of O'Dorney, called in the antient records, the Abbey of Kyrie Elison; it was a mitred Abbacy, and the Abbot was a Lord of Parliament. I mention these individual instances to shew, that the Catholic gentry are all interested in maintaining the present system of property—that the Catholic farmers are all interested in maintaining the present state of property that is derived under the Acts of Settlement, and those patents; and I would venture to assert, that there is nothing that would be so likely to create a civil war in Ireland among the Roman Catholics, as any attempt to alter the Acts of Settlement, or look for the old heirs or successors to those properties—all the intelligence of the Catholics of the country—all its moral vigour, would certainly take as strong a part as prudence and conscience permitted them, to oppose such an alteration.

"You state that it would be totally impossible to trace any persons who were entitled to landed property among the laity; what objection would there be to the church setting forward her old rights; the church having a perpetual succession, and perpetual descent, and claiming the Abbey and church lands, which have been forfeited?

"That Catholics would resist that precisely as much as any others would. An immense number of Catholics on the estate of the Earl of Limerick would, to my knowledge, resist it most strenuously.

"You do not conceive that there would be any danger of the Roman Catholic Church reclaiming those lands, the Church having perpetual succession?

"To my knowledge, not the least, and no Protestant would resist it more strenuously, to the loss of life, than the Catholics would. We know that in point of religion the title is now gone out of the Church, and could not be reassumed without the law of Ireland giving it again to the Church; and the making of that law we would resist, feeling as conscientious Catholics, that the land is ours."

The next document is, the examination of Dr. Nicholas Slevin, Professor of Canon Law in Maynooth, before the Commissioners of Education who examined him on this very Bull. The Commissioners, or some of them who had seen this document, knew that it was calculated to overturn the Act of Settlement, and

that if once the Roman Catholics could obtain political power, and that this law was to be the standard of their principles, it must produce eternal efforts on the part of Popery, to overturn all Protestant property in Ireland, therefore they examined this Professor on this very Bull.

Appendix, No. 32, *Examination of the Rev. N. Slevin, 5th December,* 1826, *p.* 233.

" The author of the rescript seems to confess that the Canon Law, exempting church property from the calamities attendant on war is already obsolete, and, therefore, is not binding in any country. With regard to the Canon Law relating to restitution and prescription, a general proposition has been established, that the Canon Laws relating to property, or temporalities of any kind, are binding in any country, no further than they are sanctioned by the Municipal Laws of that country. In all Catholic countries, the Canon Law binding in that country is sanctioned by the Municipal Law of the country, and the Ecclesiastical tribunals are authorized and sanctioned by the state; the church property enjoys immunities in all those countries, and the Ecclesiastical courts alone take cognizance of causes relating to it. In the Ecclesiastical courts established by law, cases are decided according to the Canon Law; but in countries where the Canon Law is not supported by the Municipal Law, nor the Ecclesiastical tribunals authorized by law, nor the immunities of the church sanctioned, all Canon Laws relating to property can have no application at all. This I conceive to be the state of this country, with regard to Roman Catholics; therefore, anything to be found in the Bull before us, or, indeed, in the whole body of the Canon Law relating to property, can have no application whatever in this country, in which the property of the Roman Catholic church is not acknowledged, and her Ecclesiastical courts are not sanctioned by law, nor her Canon Law recorded. I recollect to have read, in Blackstone's Commentaries, that the Canon Law in general is binding by the laws of the country, except in the cases in which it may have been modified by occasional Acts of Parliament; however, the Canon Law, thus sanctioned by the English laws, can only apply to the Protestant Church, which is the only Church to which the law gives civil rights as a corporate body.

* * * *

Examination continued, p. 235.

" Do you not conceive that the transfer of the property, formerly belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, which has taken place to the Protestant Church, is, or not, now to be considered a lawful transfer?

" I consider that it is now a lawful transfer, and has been such for many years; it would not be an easy matter to point out the period precisely when it became a lawful transfer; but I may state in general, that the transfer became lawful when the possessors of Church property could not be molested in their possession, without disturbing the public peace and tranquillity, and the security of property in the country. We consider, indeed, that the spoliation of our church, in the commencement, was unjust, but we also consider that, by lapse of years, like other usurpations, that also has been sanctified by time, or that period of time is what I have already pointed out, that is, when the possessors could not be molested in the possession of it, without endangering the welfare, and shaking the very foundation, of the state.

" Do you consider that, inasmuch as the property, which formerly belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, has been transferred, for more than two centuries, to the Protestant Church, and as the Catholics have submitted to that transfer, and have sworn, and do swear, to maintain the settlement of property in this country, that the Established Church is now, to all intents and purposes, the legal owner of that property?

" I consider, that the present possessors of church property in Ireland, of whatever description they may be, have a just title to it, on various grounds; 1st, on the ground of a lawful transfer made by the Government of the country; for though, as I mentioned, Catholics may consider the original transfer to have been unjust, still they all must, and do allow, that, in the course of time, the transfer sanctioned by the Government became lawful, that is, when it became necessary for the public welfare to confirm the rights of the actual possessors of Church property. 2ndly, on the ground that they have been bona fide possessors for all

the time required by any law for prescription, even according to the pretensions of the Court of Rome, which requires a hundred years. I consider they have possessed said property bona fide, because their right was founded on a title acquired from a lawful Government, a title of whose validity they entertained no doubt. 3rdly, on the principle that those who might be supposed to have any claim to it, have repeatedly, and in the most positive manner, declared, that they freely cede any right which they might have, or might be thought to have, to the same; this cessation, or rather declaration that they have no claim, is expressed in the oath of allegiance, which is taken by the Catholics in general in this country, and in particular by many of our Bishops and Clergy, who never decline it when proposed to them; now those in this country who might be supposed to have any claim to the Church property, would be, according to the principles of Canon Law, the Bishops and Clergy of the country; then, as they have renounced, in the most positive manner, and even on oath, all such claims, it follows that the present possessors have a just right to that property, even on the ground of the express consent of those who might have any pretension to it. It therefore appears, that the present possessors of Church property in Ireland have a just title to the same, on all the principles laid down by the Pope, in the rescript before us; 1st, by lawful transfer made by the Government; 2ndly, by lawful prescription; and 3rdly, by the consent of those who might have any claim to it. Those are the three principles on which the Pope discusses, in the rescript, the right of the Antibarians.

"The question remains how far those positions are reconcilable with the Canon Law: do you think they are reconcilable?

"Most certainly; they are perfectly reconcilable to the principles of Canon law, as they are understood all over the Catholic world."

And with this rescript in particular?

"Most assuredly; for, as I have repeatedly mentioned, they are the principles on which the Pope examines the title on which the inhabitants of Antibaris might possess to the church property in question. For 1st, the Pope examines their title on the principle of war, or right of conquest; he declares as his opinion, that the purchasers at Antibaris did not acquire a title on this ground, because the war was unjust. 2ndly, he examines their title on the ground of a presumed assent on the part of the former owners; he gives it as his opinion, that such assent cannot be presumed, where there is question of immoveable property; and, therefore, that the purchasers at Antibaris did not acquire a right on this ground of presumed assent. He again examines the title on the ground of dereliction; he declares as his opinion, that the property in question could not be considered as abandoned, and hence that the purchasers did not acquire a title on this ground; he also denies that they acquired a right by prescription, because they were not bona fide possessors; now on three grounds, I have stated the present holders of Church property in Ireland hold their title; therefore, according to the principles set down or supposed by the Pope, in the rescript before us, the present possessors of Church property in Ireland hold it by a just title."

Notwithstanding these solemn avowals, and the oaths of these parties, the Bull mentioned above, and provided for occasions of this description, has been formally adopted by the Prelates of the Irish Church as the law of the whole hierarchy, to be wrought out as time and opportunity may allow. The following are extracts from this Bull:—

"Finally, CONVENTIONS AND TREATIES ENTERED INTO BETWEEN LAY CATHOLIC PRINCES AND THE HETERODOX (OR HERETICS), AS TO THE POSSESSION AND DETENTION OF PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH ARE DISALLOWED BY THE APOSTOLIC SEE: as P. Schmalygrueber proves at length in the first volume of his 'Counsels,' Counsel 15, Qu. 1; and these are the conventions to which this fore-cited author alludes.

"Section 20.—Father Carolus Franciscus a Breno, in his 'Manual of Oriental Missions, tom. ii. lib 1, c. 3, qu. 21, proposes this question,

"'Whether ecclesiastical property redeemed from infidels, ought necessarily to be restored; or, at least, some transfer to be made? (transactio adhiberi), and he answers that it is to be restored, as well because the Christian, knowing that it is

the property of the Church, possesses another person's property with a bad faith, as because the infidel robber could not transfer to the Christian purchaser a right greater than that which he himself possessed over the property sold. Therefore, if the seller, by the crime of the rapine, had acquired no right over the property violently taken away, occupied, and afterwards sold—so neither, by parity of reasoning, can he who bought it be said to have acquired any right over the same. Then, finally, because it is a general rule, that he, who (though ignorant of the theft) buys anything from a thief, is bound to restitution as soon as the true and lawful owner appears." The rest of this, and the 21st section, do not materially bear on the case.

Section 22.—"Therefore we seem to ourselves by no means to contravene the decrees of the year 1630, if we assert that the opinion is well-founded, which vests the right of real property in its original possessor, so that he may (without any restitution of price) recover his own property, with all the fruits accruing from thence, from him who purchased them for a sum of money from the invaders. For the nature of an unjust war, in which property of this description has been seized on, demands this.

"This also is proved by the opinion of those authors who teach, on the soundest principles, that he who doubts or suspects that he is buying a stolen article cannot re-demand from the true possessor the price which he paid to the thief.

"The purchaser of bad faith *(malæ fidei)*, if he buys a thing which he either knew or doubted, or suspected to be stolen, could not re-demand from the owner of that thing the price which he paid to the thief who sold it, since he has no just title to make that demand.

"These are the words of *Sylvius*, on the Secunda Secundæ of St. Thomas.

"The common opinion, also, of those proves this, who teach that even he who bought a stolen article, *bona fide*, either from the thief himself or from another, is bound to restore the same to its owner; nor can he demand from him the price paid for it, as can be seen in the 'Summa' of Sanchez, lib. ii. (cap. 23, n. 2.) And in the work of Bonacina, tom. ii., 'De Restitutione in Genere,' dis. 1, qu. 2, punc. 1, prop. 1, n. 4. This is also deduced from the rule which the superior tribunals follow, by whose authority it is decreed, That the property of the churches seized on by heretics, as soon as it escapes from their hands, immediately, *ipso jure*, returns to the churches to which it belonged, as may be seen in the 'Decisiones Herbipolen Monasterii,' June 10, 1708, confirmed the 17th day of the same month, before Caffarillio, of happy memory, in 'Decision' 562, n. 1, tom. 5, before Lancetto, the Dean of happy memory.

"So prescribes the far-famed text of Innocent III., in chapter '*Sæpe*,' on the restitution of things plundered. For when the civil law granted the benefit of the interdict, '*unde vi*,' or of restitution, only against him who had thrust a man out of his possession, and against his heirs in general, as the laws, 1 sec. ult., 2 sec. '*unde vi*,' but not against him into whose power the plundered property had come, as appears from law 7, sec. same title; even though he, when he bought the plundered property, was not ignorant that it was stolen; and that, for this reason, that the interdict, '*unde vi*,' had been directly levelled against the man who had offered the violence; as the words are, 'from which you have forcibly dispossessed him.' This disposition of the civil law seemed by no means safe to that great Pontiff, and, therefore, he decreed that the remedy of the possessor, '*unde vi*,' might hold good against him who had not, indeed, himself committed the plunder, but who had bought from the plunderer that which he knew to be another man's, and fraudulently taken from him.

"'Notwithstanding the rigour of the civil law, we decree, that if any one shall have knowingly received such a thing from another, since he succeeds the spoiler, as it were, in his crime, and against the true possessor, that a remedy shall be had against plunder of this kind by restitution.'

"And he gives the following reasons for his decree:—

"'Because it differs not much as to the peril of the soul to detain a man's property unjustly, or to seize on it.'

"Finally, the adage of the Canon Law demands this, which is in the canon '*Rapinam*' 14 quest. 5, where this is stated, 'To buy that which is plundered is not lawful, unless with the intention that it be restored to the person from whom it was taken.'

"Section 23.—But if these things which have been said have a place in the case of those who buy lands seized by unjust invaders, and these are bound to restore them without any price, by what excuse can they defend themselves who, as the Archbishop of Antivari states, have invaded, by stealth, lands and tenements, belonging to churches and monasteries, and have usurped them by reason of their adjacence or proximity? how can they free themselves from the obligation of restitution, to which they are manifestly bound? The civil laws by no means admit the use of possession, for a long time, in stolen property, on account of the fault of bad faith.

"But, since a question arose among the ancient sages, whether theft had any place in real property, or only in chattel property; and when the opinion of those prevailed who asserted that theft was only to be understood of chattel property; having then gone on further, they agreed on this, that if any one, without violence, although with bad faith, had usurped the possession of any real property, he could not make property of this kind his own by the use of possession; but another could, who had received this from him *in good faith*, as can be seen in (here is the reference to the law) and also in the *Institutions of Justinian*. But neither did the immoderate laxity of the authors of the civil law stop here, who held it sufficient to confer a right use of possession, that good faith should have existed at the commencement of the obtaining possession, not at all solicitous if bad faith had supervened. (Here is a reference). But the sacred Canons of the Church, looking to nothing but equity and the salvation of souls, have taken away many useless subtleties, decreeing that no prescription could be brought in, unless good faith accompanied the beginning, and the middle, and the end of the possession; Since "whatsoever is not of faith is sin,' we define by our judgment of the Synod, that no prescription, either canonical or civil, can avail without good faith; since, generally, every constitution and custom is to be excepted against, which cannot be observed without mortal sin; whence it is fit, that he who pleads prescription should, at no part of the time, have a conscience of its being another man's property.' These are the words of Innocent III., in his last chapter concerning prescriptions. But this good faith cannot be admitted in any of those about whom the present consideration is; since it is not credible that, in such a long course of asserted use of possession, they had no knowledge that the property occupied belonged to the Church."

It seems of importance to add to this the following:—

Section 26.—"When in the time of Mary, Queen of England, the most weighty province was committed to Reginald Cardinal Pole of happy memory, of reconciling England itself to the Church of Rome. The Pontiff, Julius III., in a brief dated March 8th, 1554, granted to him the faculty with reference to those who had unjustly seized on the possession of ecclesiastical property, and who might return to the bosom of the Roman Church, of entering into an agreement and arrangement as to the profits unjustly received and the chattels consumed, having restored first, if it seem to you expedient, the real property unduly detained by them,' as may be seen tom. 4, Conciliorum Magnæ Britanniæ. But because in the execution of the matter it was probably discovered that these faculties were too confined, in another brief, dated June 28 of the same year, he bestowed on the Cardinal, 'with reference to any possessors or retainers of the property of Churches, whether chattel or real, in the aforesaid kingdom, for whom her serene Majesty Queen Mary herself shall have interceded, a full and free power of our authority as to the goods unduly detained by them, of treating, agreeing, arranging, compounding, according to your own judgment, and dispensing with them that they should retain the aforesaid goods in their possession, without any scruple—of consulting and doing all and singular other things which shall have been in any manner necessary and opportune in these matters and about them, saving, however, in these, in which, on account of the magnitude and weight of the affairs, this Holy See seems to you justly to be consulted, our good pleasure and confirmation and that of the aforesaid See." This brief is published in the aforecited volume 4, p. 102 and 103, and in the annals of Raynaldus, in the year of Christ 1554, num. 8.

But the aforementioned Cardinal, "lest new commotions should be thence excited, all ranks demanding and pressing, was obliged to declare in a public instrument, in the name and authority of the Pope, all persons for ever secure and

free from canonical punishments and censures as to all goods and possessions of this description" These are the words of Spondanus in the same year 1554, num. 4. To these agree Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano, lib 2, p. 349, edit. Rom., an. 1586. Devanzatus in sua historia Schismatis Anglicani, edit. Florent., ah. 1628, p.91, who all equally concur in celebrating the prudence of the aforesaid Cardinal, by which he transacted a most difficult affair, preserving the dignity of the Church."

Mr. Mc Ghee remarks, on this Bull,

The review of this Bull, as compared with the principles of the men who have published it, leaves not the slightest possible doubt of their object and intention in its publication. The Bull itself is perfectly clear. The principle of restitution laid down in it, from beginning to end, hinges upon one single point, namely, whether the property to be restored has been taken in an unjust war or not? If it has, then whether it be ecclesiastical or private property, no matter by what laws, what settlement, or what prescription it may seem to us to be secured—no laws, no settlement, no prescription, can possibly protect it. Whenever Popery can gain the power or opportunity, restored it must be.

This is clear from the 5th section, with respect to Church property; and there is a remarkable principle laid down in it, viz, that "*Ecclesiastics are no part of the state*," that is, Bishops and Priests of the Church of Rome do not belong to the state,—they are exempted from its laws,—they are not its subjects—they are the subjects of the Pope, and those who dare to impugn or subject them to any processes of law before secular courts, are, as we have seen in the Bulla Cœnæ, excommunicated and cursed by the Papacy; so that no church lands could ever be justly taken from them, and, therefore, all must be given up, that ever have been taken from Popery in any war, even if they have fallen into the hands of Roman Catholics; and for heretics to suppose that laws or treaties can secure them, is of all notions the most absurd.

The Bull, it may be observed, is throughout made a case of conscience. This is the great wisdom of Satan, through all the Papacy; he does not use the laws or the policy or the reasoning of the world to protect his religion, but he makes religion the instrument by which to regulate all the laws, the policy, and the reasoning of this world. So, whether it be property, or liberty, or life, he chuses to attack, it is all done as a matter of religion. Here it is not laid down that Papists are to take up arms against Turks or heretics, to make them give up property taken in an unjust war. Not at all; that would be making war the foundation on which religion was to be maintained, and thus put the protection of religion into the hands of warriors. The inventor of Popery is too wise for this. No, he makes the restitution of this property a holy case of conscience, which the Priests are to arrange in the confessional,—they are to have the understandings and consciences of all the Romish holders of forfeited property, and of all who ought to gain this property taken by heretics, in their own power, and to stimulate or to restrain them by their holy commands as they please. Thus, instead of making war the foundation, or warriors the guardians of religion, Satan has his ecclesiastics as the rulers of war—they have the mind, and the conscience, and the property of their poor slaves at their feet; and, when they see the convenient time for the church to move them, they are ready with a holy zeal and holy wisdom for the day of St. Bartholomew, or any other day that is best adapted for their purpose. The church is the watchword, and religion is the motive. So this is actually the case, even when they put a wretched being to the torture. Look at the Canon Laws for the regulation of the torture in their standards of Maynooth, and you see the Inquisitor smile and reason with his victim with most holy and tender compassion for his soul, as he sits counting his rosary to mark the number of lashes of the executioner,—it is all holy love.

So here, in this law of restitution, it is all treated as a pure case of conscience—a pure matter of religion—and St. Thomas, Sanchez, Sylvius, Benedict XIV., and all the Holy Popes and Jesuits sit in judgment on any act of settlement that can be made in an heretical country; and instruct the consciences of the faithful, that they are bound to restitution if they hold any forfeited property under it; and then mark the irresistible conclusion. If the faithful servants of the Church are

bound to restitution, then ten times more the enemies of the church must be bound to it too. (See Sec. 18)

Let the 18th Section of this Bull be compared with the evidence of Dr. Murray and Dr. Doyle on Property.

Let the whole Bull, and their present conduct, be compared with the confederated oath of the whole body of the Popish Bishops.

Let the past and present attacks of O'Connell on Church property, and on the properties of the Irish Protestant landlords be compared with his own evidence.

Let all the evidence, all the protestations, all the promises, and all the oaths of Bishops, Priests, and Laymen, abjuring the principle that "*no faith is to be kept with heretics*,"—let all these be compared with the 19th section of this one Bull, in which the principle of treaty, of agreement, of compact, of settlement of property by law, between Protestant Princes and Papists, is plainly and clearly laid down, and as plainly and clearly declared to be null and void, because disallowed by the Pope. Let it be remembered, that this is published by the Popish Bishops to govern the poor Roman Catholics of Ireland, since all their oaths were believed and they gained political power; and then let no man in the empire, except a Popish Priest—no man of truth, no man of common principle, common honesty, or common sense, ever say, that Popery is anything but an accursed apostasy from the Christian religion—a system more debased than Paganism in its morals; and let no man in any department of Church or State arrogate to himself the name of Christian, who, instead of making a base compromise with such a system, under the name of liberality or charity falsely so called, does not speak with truth, with candour and bold fidelity upon the subject, in his vocation as opportunity shall present itself or duty demand, and call in a spirit of Christian kindness and regard upon his poor Roman Catholic countrymen, who have been unfortunately born under its degrading influence, to come out, with their Protestant fellow subjects, and protest against it, as a system that cannot endure the investigation of any upright man, much less the judgment of the Holy God.

And now, with reference to the last section which has been translated, the 26th, what is the actual fact discovered by this Bull, with respect to England? It is this,—that every single acre of Church land that has ever been forfeited in that country, is claimed at this moment by the Pope, as subjected to his authority. He has granted a dispensation, indeed, to those who hold these lands, and who have returned to the bosom of the Church, so that they may keep possession of them. But, as to all that are held by heretics, let them rest assured, that if ever Popery should prevail in England, so as to be able to assume the reins of power, forfeiture, or subjection to the Pope, is the alternative proposed to them. Dugdale's Monasticon is on record against them. They may flatter themselves, as they do in their present indolent and ignorant security; but it is more likely, if Protestants continue in their present state, that the judgment of God will consign them to the dominion of the Papacy, within twenty years to come, than it was ten years ago, that half the Irish Bishops, and more than one-fourth of the income of the Irish clergy, should be thrown as a sop to Popery, by a Sovereign of the House of Hanover, and by the Protestant Members of a British Parliament,—that the Bible should be withdrawn as the standard of instruction, even for Protestant children, from the National Schools of Ireland—and that the Government of England should have been so thoroughly debased, that, in order to purchase the favour, and the political support of Popery, the almost entire patronage of the Irish Government should be thrown into the hands of a Papal perjurer. If every person in the empire can name the individual, and if every honest man in the empire is disgusted, not only with the openness and the impunity, but still more with the reward of his crimes, then names and circumstances are unnecessary to the illustration of the truth.

No further remarks are necessary on this Bull, except to request the reader to compare it with the examination of Dr. Slevin, the professor of Canon Law in the college of Maynooth—(pages 32 to 36)—and to mark his denial and evasions of the principles of this Bull, which is now set up by the Archbishops and Bishops of his province, for the restitution of that property which he pretends, in his evidence on oath, to be so secure.

3. The third Canon of the fourth Lateran Council, set up by the Roman Catholic Bishops for the extermination of Heretics out of their Dioceses, A.D., 1832.

"We excommunicate and anathemize every heresy which exalteth itself against this holy, orthodox, and Catholic faith, which we have set forth above: condemning all heretics, by whatsoever names they may be reckoned; *who have indeed diverse faces, but their tails are bound together, for they make agreement in the same folly.*"

"Let such persons, when condemned, be left to the secular powers who may be present, or to their officers, to be punished in a fitting manner, those who are of the clergy being first degraded from their orders; so that the goods of such condemned persons, being laymen, shall be confiscated; but in the case of clerks, be applied to the churches from which they received their stipends."

"But let those who are only marked with suspicion, be smitten with the sword of anathema, and shunned by all men until they make proper satisfaction, unless, according to the grounds of suspicion and the quality of the person, they shall have demonstrated their innocence by a proportionate purgation. So that if any shall persevere in excommunication for a twelvemonth, thenceforth they shall be condemned as heretics. And let the secular powers, whatever offices they may hold, be induced and admonished, and, if need be, compelled by ecclesiastical censure, that as they desire to be accounted faithful, they should, for the defence of their faith, publicly set forth on oath, that to the utmost of their power they will strive to exterminate from the lands under their jurisdiction all heretics who shall be denounced by the Church; so that whensoever any person is advanced, either to spiritual or temporal power, he be bound to confirm this decree with an oath."

"But if any temporal lord, being required and admonished by the Church, shall neglect to cleanse his country of this heretical filth, let him be bound with the chain of excommunication, by the Metropolitan, and the other co-provincial Bishops. And if he shall scorn to make satisfaction within a year, let this be signified to the Supreme Pontiff, that, thenceforth, he may declare his vassals to be absolved from their fidelity to him, and may expose his land to be occupied by the Catholics, who, having exterminated the heretics, may, without contradiction, possess it, and preserve it in purity of faith: saving the right of the chief lord, so long as he himself presents no difficulty and offers no hindrance in this matter: the same law, nevertheless being observed concerning those who have not lords in chief."

"But let the Catholics, who, having taken the sign of the cross, have girded themselves for the extermination of the heretics, enjoy the same indulgence, and be armed with the same privilege as is conceded to those who go to the assistance of the Holy Land."

"But we decree also, to subject to excommunication, the believers, the receivers, the defenders, the abettors of the heretics; firmly determining that if any one, after he has been marked with excommunication, shall refuse to make satisfaction within a twelvemonth, he be thenceforth of right in very deed infamous, and be not admitted to public offices or councils, nor to elect for any thing of the sort, nor to give evidence. Let him also be intestable, so as neither to have power to bequeath, nor to succeed to any inheritance."

"Moreover, let no man be obliged to answer him in any matter, but let him be compelled to answer others. If, haply, he be a judge, let his sentence have no force, nor let any causes be brought for his hearing. If he be an advocate, let not his pleading be admitted. If a notary, let the instruments drawn up by him be invalid, and be condemned with their damned author. And we charge that the same may be observed in similar cases. But if he be a clerk, let him be deposed from every office and benefice, that where there is the greatest fault, the greatest vengeance may be exercised."

"But if any shall fail to shun such persons, after they have been pointed out by the Church, let them be compelled, by the sentence of excommunication, to make fitting satisfaction. Let the clergy by no means administer the sacraments of the Church to such pestilent persons, nor presume to commit them to Christian

burial, nor receive their alms nor oblations; otherwise let them be deprived of their office, to which they must not be restored without the special indulgence of the Apostolic See. In like manner any regulars on whom also this may be inflicted, that they shall not retain their privileges in that diocese in which they shall have dared to perpetrate the said excesses."

"But because some, under the semblance of godliness, *but denying the power thereof*, as the Apostle says, assume to themselves the authority of preaching; when the same Apostle says, '*How shall they preach except they be sent.*' All who, being prohibited, or not sent, shall dare publicly or privately to usurp the office of preaching, shall be bound with the chain of excommunication, and unless they immediately repent, shall be smitten with other suitable punishment."

"We add, moreover, that every Archbishop or Bishop shall either by himself or his Archdeacon, or other honest and suitable persons, twice, or at least once every year, go round his own parish (diocese) in which there shall be a report that heretics inhabit—and there shall compel three or more men of credible testimony, or if it shall seem expedient, the whole neighbourhood to swear, that if they shall know any heretics there, or any holding secret conventicles, or differing from the ordinary conversation, life, and morals of the faithful, they shall endeavour to give information of it to the Bishop; but the Bishop himself shall cite the persons accused in his presence, who, unless they shall have cleared themselves from the crime alleged against them, or, if after having cleared themselves they shall relapse into their former perfidy, let them be punished according to the canons. But, if any of them, with damnable obstinacy, rejecting the religion of an oath, shall, perhaps, be unwilling to swear, let them on that very ground be considered as heretics."

"We will, therefore, and command, and in virtue of obedience strictly enjoin, that for the diligent performance of these things, the Bishops shall diligently unite throughout their dioceses, if they wish to escape canonical vengeance; for, if any Bishop shall have been negligent, or remiss in purifying his diocese from the leaven of heretical pravity, when this shall be made to appear, by certain proofs, he shall both be deposed from his Episcopal office, and another shall be substituted in his place, who shall be both willing and able to confound heretical pravity."

Thus the duty of exterminating heretics is being inculcated, silently; but surely, as a matter of conscience and religion. This was denied by Bishops Doyle, Murray, and others, when it was their interest to blind the public; but the bold reception of this Canon by the assembled Bishops, as one of the laws of the Irish Church, so late as 1832, fixes the crime indelibly upon them.

4. The Papal Bull asserting the temporal power of the Pope, and fully recognized by the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland, 1832.

'*Of not impeding the execution of Citations, Mandates, and other provisions of the Court of Rome, or the Apostolic See.*

"Section 5.—Besides, we ordain and define *that all and every the governors, rulers, presidents of any places, territories, and cities of a state, not only immediately, but* EVEN MEDIATELY, SUBJECT IN TEMPORALS TO THE APOSTOLIC SEE; and, moreover, all præfects and presidents of provinces of the same state, though supported by any privileges or faculties whatsoever, even of legates a latere, and moreover that the Prolegate of Avignon, and even the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, even our own legates a latere, and their ministers and officials, ought to be comprehended and considered as comprehended in this same decree.

"Section 6.—And, since in impeding this execution of citations, of mandates, and other provisions of the Court of Rome, or the Apostolic See, litigants, or those whose interest it is, that the aforesaid executions should be hindered, for the most part take the lead, or certainly are in the blame and fault, or others who have no interest in the causes or the matters which are treated of, or notaries or public scribes who refuse to do the acts necessary to fulfil executions of this sort, and to

discharge the duties of their office. We, wishing opportunely to provide, on every side, for the total abolition of this intolerable pravity, and desiring that those who are not moved with becoming reverence for the apostolic eminence may be led in their duty by the fear of punishment—We, of our own like will and authority as aforesaid, by this our constitution ever to remain in force, ordain, and decree, that all and singular persons, as well seculars as ecclesiastics and regulars, of what dignity, state, grade, and pre-eminence, or order soever they be, having any interest whatsoever in the causes or other matters which are treated of, who, either by themselves or by any others, under pretence of any colour whatever, shall have dared to hinder, or cause to be hindered, citations and commissions of causes decreed, or to be decreed hereafter, or any other mandates of the Court of Rome, or apostolic rescripts containing either justice or mercy, that they should not be committed to execution according to their tenor, or who, under pretence of any colour, shall have recourse to any secular persons, or ecclesiastics, or regulars appointed in any dignity or order, or to their officials publicly or privately by themselves, or by any other, let them lose their cause, and let them, by the very act, lose every right competent to them, as well that which they seek as that which they possess, in the matter, and pertaining to the matter in question.

"Section 7.—But all other persons, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, or regulars, who have no interest in canons or affairs of this sort, impeding or affording aid, counsel, or favor, openly or seeretly, directly or indirectly, to those who impede the execution of citations of this sort, commissions of causes, and any other mandates whatsoever, or rescripts and apostolical provisions as aforesaid, of whatsoever order, grade, condition, or pre eminence they may be. If they be laymen, let them incur, *ipso facto*, the sentence of excommunication; but if they be ecclesiastics or regulars, let them incur, *ipso facto*, the penalty of suspension, as well from the exercise of their orders as of any office or dignity whatsoever from which (except as to excommunication in the article of death), they cannot obtain the benefit of absolution from any other than the Roman Pontiff for the time being.

"Section 9.—Notwithstanding both apostolical constitutions, decrees, and statutes, even confirmed by apostolical authority, or any privileges, indults, and concessions whatsoever, or any possession and custom, even for time immemorial, and coloured title (*titulo colorato*) resulting from it, even though corroborated by the knowledge, sufferance, and toleration of the Apostolic See, and any other things to the contrary whatsoever; or if any indult should have been granted to any persons, jointly or severally, by the same See, that they should not be interdicted, suspended, and excommunicated, by apostolic letters, not making mention fully, expressly, and word for word, of an indult of this sort; which indult we decree that it shall not in any degree profit them, by whatsoever authority they may be protected from being subjected to the sentence and penalties herein mentioned.

"Section 10.—We do not intend, by these presents, in any degree to derogate from the privileges, grants, and indults conceded by us, or the Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, to some places, states, provinces, or kingdoms, that their causes should not be taken out of their own territories, provided that the citations, commissions of causes, and all other mandates whatsoever, and apostolical provisions may obtain due execution within them.

"Section 11.—But we will that this constitution and decree, after they have been affixed and published on the doors of the Lateran Church and of the Cathedral of the Prince of the Apostles, also of the Apostolical Chancery and the General Court in the Citatorian Mount, and in the Plain of the Field of Flora outside the city, as is the custom, shall afterwards reach to, and restrain, all and singular the individuals as well within as without the Court of Rome, as effectually as if they had been personally and by name intimated to them; and that the same entire faith shall be given even to printed copies of them, subscribed with the hand of a notary, and fortified with the seal of a person appointed in ecclesiastical dignity, as well in court as out of court, in every country as would be given to these presents themselves, if they were exhibited or shown.

"Section 12—Therefore let no human being whatsoever infringe, or with rash audacity contravene this instrument of our confirmation, statute, decree, mandate, will, and derogation; but if any one shall presume to attempt this, let him know

that he will incur the indignation of the omnipotent God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul."

This Bull settles the question as to the designs of Popery. Under the pretence of a spiritual supremacy, the object—and it is here fully asserted—is to erect a temporal dominion.

5. The Papal Bull, "Pastor Bonus," of universal dispensation, for all sorts of crimes, public and private, set up for the government of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by the Romish Bishops of Leinster, 1832.

Section 1st.—"Therefore beside many other matters the tribunals of the Court of Rome established for various sorts of causes, have willed most especially, even from the most ancient times, that there should exist in it and be preserved perpetually, never to fail, the office of the Apostolical Pœnitentiary, like the fountain open to the house of David for the washing of the sinner, to which all the faithful from every region of the Christian world might be able safely to betake themselves, each for their spiritual diseases however secret, whether in person or by secret letters, even suppressing their own names, and might immediately obtain convenient medicine for their wounds by a secret and gratuitous cure, such as might be desired by all. The plan of which so renowned and so salutary an institution was very grateful to the heart of the Roman Pontiffs for the time being, and such utility did they experience from the ministry of this office in the administration of the church, that formerly they did not hesitate to commit to the same office to be settled, not only causes belonging to the interior forum of penance, but even many others pertaining to the mercy and justice of the external forum."

Section 6.—We grant, therefore, to our Major Pœnitentiarius, and for the time being, that he can and may be able to absolve and command to be absolved, all and each of every quality, dignity and degree; the ecclesiastical seculars and regulars of every order, congregation, society, and institute; also all lay persons of both sexes, as well present as absent, from all and every sort of faults, crimes, and excesses—(culpis, criminibus, et excessibus)—*howsoever weighty and atrocious*, (quantumcumque, gravibus et atrôcibus) as well public as private, whensoever and howsoever committed and perpetrated; also from all censures and ecclesiastical punishments, decreed on account of the aforesaid crimes and incurred by them, even in cases reserved, not only to the ordinaries and superiors of the regulars, but even specially to ourselves and to the Holy See, and even by the letters which are yearly promulgated on the day of the Supper of our Lord, (that is the Bulla Cœnæ Domini,) having enjoined always for the same according to the nature of the fault, some salutary penance and other things which are to be enjoined by law.—"He can absolve and command to be absolved, to wit, the Regulars from the faults and crimes aforesaid in either tribunal: but the ecclesiastical seculars, and laymen from the aforesaid faults and crimes only in the tribunal of conscience: but these same ecclesiastical seculars and laymen in either forum, when it is treated of public censures, decreed by law, specially reserved to the Apostolic See, even those declared by name—or if it is treated about those decreed by name by a man, then, when the jurisdiction of the delegate or of the other judge by whom they were decreed shall have expired—or when absolution by the same judges or others shall have been sent to the Roman Pontiff and the aforesaid Holy See—or when those bound by the censure are prevented by a lawful impediment from approaching the presence of the judges, or of those who so bound them, or any other or others to whom they ought by law to come."

"Section 9.—Secret heretics who have communicated their heresies to none, and with none, the same Major Pœnitentiarius can absolve or command to be absolved only in the tribunal of conscience without any abjuration to be made before the ordinary or the inquisitor, which is also equally lawful for him when the aforesaid secret heretics shall have performed any outward acts by which they could be known to be heretics, provided that no one as far as they know and believe, shall have known or perceived the same acts, although from their nature they are knownable and capable of being brought to knowledge.

Section 10.—But public heretics or apostates from the Catholic faith, he can absolve or command to be absolved only in these cases, in which it is not necessary to denounce accomplices, when namely, those accomplices are either dead, or are in places long since infected with heresy and live in them not however when the accomplices live in those countries in which the office of the Holy Inquisition is in force."

Section 11.—But Princes and others having the right of government, even under the name of Vicar, (or a Lord Lieutenant), and kingdoms and republics, or persons having the administration of one or the other, or accustomed to have it, also Bishops and other superior Prelates in public cases which are contained in the aforesaid letters, which are wont to be read on the day of the Supper of our Lord, he (the Major Pœnitentiarius) can by no means absolve or command to be absolved, even though the Roman Pontiff shall have been so hindered on account of infirmity or any other cause, so that he cannot quickly be consulted.

"Section 17.—He (the Major Pœnitentiarius) can dispense and order others to dispense, in either tribunal, with homicides and outlaws and other criminals, so that they may lawfully be received into a religious order and make a profession in it, and so that even those who have committed murder, (qui homicidia voluntaria commiserint) *may be able to enter any of the religious orders as Clergymen, and become professors in it*, on this condition, however, *when it shall appear to be befitting, that they shall have first satisfied the exchequer and the party*; and, moreover, by taking care lest in the time of their noviciate they may take holy orders or ascend to higher degrees, but this may be by no means permitted to them, till after they have made their profession; but he can dispense and command a dispensation to be given, that in those orders which they have before undertaken, they may minister even in the time of their noviciate as often as any reasonable cause requires it; though, if perchance they shall not have persevered in a religious order, but have returned to secular life, they may remain *ipso facto* suspended, even from the exercise of the orders of that degree which they had before received."

"Section 28.—He (the Major Pœnitentiarius) may have the power of relaxing only in the Tribunal of Conscience, all sorts of oaths in which it is discovered that no prejudice is done to any one."

The "*any one*" here, we know, refers only to persons or circumstances in which the interests of the Church are not concerned; for where that is the case, the oaths themselves have no obligation whatever, and every Bishop can pronounce them null and void.

"Section 29.—All sorts of simple vows, howsoever made, although confirmed by a private oath, even of entering into a religious order, of chastity, of visiting the sepulchre of our Lord, or the sacred thresholds of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul of the city, or the sepulchre of St. James of Compostella, the same Major Pœnitentiarius can, by dispensing, commute into other works of piety, even to the effect of contracting matrimony, when the case is a vow of chastity, or of other things which in themselves render matrimony unlawful; also he can put off the fulfilment of vows, and absolve from transgressions of them, and also command that they be commuted, deferred, and absolved by dispensation, the causes of such commutating, deferring, and absolving being considered, and certain clauses being added, which the Pœnitentiary in such cases has been accustomed laudably to add, and those things being enjoined which it has been accustomed to enjoin."

These are some of the ruthless laws of this sanguinary code. They are not carried out in all their rigour, just because the spirit of the age and the power of the State will not allow of it. But they are adopted; they constitute the code by which the priesthood are governed and directed; they are gradually being introduced into the entire system of this form of religion; their principles, if not their details, are wrought into the faith and feelings of the people, and they must ultimately work, if not prevented by Providence, the most fearful results. They stand opposed to all public and private rights. Men,

as individuals, are stripped of all the blessings of freedom, and the exercise of their judgment and conscience. States are reduced to a non-entity, and denied, properly speaking, all power, both in legislation and government. How far this experiment will succeed, time will develope; but if permitted to accomplish its natural results, these countries must lose their identity as an independent nation, and only form limbs of one monstrous despotism.

3. Institutions, adapted to carry out these principles and laws, are being revived, or created, on a large and extended scale.

We have the society of Jesuits re-organized and spreading themselves everywhere. The principles and rules of Loyola, and his famous sect, are, for anything which appears, adopted again as the basis of a new crusade against the peace of the world, and the religion of the Son of GOD. It is impossible to define the nature of this society, when its one great rule, carried out in universal practice, seems to have been that of DECEPTION. The object it proposes is to support the Papacy, in all its claims, against every interest; and adopting the principle that the end sanctifies the means, it has never scrupled to employ every mode of deceit to accomplish its purpose. Jesuits have in former times perambulated the world, in every possible guise and character. The orders of religion, the learned professions, the avocations of trade and commerce, and even the meanest mendicity, have furnished them with a mantle, beneath which they have accomplished their deceptions. By an inimitable plausibility, they have wormed themselves into all kinds of society, to infuse the poison of their principles. They have succeeded, to an amazing extent, in obtaining the instruction of the rising generation; they have politely, and courteously, whispered mischief in the ears of the fair sex; they have become the fathers' confessors to most of the Popish Monarchs and Statesmen of the countries of Europe; they have, in their own persons, assumed the most influential posts, in both Church and State; they have interfered with the regular functions of even the clergy themselves; and by a profound, ghostly, and hidden system of lying, they obtained, for many years, the mastery of the Popish world. Their course was so pestiferous, their principles and practice so subversive of the very foundations of morality, and the confusion they introduced into all things, became so complete, that even all the Popish Sovereigns in Europe banished them from their territories, and the Pope was obliged to abolish the order.

Strange to say, this Society has been restored. Who are Jesuits none can tell. They are angels of night. The darkness covers them. Their movements are unseen. It is their business, like their great prototype, to "*lie in wait to deceive.*" Many things amongst us begin to present so *un*-English an appearance; to be so completely at variance with a straight-forward and honest course; to be so involved in perplexity and mystery; and, moreover, to shadow forth so much which is dark and threatening, that, it really requires no great skill to select PLACES, OFFICES, and even CHURCHES, and pointing the finger to the spot, and to the event say,—A JESUIT MUST BE THERE.

THE MONASTIC *system is also being reared in this country and its*

dependencies, as rapidly as the means can be procured. The confraternities of monkery, of different orders, once desolated the nations of the world like a flight of locusts in the East. Under the guise of religious vows, seclusion from the world, holy contemplations, the purgation of the soul from the filth of sin, the performance of Divine offices, and the promotion of works of charity, the idle vagabonds of all nations betook themselves to the Monastic life. Mendicity was the profession of nearly all the orders of Friars, Monks, and Nuns, when they were commenced by their founders; but, they invariably ended in the acquisition of great wealth, the purchase of land, the erection of large and commodious houses, and, as a consequence, a life of sin and profligacy by the inmates. The wealth, resources, and much of the population of nations, have been gradually swallowed up by this system. It was always fostered by the Papacy, no doubt for two reasons, it deducted something from the strength of the State, and gave it to the dominion of the Church. These corporations of beggars, by the long accumulation of their gains, became to a great extent, the lords of the soil. Every nation has been obliged to *reform* this system or break it up. This was the case in this nation at the period of the Reformation; and even in Papal Spain, at this moment, we find, that whilst they banish a Protestant Missionary, and prohibit the spread of evangelical knowledge, they are breaking up the Monastries with no sparing hand.

These societies are now re establishing themselves in this country. Besides the religious houses already existing, and sedulously at work, we find by the *Catholic Directory* of the present year, that a building is contemplated in Bermondsey, and subscriptions are solicited for a Society of Sisters of Charity, or Mercy, who are destined to visit all prisons, poor-houses, and cottages, to administer relief and to teach Popery.

"*The Propagandi Fide,*" or the Society for the propagation of the faith, on the profession of the best Popish authorities, is employing its utmost resources to proselyte this country. To us Protestants, many of the documents of the Popish Church are not very intelligible. In the *Directory* for the present year, for instance, we find an address from the Vicar Apostolic for the London district, prohibiting the Priesthood from allowing certain Frenchmen the privilege of performing Divine service in their places of worship; and also, informing the "faithful," that they were not allowed to hear mass in their own dwellings, from the same class of persons, unless regularly licensed. A list is then given of those licensed French Priests who are permitted to perform the service of the Church. The number, recollect, is limited to the London district only. How many of these men are found at work in this locality alone? *One hundred and ten.* Now, these hundred and ten French Priests, must, of course, either belong to the Society for the propagation of the faith, or to the Jesuits, or both. If other parts of England are favoured to an extent equal to that of the London district, then our conversion may be much nearer than any of us imagine.

In addition to this, we find another most powerful and active Association recently formed, and called "THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE

OF GREAT BRITAIN." It is stated, "That the objects of the Institute shall be limited to the exposure of the falsehood of the calumnious charges made against the Catholic religion, to the defence of the real tenets of Catholicity, to the circulation of all useful knowledge, upon the above-mentioned subjects; and to the protection of the poorer classes of Catholics in the enjoyment of their religious principles and practices." The defence, exposition, and extension of the tenets of the Popish faith, are stated to be the avowed objects of the Institute. It could not, possibly, propose much more. The press, it seems, is to be employed for these purposes—and that which is so powerful an instrument, for good and evil in other departments may be made, no doubt, subservient to the interests of Popery by these several means. This Institute is now filling the nation with its Tracts, which in many of the large towns are left at the door of the householders each Sabbath morning.

4. The extent to which this revival of the ecclesiastical system of Popery has already been carried may be just glanced at. The following list is taken from the *Congregational Magazine*:—

Number of Chapels in England and Wales, in		1792.....	35
Do.	Do.	1824.....	357
Do.	Do.	1839.....	453
Number of Chapels in Scotland, in		1829.....	51
Do.	Do.	1839.....	79
Number of Roman Catholics in Great Britain, obtained by order of the House of Lords, in		1767...	67,916
Do.	Do.	1780...	69,876
	Probable number in	1839...	2,000,000

The Chapels but very imperfectly indicate the number of members belonging to this community, because of the change of their congregations. One of the places of worship in London, or Liverpool, will be visited by several congregations in the course of the day, to attend mass, to the amount of many thousands.

But it is not to the number of places of worship every where rising up, that we are to look for an indication of the strength of Popery, even in England. There is something much more vital and powerful than these external means. We refer to the well-organized hierarchy; consisting of Vicars Apostolic, Bishops with their appointed Sees, and an indefatigable and laborious priesthood, all regularly, constantly, and universally at work. A skilful and talented pastorate, with two millions of men, many of whom rank amongst the nobility and possess immense property, and are entirely devoted to the Church, must make a deep and powerful impression on the general state of society. Whilst Protestants are divided and subdivided; whilst they are indulging in sectarian jealousies, and angry contentions with each other; whilst coolness, distance, and antipathy is so great, that it is extremely difficult to get any two societies of consistent Christians amongst us to think alike, either as regards their own common faith, or their duty with respect to the enemy: we never hear of any division amongst them; they seem to have one "*faith, one hope,*" and, indeed, one heart, and, to a great extent, one purse.

This is not all: The North American Colonies, the West India

Islands, the Cape of Good Hope, the Continent of India, and Australia, are being regularly organized as Popish Sees, and are filling with Bishops and Priests. These establishments are, in part, supplied at the nation's expence. The public money is now employed to equip and send out Bishops and Priests, and partially to maintain them, in the distant colonies of the empire. How this can be consistently done, it is difficult to divine. By what right any Government can apply the public money, without Act of Parliament, to set up a heirarchy which is avowedly alien to the religion and constitution of the country, must be determined by a more learned authority! The fact, however, is so; and those Protestant Missionary Societies which have, for a long series of years, been toiling in these distant regions, to sow the seed of evangelical truth, to plant in these infant nations the principles of British Christianity, and attach them to the parent state by the ties of a common religion; now, suddenly, find themselves confronted and opposed by regular establishments of Popish Priests, PAID, PATRONIZED, AND PUBLICLY RECOMMENDED BY THE GOVERNMENT. Without debate, or even any kind of notice being taken of the matter in the British Parliament, or the least knowledge of what was going on by the people of this country, we are suddenly startled by the fact, that, whilst Protestants were asleep, or wrangling, the Popish Church, with silent and stealthy industry, has established her influence and authority in all the colonies of the empire.

A most curious and important incident has occurred in connexion with our colonial aggrandizement of the Papacy. The Popish Bishop of Malta was invited by, I believe, the Earl of Aberdeen, to accept the situation of one of his Majesty's Council for conducting the government of that island. The Parliamentary oath, such as Roman Catholic members take, being requisite, the Bishop entertained scruples respecting taking it, and required time to send to his Holiness, at Rome, to know if he might take the oath and accept the office. The answer of the Pope stated, that he (the Pope) *did not approve of that oath, and that he never had sanctioned it.* This letter decided the question with the Bishop, and he refused the honour for himself and his Church, on the ground that the oath was not approved by his Holiness. This letter came before the House of Lords, on a motion for papers on this question; and informed the British public, for the first time, that the oath by which Members are admitted into Parliament is disapproved at Rome. A question of some interest arises out of this case—*Can an oath be binding on a Papist, which is disapproved by the Pope?* The answer is, CERTAINLY NOT. The imprimatur of the infallible head is necessary to give currency to any doctrine, or rule of discipline, in the Popish Church; and hence the Roman Catholic oath is, in fact, just as it is treated, an utter nullity.

But it is neither to Great Britain, nor to the colonies, that we are to look for Popery in its glory, but to Ireland. Here it stands out in all the pomp and pride of its strength. The diocesan and parochial systems obtain in the greater part of the country. Every district has its Bishop, and every parish its Priests. New, handsome, and spacious Chapels are rising up, in great numbers, in every part of the island; the National Schools are chiefly placed close to these places of worship,

and are entirely under the control of the Priests. Various religious houses, seminaries, and institutions appear in every quarter. By the superior bearing, education, talents, and numbers of the priesthood; by the constant employment of the confessional; by the withdrawal of the pure word of God from the people; by the exciting effects of its peculiar dogmas; by keeping up the eternal war cry of hatred against Protestants—by these united means, seven millions of people are held in a state of entire, absolute, unmitigated bondage to this awful despotism.

This is not all: The aggressive principle, in its most fearful form, has been universally instilled into this people. They hold themselves bound by considerations, more than human, to vindicate, promote, and extend their religion to the utter confusion and discomfiture of all who oppose their claims.

What are the aspects of Popery? This is one of them; a grand hierarchy exists in the bosom of the British empire, including some forty or fifty Bishops; a vast concourse of Priests of all grades and orders; numerous establishments of Jesuits, Missionaries, Monks, Nuns, Sisters of Charity, and Seminaries of Learning; institutions for the purpose of defending themselves, assaulting others, and filling the country with the poison of their literature; and the whole backed and supported by nine millions of willing, zealous, devoted, and undivided people. His Holiness of Rome stands on this eminence, regulates and directs this mighty moving mass, waves the wand of his authority and is cheerfully obeyed, sends forth his voice and is regarded as an oracle, nay, as the viceregent of God; asserts his absolute sway over the conscience, the judgment, and the final destinies of the soul, and is meekly submitted to as only exercising a Divine right. Will his Holiness, now that circumstances have given him such authority and power in this Kingdom, exercise it for the advantage of the nation? Will he direct these nine millions of willing hearts to pay an unfaultering allegiance to the throne, the constitution, the religion, and the laws of this country? To the throne, while he sits upon one himself; to the constitution, when he professes to be the head of a system infinitely transcending all human platforms of government; to the religion of the country, when his predecessors have uttered ten thousand curses against all its principles; to its laws, when he professes to be the fountain of law? This is more than can be expected from the most exalted virtue and benevolence. No: the millions which constitute the subjects of the Papal dominion in this nation, must, from a necessity *of moral causation*, yield their allegiance to the Holy See. The Pope again must maintain the principles and rights of the Papacy; and these principles and rights cannot but be in eternal opposition and hostility to the national and religious independence of the country; so that to calculate on the neutrality, or the friendly disposition of Popery to our institutions, is the perfection of absurdity. SHE has unquestionably taken her stand, we have to take ours. Her purpose to subvert Great Britain, or in other words to bring her over to the true faith, is fully made known. The shout of victory is heard already in every kind of note.

Mr. O'Connell exultingly proclaims it as certain. Dr. Mc Hale announces it, in his pastoral communications to his Clergy, as near. Mr. Spencer, and his countless multitude of praying men and women, who meet every Thursday, in England, France, Italy, and other places, believingly anticipate it in answer to their own supplications. The Pope puts on his tiara, and the Cardinals their scarlet and purple, in the joyful certainty that England is about again to become a gem in the crown of the one, and add its vermillion and lustre to the other. *From* the seven hills the shout of exultation reverberates through all the regions of this great apostacy on earth, till reaching the spirits of the lost and the regions of the damned, the fall of England is caught up as a theme of boundless exultation. The joy of Rome is echoed back by hell, and the two "powers of darkness," most like each other, join in one grand chorus to celebrate the downfall and doom of the fairest, the freest, the holiest, and the most happy spot ever found on this earth, since God drove man from his first fair paradise.

IV. THE THEOLOGICAL SYSTEM OF POPERY, NOT ONLY REMAINS UNCHANGED, BUT IS NOW RE-ASSERTED AND ZEALOUSLY PROMULGATED BY THE SERVICES OF THE CHURCH.

It is quite impossible to go largely into this question at present. The most suitable mode of bringing the matter home, is, to keep in mind the recent erection of some Popish Chapel, and to ask ourselves, as to the nature of the doctrine and service therein administered. The exterior of the building is seen to be most beautiful; its architecture chaste and classic; its sculpture and paintings in the finest style of those pleasing arts; its music and singing enchanting; the vestments of its officers splendid and imposing; and the entire arrangements such as to strike the senses and impress the imagination.

On the cushion of the pulpit reposes the holy Bible, the inspired Word of God; the covenant of our salvation: "*Profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*" How is this Divine, this all-sufficient, and perfect revelation treated? The Council of Trent says—"and perceiving that this truth and discipline (viz. the truth and discipline of the Gospel) are contained, both in written books and *unwritten traditions*, which have come down to us, either received by the Apostles from the lips of Christ himself, or transmitted by the hands of the same Apostles, under the dictation of the Holy Spirit; following the example of the orthodox fathers, doth *receive* and *reverence*, with EQUAL PIETY AND VENERATION, all the books of the Old, as of the New Testament, the same God being the author of both, and also of the *aforesaid traditions*, pertaining both to faith and manners, whether received from Christ himself, or dictated by the Holy Spirit, and preserved in the Catholic Church by continual succession."

Here we see that tradition and the Bible are placed in a state of perfect equality, and these traditions, whatever they may be—for as yet this is a secret—are only to be found in the Catholic Church. But lest this should be considered an old and worn out charge, let us hear a modern expositor of this doctrine. Dr. Wiseman says, "You often

hear of Catholics admitting *tradition*—sometimes of their receiving what they call the *unwritten* word of God." He then says in reference to this, "By the *unwritten* word of God, then, we mean a body of doctrines, which, in consequence of express declaration of the written word, we believe not to have been committed to writing, but delivered by Christ to his Apostles, and by the Apostles to their successors." Again—"Traditions, therefore, my brethren, or the doctrines delivered down, and the *unwritten* word of God, are *one and the same thing.*" Again—"Thus then, we allow of no authority but the word of God, *written or unwritten.*" Tradition, we see, is not only considered equal to the Scriptures in the writings of this popular teacher, but they are considered a part of the word of God itself. There, then, lies the Bible in the pulpit: Is it supreme; is it the standard of the doctrines taught; is it the basis of the faith of the preacher; is it the rule of privilege and duty; is it the only authoritative voice heard? No: it is merely a decoy; tradition, or the *unwritten* word, kept and preserved by the successors of the Apostles, is on an equality with it professedly, whilst practically, the word of God, as amongst the Jews of old, is "*made of none effect by these traditions.*" Let Protestants know that the traditions of Popery, so fully identified with the Divine law, consist of any thing which the Church has chosen to propound as her authoritative dicta to the people.

The same Reverend Divine observes respecting the Priesthood —"First, above all, he, (the disciple,) reveres and values the Sacred Volume revealed by God, which he places as the foundation stone of his faith in the *holiest* of his temple. But, beside it is also the rod of the children of Aaron, the *sceptre* of *power* and authority, the badge of dignity and *command,* which God hath given to the rulers and pastors of the Church; and in this also he recognizes the honourable right to claim a place *beside the other* in the Sanctuary, although with such distinctions as I shall just now explain." Again he says—"He, (that is the Lord) invests them, (the Priests) not only with great authority, but with power *equal with his own;* and, "whatever these men teach, is invested with that *Divine authority, which he, the disciple, had found in Christ by the evidence of his miracles.*" Thus, by the sacrament of orders, the Priest who appears before the people to inculcate the dogmas of the Church, and to administer the ordinances, is supposed to possess the same power, authority, and rights, as were possessed by the Son of God, and that his teaching is just as binding on the conscience as the word of God itself, being equally Divine. Thus are the Sacred Scriptures mutilated in every Popish Chapel.

Suppose, again, in one of these newly-erected places of worship, any one should urge the enquiry of the jailor, "*What must I do to be saved;*" the Council of Trent answers, and all the books of prayer and devotion which I have seen respond to the sentiment—"Whoever shall affirm that men are justified solely by the imputation of the righteousness of Christ, or the remission of sin, to the exclusion of grace and charity, (meaning infused grace and good works) which is shed abroad in their hearts and inheres in them; or that the

grace by which we are justified, is only the favour of God, *let him be accursed.*"

"Whosoever affirm that justifying faith is nothing else than confidence in the Divine mercy, by which sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, or that it is confidence only by which we are justified, *let him be accursed.*"

Thus is the enquiry answered. The scriptural doctrine is denied; the blessed merit of the Saviour repudiated; the simplicity of faith and its sufficiency, in order to salvation rejected; and the enquirer is sent to the merits of the saints, put upon the obligation of rendering himself worthy before God by good works, and is thus kept in a state of bondage and guilt.

Again, in every place of Popish worship, the Mass is considered the most sacred, the most necessary, and is the most diligently attended. Indeed, like the sacrifices of the Jewish temple, it is regarded as the substance of religion; so much so, that in many Roman Catholic countries it alone is observed with any stated regularity, to the exclusion of instruction of any kind. The Council of Trent teaches on this subject—

"And since the same Christ who once offered himself by his blood on the altar of the cross, is contained in this Divine sacrifice which is celebrated in the Mass, and offered without blood, the Holy Council teaches that this sacrifice is really *propitiatory*, and made by Christ himself; so that if we approach God contrite and penitent, with a true heart and sincere faith, with fear and reverence, we obtain mercy and find grace to reasonable aid. For surely God is appeased by this oblation, bestows grace and the gift of repentance, and the forgiveness of ALL CRIMES AND SINS, HOW GREAT SOEVER; for the sacrifice which is now administered by the Priests IS ONE AND THE SAME AS THAT WHICH CHRIST THEN OFFERED ON THE CROSS, only the mode of offering is different. And the fruits of that bloody oblation are plentifully enjoyed by means of this unbloody one: so untrue is it that the latter derogates from the glory of the former. Wherefore it is properly offered, according to *apostolical tradition*, not only for the *sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of living believers; but also for the dead in Christ, who are not yet thoroughly justified.*"

Hence in the consecration of the Host, the Priest uses the following prayer:—

"Accept, O Holy Father, Almighty and Eternal God, this unspotted Host, which I thy unworthy servant offer unto thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offences, and negligences, and for all here present; as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead; that it may avail both me and them unto life everlasting. Amen."—*Roman Missal.*

Thus the people are taught that the Mass is a true sacrifice, that the wafer they receive is the real Saviour in his body, soul, and Divinity, and that they obtain by its reception the certain remission of all sins and crimes, though of the most heinous description.

In like manner in the presentation of prayer and supplication, whether in one of these temples of idolatry, or in private, we find the people are directed to offer their devotions in the name of an innumerable host of intercessors, but only in a very indirect manner by Christ.

A few specimens taken from the Missal, which answers to the book of Common Prayer, and is in constant use by the people, will shew

the pernicious nature of this branch of their service. We give the following :—

" O God, whose right hand saved blessed Peter from being drowned, whilst he walked upon the sea, and delivered his fellow Apostle Paul from the bottom thereof, when he had been a third time shipwrecked: mercifully hear us, and grant that, by THE MERITS OF BOTH, we may obtain a happy eternity."

Again—

" O God, who grantest us to celebrate the translation of the ashes of blessed Thomas (a Beckett), thy martyr and bishop, we humbly beseech thee, that, by his MERITS AND PRAYERS, we may pass from vice to virtue, and from the prison of the flesh to an eternal kingdom."

Again—

" Almighty and Eternal God, who hast made this day by the celebration of the festival of blessed Swithin, thy confessor and bishop, grant to thy Church that we may obtain heaven, THROUGH HIS INTERCESSION, whose memory we celebrate on earth."

Another—

" O God, who hast honoured the order of the Carmelites with the singular title of the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God: mercifully grant that we who solemnize this her commemoration, may, by the *aid of her prayers*, arrive at eternal happiness."

One more—

" O Almighty and Merciful God, who hast granted blessed Jane Frances, inflamed with the love of thee, a wonderful degree of fortitude through all the paths of life, and wast pleased, through her, to adorn thy Church with A NEW OFFSPRING: grant by HER MERITS and PRAYERS, that we also, sensible of our weakness, confide in thy strength, may overcome all adversities with the help of thy heavenly grace."

Now in all these acts of supplication we have an express recognition of various Saints as intercessors, of human works, many of them imaginary or profane, as meritorious—every kind of blessing sought, even up to the point of eternal life, through these means, to the entire neglect of the one sacrifice of Christ, the merits of his blood, and the glory of his intercession.

Many persons ask in the triumph of an ignorant charity—Why, what harm is there in the erection of a Popish Chapel? What evil can arise out of our contributing to so good a work? The answer is —It is the focus of all these monstrous falsehoods. It is the theatre of a conclave of men who arrogate to themselves the power and the prerogatives of the Messiah; of a system which places tradition on a level with the written Word of God; of a mode of teaching which gives a false answer to the most momentous enquiry; of a service which is not simply superstitious, but which blasphemously assumes to repeat the sacrifice of the Saviour of the world, and in a mere wafer to give the whole *God-man* to every communicant; whilst in the devotions of the sanctuary and the closet, the poor sinner is directed to an endless number of fictitious Saints for salvation.

These places of worship are multiplying in every direction; let them go on, and the land must be covered with midnight darkness. This is the most frightful view of the whole case. To extinguish the light of Divine truth; to propagate a mighty mass of

bewildering dogmas in the place of the verities of the Word of God; to erect *another* altar in the place of that on which the Saviour died; to set up a gaudy and sensual superstition to supplant the pure and spiritual worship of Almighty God; and, then, by these different means engulph the people in a vortex of deadly and degrading ignorance and idolatry, is a state of things which can only be reflected upon with horror and dismay. Let us not deem it impossible. Jerusalem, the place of the penticostal effusion of the Holy Spirit, has long lain a desolation; Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, and the most celebrated places of ancient times, have lost their primitive lustre, and sunk into ruin; and even this Rome herself, the "*Mother of Harlots,*" once presented the aspect of truth and purity; here the Apostle laboured, and to this Church, the most rich, full, and elaborate of his Epistles was sent.

To spread the desolations of this spiritual night, would prove an infinitely greater calamity than the loss of constitutional freedom and national prosperity. The aggressions of Popery all tend to this. The purpose is the extinction of true religion, that in the absence of its reproving light she may revel in all the obscenity of her crimes. In what can the triumph of Popery issue, but the overthrow of, not merely the National Church, on which, as a first object, no doubt, she has fixed the steady glare of her serpent eye; but also, all the other Churches of the nation and of the world.

But even the destruction of the several Churches of Christendom, considered merely as ecclesiastical establishments, is as nothing, compared with the MORAL consequences of the spread of this deadly plague. Christianity is a GREAT TRUTH, the practical belief of which leads to the possession of blessed privileges, a holy state, active piety, and eternal life. It is the business of Popery to lead mankind from this truth into a state of bewildering error. But this error is not innoxious. It is not a mere eclipse and obscuration of the "Sun of Righteousness." Popery puts a "*lie in the right hand*" of all its disciples, and hence the general effect of its extension through society must be its entire corruption.

Unhappily this sentiment stands fully corroborated in the history of all countries. Popery once enjoyed, for ages, the undisputed possession of all the nations of Europe. What was the result? In every instance, amongst other calamities, the entire extinction of all *Christian morality* followed in the train of Popish ascendancy. Society has, in all cases, become so corrupt, that derangements fatal to peace, security, and prosperity, have ensued, till being undermined and sapped at its foundations, the whole fabric has finally fallen.

But the demoralization of society is not the worst feature of the case. Men are accountable to God; they are immortal as well as moral beings; they are capable of salvation as well as service to their country and fellow-men. The dissemination of the dogmas of Popery; the performance of its idolatrous services; the education of the people in its falsehoods, must have the effect of bringing ruin upon their souls. This finishes the catalogue of woes produced by this pestiferous religion.

These are some of the aspects in which Popery presents itself to view. A question of great importance, and on which many good men have looked with deep interest, viz, Whether the Roman Catholic Church possessed any latent redeeming principles within herself, which might lead to a reformation? is now fully and fearfully answered. No such process is going on; but the very reverse. She scorns the notion of change; re-asserts her claim to infallibility; vindicates and sets forth her most obnoxious usurpations of power and sovereignty; denounces all Protestant Christians as heretics, to be abhorred and put down; exhibits without a blush, in every form, the most objectionable and absurd dogmas of her superstition; and is, evidently, rallying all her forces to plant the withering influence of her hierarchy in every part of the world.

One of two things alone remain to Protestants;—either to SURRENDER, or to FIGHT. Popery has, most assuredly, taken her stand. No mutilation of her system; no dilution of her tenets; no compromise of her imagined rights; no blending and intermingling her principles with our's; no lowering *her religion as one, amongst many* of equal claims,—which seems to be the fond notion of many modern theorists;—no meeting us half way need ever be expected. She has passed the rubicon; she has drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard; she has so fulminated her decrees and proclaimed her purpose, that no room is left for retreat. A war of religious principle has commenced, the most momentous and fearful which has occurred in the history of the world. It is well that it should have happened in our times; and that the chosen field for the combat should be England. There is more on this ground to be gained or lost than ever could have occurred in any other place or age. The Protestant religion and civilization have raised this country to a much higher state of intelligence, wealth, freedom, power, virtue, and happiness than were ever possessed by any other people. These blessings inflame the lust, excite the cupidity, and awaken the ambition of Rome. The prize being great, the exertions to obtain it will correspond.

This, then, is the case before us. Let it not be imagined that we have nothing to do with it; that we are crazy volunteers in a Don Quixotic expedition against windmills. Everything we hold dear is involved in this question. Are we CHRISTIANS? The religion we hold more valuable than life, is in danger of being corrupted and despoiled. Are we BRITONS? Our national independence, our constitutional rights, our equal laws, and our glory as a nation, are in jeopardy. Are we FREE MEN? Our rights of conscience, our freedom of judgment, our indefeasible claim to possess the Bible, and worship God under our own vine and fig-tree, are all in hazard of forfeiture? Are we in possession of the blessings of DOMESTIC LIFE? Let this system prevail, and, through the confessional, the secrets of our families will be revealed; the freedom of confidence and love between husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and domestics, be broken in upon, and every movement be directed by an invisible spy. Are we leaving a POSTERITY TO INHERIT OUR NAMES? Our children are in jeopardy of being caught in the arms of this monstrous Moloch, and offered in sacrifice at his shrine.

My theme requires that I should set forth the duties of Christians at this eventful era. A thousand things might be suggested: I shall only mention two—UNION and PRAYER.

I confess, indeed, that the hope of an extensive *union* of Christians is, with me, very faint. Yet this is unquestionably essential. It is the duty of every man who wishes to preserve the Protestantism of the country to unite with all who are like-minded with himself. What are the elements to be so united, and what is the hope of success? The religious principle must be elicited, and brought to bear on this subject. It is a matter of undoubted duty in every man who believes in the Bible, to join in a determined opposition to the encroachments of Popery. It is, in these times of peril and danger, imperative in every member of the Church of England to unite with all parties, on terms of confidence and concord, though they may not be strict in their conformity, if willing, honestly, to oppose this swelling deluge. It is time the highest dignitaries of the Church, together with all the intermediate grades, down to the humblest country curate, came forward in one mighty phalanx in this cause. This Church, in all her fundamental articles of religion, the platform of her government, the administration of ordinances, and the scriptural form of her services, is essentially and diametrically opposed to all the principles of the Papacy. Let her again emulate the love of her martyred saints, the learning of her profound and elaborate scholars, the noble zeal of the best of her sons. England, and the general Protestantism of the world, have a right to expect that the clergy, and the laity too, of the Church will, in her own PALE, in the UNIVERSITIES, in the PARLIAMENT, and in the presence of all other Christian communities, come forward, to vindicate the general Protestantism of the world, and their own in particular.

Moreover, there is not a Dissenting Minister, or Church, but ought, in all fairness, and, indeed, in honour of their own principles, to unite in opposing a system of religion, which is as opposite to their own as the antipodes of the earth.

And you, Methodists, are bound, by the principles of your founder, by the professions of a hundred years, and, much more, by the obligations of the truth, to stand forward in support of the pure word of God, in opposition to that crusade which proposes its overthrow.

The common objection that our object is political, and not religious, is only one of the devices of the father of lies, to keep good men asunder. *The question at issue is religion itself.* The battle must be fought on this ground. Other subjects will be dragged in by party men of all sides, and occupy a portion of attention, but *the real* subject is the claims of the Church of God against Anti-Christ. The same principles which oblige us to receive the Scriptures, believe in Christ, unite ourselves with what we consider a true Church, and love God and man, oblige us to take our stand firmly against a conspiracy to overthrow the whole.

Charity to Papists also, ought to induce us to seek their conversion. If we allow them to remain in their present state of darkness, thraldom, and danger, without any efforts to free them from their evils, "*how dwelleth the love of God in us.*"

But above all things, it is our duty to unite in ardent supplication to God for the interposition of his blessed providence. He has often so interposed. Let us remember the *Armada*, scattered by the winds of heaven, when freighted with implements of torture, now hanging in the chambers of the Tower as the ensigns, alike of Popish cruelty, English courage, but especially of the mercy of God. Let us think of the Gunpowder Plot. The plan complete, the combustibles ready, the train laid, the day approaching, the whole power of Protestant England ready to assemble; and yet the whole scheme thwarted as by miracle. Let us not forget the remarkable manner in which the craft of James was suppressed. Though he appeared to be strong in his own purpose, much countenanced by the lethargy of the people and the zeal of his own partizans, had laid his plans with great skill and confidence, under the guidance of his Jesuitical leaders; yet, when the time came, the whole was blighted, as if by an invisible power. Let us recur to the *now*, proved, intention of *Ann* to restore the throne after her own decease to the descendant of James. This whole matter was so well arranged by perfidious statesmen, that it appeared certain of success; and yet, one of themselves, a fickle man, and one who had, as it was believed, favoured the design, came forward, as if by some supernatural impulse, and frustrated the whole design. And now, although the aspect of public affairs, and the movements of parties may appear to favour the overthrow of the religion and liberties of the country, "*Yet he who sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, and hold the attempt in derision.*" We know that Popery is doomed of God.

"And then shall that wicked one be revealed, whom the *Lord shall consume* with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming."

"And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone and cast it into the sea, saying, thus with violence shall that great city, Babylon, be thrown down, and shall be found no more at all."

"And after these things, I heard a great voice in Heaven, saying, Allelua, salvation and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God. For true and righteous are his judgments; for he hath judged the GREAT WHORE, which did corrupt the earth with her fornications, and hath avenged the blood of his servants at her hand."

O yes, in this country, thousands of precious saints exist who have power with God in prayer. The boldness of the Pontiff, and the audacity of his agents, may affright timid Christians; the cunning of the Jesuit may outwit simple integrity; the machinations of an ever wakeful Priesthood, may sow the seeds of error widely; the wordly politician may judge it to be expedient, not only to wink at the near approach of the danger, but also to ally the state to this apostacy; and the whole case may appear hopeless. Yet only awaken the slumbering faith of the true Christians of the nation; get them to feel the urgency of the danger; let them unitedly bear the matter before God; and then, though a thousand appearances puzzle human sagacity, and alarm our fears, He will blight the hopes of the wicked and establish the cause of the just.

" Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered Saints, whose bones
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountain cold;
E'en them, who kept thy truth, so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,

Forget not: in thy book record their groans,
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold,
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubl'd to the hills, and they
To heav'n. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundred fold, who, having learn'd thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

MILTON.

G. RIDGE, PRINTER, SHEFFIELD.

LETTERS

ON THE

DUTIES OF PROTESTANTS

WITH REGARD TO

POPERY.

BY JAMES DIXON.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Letters—with the exception of the last—were first published in two or three Provincial Newspapers. The object of the writer was limited to a desire to create some local interest in the place of his residence, on a question, which he deems of transcendant importance to the religious and social well-being of the community, and of the world.

Various friends having expressed an opinion that good would arise from a more general circulation, they have been rescued from the fugitive form of publication in which they first appeared. If, in the midst of the excitement of the times, any, even the least possible attention should be produced—especially in his own religious community—on a subject which is likely, sooner or later, to come home to their bosoms and their homes with tremendous importance, the Author will be amply satisfied.

Sheffield, Oct. 19, 1839.

THE DUTIES OF PROTESTANTS WITH REGARD TO POPERY.

LETTER I.

THE question, "Is Popery on the increase?" is often proposed. The answer varies with the politico-religious creed of the parties making it; the liberal invariably arguing that it is not unnaturally increasing, and the adherent of old English principles as firmly maintaining that its advances are fearfully rapid, and equally dangerous.

Another question of equal importance demands the serious consideration of all parties interested, viz., What are the sentiments of the different classes, constituting the religious world, and the body politic?—or in other words, What is now the hue, tone, aud gauge of the *morale* of the question regarding Popery?

A revolution of sentiment always precedes any great external changes in either religious or civil society. If the same feeling prevails now, as existed when the Stuart race was driven from the throne, because of their adherence to Popery, and the Brunswick dynasty was founded on purely Protestant principles; if the same indomitable resolution to spurn a foreign, priestly, and tyrannous dominion exists, which led to the affirmation of the nationality of the English Church, and laid her foundations in principles eternally hostile to the claims of the Papacy; and if the same spirit predominates amongst Nonconformists, which led them to dissent from the Episcopal Church, because it did not remove far enough from Rome; then in the prevalency of this pure, national, and Protestant spirit, the country is safe, and may bid defiance to the new crusade of Popery against her noble bulwarks of freedom and religion.

The supreme importance of a *living* Protestant feeling, sufficiently deep, strong, and vigorous, to resist the encroachments of the enemy, is now most apparent; because it is evidently the only power, next to the truth, on which we have to rely. The time of penal enactments has passed away. The Popish Priest is no longer a recusant in law, and the mass-house a proscribed temple of idolatry. Popery has been admitted into the precincts of Parlia-

ment, and invested with the rights of legislation; the door is open to high military, civil, and judicial employments; and in all respects, as a religious system, it is now more than tolerated,—it is fostered and endowed.

The policy of the great measure of *Emancipation* is not now under discussion, but it will be recollected by the reader, that on the removal of legal safeguards, moral ones were confidently resorted to, as being sufficient. On a *prima facie* view of the enactments of that period, it is most evident, that it was the intention of the legislature to maintain the ascendancy of the Protestant religion, as by law established. Two sources of moral influence were then depended upon as the basis of security. First—the improved and altered state of the Romanists themselves; and secondly, the enlightened, sound, and religious mind of the British people.

It had long been held by all Protestant writers and legislators, that the well known dogma of the Romish Church, "that faith was not to be kept with heretics," still constituted an integral part of the creed of all Papists, and that consequently they could not be bound by an oath. This many of their writers flatly denied. Evidence was taken on the question, by one or more committees of Parliament; the sentiment was indignantly repelled; and it was affirmed again and again that respect to the sanctity of an oath kept the proscribed and maligned people from the honours and emoluments of power; for had they not been bound by a scrupulous regard to religion and truth, it was only necessary for them to forswear themselves, and they would be at liberty to enjoy them all.

Trusting to these representations and promises, the legislature, so far as the Papists were concerned,relied on their conscientiousness, sense of honour, religious feeling, and improved morality, and placed the stability of our Protestant institutions on the sacredness of an oath. Whether this moral obligation, this solemn appeal to God, and this conventional and final arbitration of all differences betwixt man and man, has proved sufficient to bind the consciences of the disciples of the Church of Rome, we shall soon see. One of two things is certain, either that the authors of the emancipation measure did honestly and seriously intend to bind the consciences of Romanists to abstain from all efforts to injure the Protestant Church; or, otherwise, proposed the oath as a mere trap and expedient to beguile the British public into their measure. Some suspicion as to their sincerity, indeed, arises out of their present silence. The authors of the measure have lived to see its operation. The act is not an old, antiquated piece of legislation, the meaning of which is obscure, and only dimly to be guessed and deciphered by the learned in the law. Sir Robert Peel still lives. He can tell the world, in his place in Parliament, which of the alternatives above stated is the true one. If he intended the oath in question to operate so as to prevent Popish members from taking part, by vote or otherwise, in injuring the Protestant Church, how is it that he does not vindicate his own measure? This very oath was relied upon as the security of the Protestant Church, and yet, when the Deity is insulted—the holy bible profaned, and an act of Parliament, of which that Right Hon. gentleman is the author is torn to the winds, *in his presence*, not a word is uttered! Why, if this solemn appeal to the Gospels means any thing but a mockery, was the Bishop of Exeter left almost alone in his proposition on this subject? Though his facts, his reasoning, and his eloquence remained unanswered, and unanswerable, yet his motion was left to fall to the

ground. When will statesmen learn that an eternal barrier exists between truth and falsehood, and that the only solid foundation of useful legislation and personal honour is, an uniform and inflexible adherence to the one, and avoidance of the other? To avert a pressing difficulty, it was thought expedient, by those who in their judgments and consciences considered emancipation to be wrong, to concede that measure. To avoid some other inconvenience, it is now thought expedient to abandon the only security for Protestantism proposed by that measure. When and where is this expediency to stop? There is now a mighty pressure on the Irish Church: will it be deemed expedient to leave her to her fate? An impartial spectator would conclude that, if it was thought necessary to abandon the ramparts on which it was originally intended to fight the battles of Protestantism, viz., the Emancipation Act, it was also intended to give up the citadel. If there is meaning in words, and such a thing as truth in the world, it was intended by that act to guard our Protestantism against the aggressions of Popish cupidity by the oath inserted. Why is not the question tried on this ground? Why allow the question, regarding the spoliation of the Church, to be *directly* decided by its enemies? Why not first determine who are the lawful jurors to give the verdict?

It is argued, by the Irish members, that the Protestant interpretation of the oath is an abridgement of their freedom as legislators. No doubt it is, and so every honest man in the world would consider it to be intended. Is there any thing extraordinary in this? It has long been a settled constitutional principle that the Protestant form of Christianity shall be the established religion of the land, whilst, at the same time, Popery is in all respects, excluded from that high eminence. Are not all our institutions settled on this foundation? Our gracious Queen holds her right to the throne on this tenure. She is not at liberty on the question of religion. Her ancestors accepted the Crown of these realms on the stipulated condition, that they should profess and sacredly maintain the Protestant faith. If the princes of the Brunswick line choose to change their faith, and go over to Rome, they are bound, on their solemn oath, to renounce all claim to the throne of these realms. The Stuart race, if any of them are living, are unquestionably the heirs to the British Crown, in case that Crown is worn in subserviency to his Holiness the Pope. At the settlement of the question, at the period of the Revolution, it was the resolute purpose of the English nation that the throne of this country should not be held as a fief of Rome, but rest on a national basis of independence. The noble spirits of those days spurned with resolute indignation the notion of being governed by the puppets of a priestly despotism, misnamed Kings of Great Britain. They knew by the experience of all ages that their civil freedom must perish, their dearest rights be invaded, and their property drained to support, in pampered pride, a herd of political priests, who only made religion the pretext of earthly power and grandeur; and they came to the resolution that they would only be governed by a Sovereign, who would repudiate the dominion of this foreign despotism, and respect the nationality of the country in her religious, as well as civil rights.

Here then we have the principle in question most clearly defined. It is of the essence of the British constitution to preserve Protestantism as the religion of the nation. The highest functionary of the State, we see, holds her right on this express condition of being, personally, a professor of the

Protestant faith, while she also abjures Popery, and swears fealty to the altars of the Protestant Church. Whilst the genius of the constitution thus guarded the throne against Popish intruders, up to the period of the Relief Bill, it did the same with the other two estates. That measure was of the nature of a concession; but in order to preserve the Protestant religion in security, it was required, *on oath*, that the Popish members of Parliament should exercise no power inimical to the faith and property of the national religion. The following is the oath taken by Popish members;—

"I do swear, that I will defend, to the utmost of my power, the settlement of property within this realm, as established by the laws; and I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment, as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly swear, that I never will exercise any privilege to which I am, or may become entitled, to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion, or Protestant Government in this kingdom; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever."

How has this provision of the law been respected by the Romanists themselves, and in what spirit and manner has the enactment been upheld by the Parliament and the nation? In answer to the first branch of the question, it is sufficient to state, that every measure, which has had for its object the spoliation of the Protestant Church, has received the advocacy and votes of nearly all the Popish members. The celebrated *appropriation measure*, having for its purpose the robbery of the Irish Church, has ever been the foster child of O'Connell and his brother Papists. The oath they had taken never stood in their way for a moment. From the period of their entrance into Parliament to this day, they have not failed to employ their utmost energies to render abortive every effort to settle the law of Tithes; and to render their exertions successful, the recess of every session has been employed in getting up an *agitation*.

These movements of the popular mind have not been in vain. The law has been interdicted in the hands of the judges. The officers of justice, in the execution of their duties, have been assailed, brutally beaten, and in many cases massacred on the spot. The unoffending ministers of religion have been deprived of their rights, their families reduced to beggary, and driven from their houses; while great numbers of their flocks have perished by the brutal hand of the assassin. In addition to all that has already been done, the Papists now make no secret of their future plan of operations. They tell us plainly that their object is the restoration of their corrupt and tyrannic Church to a state of ascendancy, not only in Ireland, but also in England. Facts agree to this threat, and this country is the selected theatre in which Popery, in these modern times, is destined to try her strength. Her avowal is no empty and bombastic boast. The proclamation of her claims, the extent of her plans, the anticipation of her triumphs, are boldly proclaimed, and an agency in Parliament, and a Jesuitical priesthood throughout the country, are seen to operate with vast ability, undying zeal, and determined perseverance on the plan laid down.

All this is taking place, let it be recollected, in despite of the oath of the parties. Away, then, with the childish notion that the improved state of Popery will be a safeguard of our Protestant institutions and liberties. We have here a demonstration "clear as truth of Holy Writ," that faith is not kept with heretics. Can the gentlemanly character, the elevated position, the legislative functions, the great numbers, and the notoriety and audacity of this perjury, alter the moral aspect of the evil? Truth is no respecter of persons. The boundary line betwixt good and evil is not marked out by a conventional compact. Resolute defiance of all the human enactments embodying Divine truth, cannot annihilate the truth so embodied. The rampant swearing on the part of the Popish members, that they will do nothing to impair the Protestant Church, as they enter the doors of Parliament, when in truth they immediately take measures to destroy it, though supported by a thousand subtle evasions, cannot lose its aspect of profanity and perjury in the sight of man, or be annulled in its obligations before the throne of God. On the evidence of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and laymen, before Committees of Parliament; the petitions for the redress of grievances; the published opinions and avowals of persons in authority; a kind of compact, tacit, and well understood by both parties; the letters of Mr. Eneas O'Donnell, himself a Papist, and Secretary of the Catholic Association; as well as from the speeches of the gentlemen who conceded Catholic Emancipation,—it is most clear and certain, that the oath propounded to Romanist members was intended to bind them from taking any measures in their legislative capacity against the Protestant Church; and in fact, to place the security of that Church, so far as the Papists are concerned, on the sanctity of this oath.

How dreadful the scene opened to our view by this violation of so sacred an engagement! It indicates much more than a total disregard of the rights of the Protestant people of this country; though that is, of itself, sufficiently heinous. To deceive a large community of men, by glozing professions, hypocritical pretences, a seeming candour, a false and affected liberality, and a thousand avowals that the obnoxious tenets of their Church were not understood in a vulgar, but a refined and modernized sense; and then for the same men to falsify the whole, is sufficiently base. Yet this is not the worst portion of the case. It argues an utter destitution of moral principle. To speak of that rectitude, honour, benevolence, and truth, which originate in the influence of religion, would in this place be beside the mark: but surely we have a right to expect the natural and conventional virtues to be respected. But instead of even this poor and sapless virtue, we are presented with a state of moral turpitude, which only the Papacy, with its complicated machinery of evil, could produce on the susceptible mind of fallen man.

We are, in this instance of wickedness, presented with the shocking aspect of the acknowledged leaders of the majority of a nation violating the most solemn engagements, and supported and countenanced in the crime by their united suffrages. "The evil tree bringeth forth evil fruit;" and it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the moral feelings of the whole body of Papists are most awfully depraved; how otherwise could they unite to support and vindicate a known, palpable, and open falsehood?

But the whole is in perfect keeping with the dogmas of their Church. In all this they are treating with a nation considered by them as heretics; and

it turns out that faith is uot to be kept with such persons. It is evident from this case, that the impure and rotten doctrines of their corrupt community have produced their genuine results. We have millions of men belonging to this Church, who, being trained by a jesuitical casuistry in the art of deception, resolutely maintain that black is white. Even the patriotic affections of human nature are all perverted; the foundation of a conventional intercourse is sapped and shaken; the sentiments of religion turned into poisonous rancour and fraud; whilst the confidence which ought to be exercised by a community living under the same social compact, is transmuted, on the one part, into distrust, and on the other into deception.

The ecclesiastical services of the Popish Church are fair and splendid; but when their doctrines are analyzed, they are seen to be anti-christian and false; and when the morals of its disciples are tested, they are found to be like the fabled apples of Sodom, specious to the eye, but crumble to dust in the hand. Surely nothing can now be hoped for, by the people of this country, from the *improved morality* of the Popish Church. This fallacy deluded many of the staunch supporters of the Catholic claims. They trusted in the altered state of things in the community, to be enfranchised and elevated to power. The dream that the increased light, liberal spirit, and religious improvement of the age, has entered the precincts of the Papacy, and wrought a wonderful revolution of moral sentiment, must now vanish. The notion of modern statesmen, that the religious opinions and feelings of a people, whether true or false, must sink in abeyance to the love of civil freedom, the advancement of economical schemes of improvement, physical comfort, and patriotic love of country, are proved by this one fact to be the speculations of "*false philosophy.*" Man is seen in this instance to have lost none of his instincts and none of his vices. He must either be a superstitious or a religious creature. The constitution of his nature, and the scenery around him, inevitably impel him to seek the truth, or in the desperation of his fears to cling to its substitute and shadow. The empty theories of modern free-thinkers have laid this consideration out of view, and deemed it sufficient to present the Irish Papists with the full-blown blessings of the British Constitution, to secure their abandonment of the absurdities of their superstition, and insure their devoted fealty to the national good. It now turns out, however, that these persons prefer their superstition to their country, or to freedom. They are the genuine children of human nature. Infidel France is now rapidly veering round again to Popery, and a few years, unless prevented by the dissemination of evangelical doctrines, will see that interesting people bowing at the old shrine of Popery, with as much ardour of devotion as was ever manifested by their ancestors. If the sceptics and semi-sceptics of this country possessed an understanding capable of conviction, they might learn, both by the case of France and Ireland, that their worldly and godless system is no remedy for the evils of Popery.

In this state of things it would be perfect madness, on the part of Protestants, any longer to calculate on security from any danger from Popery itself. No doubt the advocates of Emancipation imagined, that, as soon as the barriers of law were removed, and the Popish population were admitted to power, they would at once co-mingle with all other subjects of these realms for truly national purposes; considering their fealty to the nation, which had dealt fairly and honourably with them, to be transcendantly above

any allegiance they might owe to a foreign priestly despotism; and that the sense of gratitude, the fine play of patriotic feeling, together with a vastly improved state of religious sentiments, would be instantly brought about by that healing measure, and the whole Popish population of this country would enjoy their spiritual freedom and political rights in peaceful, loyal, and happy tranquility. It has turned out otherwise. The new power placed in their hands is employed solely for Popish purposes. The nation is nothing; Popery is, with them, every thing. The blending of interests, the amalgamation of all differences, the common pursuit of equal and united objects, the silence of the war-whoop of discord, the free and happy enjoyment of religious privileges, though held under different professions, so confidently anticipated;—are all now found to be so many beautiful chimeras. Popery, it is now seen, can endure no rival. The institutions and interests which are found not to quadrate with her haughty claims, are marked out for destruction, and her advanced position is held solely with the purpose of springing to the consummation of her object;—the domination of her power, ecclesiastical and political. The statesmen of the age might know, if they chose to consult the page of history, that in every period she has invariably made her religious hierarchy subservient to political purposes, and her spiritual system the means of advancing her temporal dominion. If at this day the only points of controversy were the doctrines of Christianity, no one need fear the result. But it has ever been the policy of Popery to twist her creed and her claims around the civil and political institutions of society, as the ivy round the oak, till, by the deadly pressure of her odious exactions, the power, freedom, and happiness of the nations have been weighed down, and lost in the ecclesiastical tyranny. This is the scheme of this crafty foe of the rights of nations and the liberties of men, at the present moment. True to her Machiavelian policy, she scruples not at the means to be employed. An essential and unalterable despotism in her own constitution and assumptions, we behold her planting herself by the side of every form of human government; blandly intermingling her wily dogmas with every variety of opinion; disseminating the poison of her creed in every new vehicle of literature and science; whilst, ever and anon, she is seen to prop up the throne of the despot, and to shout for freedom with the tumultuous mobs of democracy.

LETTER II.

In my last letter I called attention to the moral state of the Popish Church, and showed that no dependence ought to be placed in their honesty and sincerity, on questions involving the interests of Protestantism. I now propose to show that an *implicit reliance* is not to be placed on mere worldly politicians. It would, indeed, be invidious to suppose any thing like a parallel in the two cases; and yet, acting chiefly, it is to be feared, on mere expediency, the cause of Protestantism has been most wofully betrayed by this class of men.

The first proof of this shall be taken from the principles involved in passing the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. The charge of inconsistency, and betrayal, is not alleged against those persons who were of opinion that the measure in question was, in itself, right; but against the party who, holding opposite sentiments, could so dispose of principle, conscience, and religion, as to lend themselves to a measure which they avowed to be, in their judgment, at the time, not merely an uncertain experiment, but a dangerous innovation on the Protestant constitution of the country. Now that men of high rank, commanding influence, great talents, and official power, could be induced to swerve from the cherished and oft-avowed doctrines of their whole life, on a subject so vital, is the matter of complaint.

The charge against them is not that of changing their opinions. Any person has a right to adjust and alter his views on any question, either of public or of private interest, and none but the most narrow-minded would blame him for such variation, in case it was adopted on conscientious and enlightened conviction. Many of the most enlightened statesmen, grave and learned jurists, zealous philanthropists, as well as orthodox and evangelical divines, long entertained the belief that Emancipation was in its own nature just, and in its results must prove beneficial; and it would have been pardonable for any, even the strongest minds, to follow authorities so imposing. A cause which enlisted the suffrages and eloquent advocacy of Pitt, Fox, Grey, and Canning, amongst Politicians; Erskine, Romilly, Mackintosh, and Brougham, in the profession of law; Wilberforce, the prince and leader of a host of independent and Christian philanthropists; together with Daniel Wilson, Dr. Chalmers, and many others of commanding talents and influence amongst theologians, might well command attention; and no blame could be attached to those who followed them, although they might commence public life under the influence of opposite opinions.

But that which astounded, and even petrified the nation at the time, and now hangs like the shadow of night on a great and influential party in the State, is, that they passed this Act *against* their most-cherished principles and convictions. No apology can be offered for this; no extenuating circumstances can be put in plea; nothing remains to the warmest friends and admirers of these great men, but mourning over the frailties and weakness of human nature. The danger might be urgent, the pressure great, the case inevitable; but they ought not to have assisted in consummating an event which they persisted in representing as an evil. If they found it impossible any longer to stem the torrent of Popish power, aided and abetted by its advocates in Parliament, they should have stood out of the way, and left the measure in the hands of its patrons.

It is evident from this that they only considered this question in its political bearings. Had they felt its religious importance; that the truth of God, the spiritual hopes of the nation, and the state of the souls of men were involved in it, *with their views* they could not have dared to be accessory to such a measure. But, judging of the measure on merely political maxims, they found it *expedient* to yield. Had this spirit prevailed at the period of the Reformation, no confiscations of property, no dungeons and imprisonments, no martyrs' heroism, would have arrested the tyranny of Popery, and laid the basis of our religion and freedom. If difficulties, dangers, and even loss of life, could be reasons for yielding to Popery, how much more cogent

those reasons must have appeared to the "*noble army of martyrs*" who won the battle of our freedom by the sacrifice of their lives, than anything which presented itself to intimidate the defenders of our religion and constitution at the period in question. If the essential difference betwixt Popery and Protestantism had been well considered in the spirit of their responsibility to God, by these political champions of our cause, how could they have dared to compromise the one, and give power and influence to the other? It is in vain to affirm, as an apology for *them*, that these disabilities were either unnecessary or unjust. Adopting the opinions of the Whigs of 1688,—from whom many who bear their name in modern times have completely departed,—they considered these safeguards as essential to the integrity of the Constitution, the purity and stability of the Protestant Church, and also of the freedom of the subject. Then on this showing, as patriots, they ought to have resisted the assaults of the enemy, as long as they had the slightest prospect of success, and only when they had been deserted by the British people, ought they to have surrendered the citadel to the invading foe.

But in this season of trial their political wisdom and courage failed them. The clouds had so thickened around them, as to present a scene of difficulty, impervious to their sagacity; or the fierceness, clangour, and apparent courage, of the onset of agitation, was so furious as to fill them with dismay. In either case the same conclusion must be come to, viz., that on a great religious question, the "*wisdom of this world*" is perfectly insufficient.

No imputation on the principle, honour, or even Christian character of these eminent men, individually, is intended. Their fault, in all probability, was the temptation of their position. The *temporal* and *political* view of the subject—hushing the tempest of agitation—overpowered, in their minds, the religious aspects of the case. This is the danger in which all legislative bodies are placed; and indeed it is difficult accurately to define the point where human expediency ought to end, and unbending religious principle begin. One thing, however, is most certain: that all men, and especially public men, ought to act, in religious matters, on the honest convictions of their own minds. Surely christianity is too sacred to be put on and off, or to have its form and fashion changed, as caprice, or even convenience, may dictate. Catholic Emancipation, in its consequences and bearings, was the greatest legislative measure ever passed in the British Parliament, and yet it was carried by those who, at the time, professed their belief that it was an injurious measure; consequently, in their estimate, injurious on the greatest possible scale.

Time, and the subsequent services of these great statesmen, have united to silence all angry emotions; but grief and sorrow still remain. If we found ourselves placed, at this moment, in the position we now hold, by the act of other parties, whilst the professed friends of our cause had retained their political integrity, that, of itself, would have been a mountain of strength. They would have been in a position to defend our Protestant institutions at every point. But, as it is, innumerable evils and dangers are breaking out in every quarter, as the fruit of their own measure, whilst they are obliged to be silent.

By a strange concurrence of circumstances, all the great parties in the Legislature are disarmed of all power to oppose Popery. The liberals have long been the steady advocates of their claims, whilst by conceding and carry-

ing Emancipation, the Conservatives have, in this particular, fraternized with them, and thrown away their shield. In consequence of this, Protestantism is left disarmed, even for defensive warfare in Parliament: for how could men first enfranchise the Church of Rome, and then effectually oppose it? Hence Popery presents itself to view in innumerable aspects of aggression, in which it ought to be made the object of unceasing attack, but the political Protestant phalanx scarcely ever places itself in array against these portentous advances, because shorn of their strength by the previous conduct of its leaders.

But this is not all: the moral feebleness produced by that distressing substitution of expediency for principle, is still felt through the country. The loss of the confidence of so reflective a people as the English, on a great religious question, on the part of their leaders, is not easily recovered. No event in modern times has produced so deep, so thrilling, so paralyzing a shock on the feelings of the nation as this most deplorable betrayal of a cause, which at that time, was as dear to the majority of the people as the warm blood in their veins.

And even now the feelings and sentiments of the Protestant party in this country, are by no means represented in the senate of the nation. Their well-principled attachment to the unmutilated Scriptures; their firm adherence to the peculiar doctrines of the Reformation; their love of *religious* freedom, and the rights of private judgment; their abhorrence of the claims of his Holiness to universal spiritual dominion; their deep conviction of the abominations of the Roman idolatry, the confessional, indulgences, purgatory, the mass, priestly absolution, together with the enslaving effects of the whole,—are but feebly echoed in the British Parliament. Every thing, then, goes to shew that the Political Protestants, in the great struggle now going on, will need the stimulus and aid of the Church. Expediency is too feeble a power to resist this mighty swell. The infusion of that spirit which breathed in the martyrs must be sought. The clamour, insolence, and dictation of democracy is not desirable, but such a moral feeling and *strength* ought to be created by *religious Protestantism*, as shall guide the sentiments and sustain the efforts of our senators. Without this it is utterly in vain to depend upon them to repel the assaults of Popery. The loftiest pedestal is sustained by its basement. The genius and courage of the conqueror of Napoleon, were rendered successful by the skill of his subordinate officers, and the bravery of his soldiers; so in like manner the defence of our Protestantism, in the great arena of Parliament, must be strengthened and upheld by the prayers, devoted zeal, and energetic support of the Christian people of these lands.

The second proof that implicit reliance cannot be placed in worldly politicians, on this question, shall be taken from the circumstances attending the passing of the *Irish educational measure*. Here we are brought into contact with a new class of statesmen, the old Whig, or Grey school. As this measure was the commencement of those educational movements, which continue, under various guises, to agitate the public mind, it may be proper to examine, with some attention, its leading features.

The progress of Scriptural education was, at the time, of a most encouraging description in Ireland; and the means employed were producing a deep and powerful impression on the Popish Church. Great numbers of children attended the schools of the Kildare-street, Hibernian, Irish Evangelical, and

other Societies established for the benevolent and Christian purpose of opening the treasures of eternal truth to these long-neglected, but interesting people. A salutary moral change was taking place; adults as well as children began to appreciate the value of the word of God; anxious enquiries were made on the points of controversy betwixt the Popish and the Protestant Churches; numerous conversions were taking place, and the dawn of a bright day, for Ireland, seemed to appear in the horizon. This state of things produced alarm amongst the Popish Priesthood, and being joined by the *liberal* party, in both islands, a general burst of furious indignation was poured forth on these peaceful and Christian Societies. The unfairness, sin, and *illiberality*—an enormity much greater than that of sin—of proselytism, were vehemently decried. Fanaticism, bigotry, uncharitableness, were crimes plentifully attributed to these evangelical labourers; as if it were an evil to convert Roman Catholics to the faith of Protestantism. For what purpose, it may be enquired, was the Protestant Church planted in Ireland at all, but to proselyte the people? If one system of religion is as good and safe as another—which seems to be the opinion of great numbers,—then the outcry against any attempt at converting the people of Ireland is well founded. But this was not the sentiment entertained by the Reformers, and it cannot now be the feeling of any one pretending to any other kind of religion than that which blends all clashing and opposing elements in one mighty confusion, by putting "light for darkness, and darkness for light."

The then new ministry of the day heard this yell of Popery against the educational exertions of the Protestants; and either from sympathy or fear, adopted it as their own. The grant of money, which had long been annually made to the Kildare-street Society, was withheld, and a new scheme devised, on the model of Popish principle and opinion. This was avowed. The argument for the measure was—that as the Kildare-street Society made the Bible, without note, comment, or catechism, the basis of its system, and the Roman Catholics could not send their children where the *Bible* was read, it was necessary to get rid of the obnoxious book, and adopt a system in which they could concur. Here then, it is seen that Protestantism is made to succumb to Popery, by persons professing to hold the faith of the Established Church; and at a period, and under circumstances, in which it would be imagined, they would have taken just a contrary course, and fed, encouraged, and strengthened the Protestant flame then beginning to burst forth.

We have attributed this encouragement given to the Popish movement, on the part of the government, either to sympathy or fear. It must be the one or the other; and whichever it might be, the same conclusion must be come to; viz., that they sacrificed the interests of Protestantism by adopting, as the leading feature of their measure, one of the most pernicious dogmas of Rome,—that the Bible cannot be safely put into the hands of the people. So far as this point goes, the act is a legislative sanction of this most unjust, tyrannic, and unchristian usurpation of the "Man of sin." The British Parliament, under the guidance of Earl Grey's ministry, has virtually established by law, for the government of its own national schools in Ireland, one of the leading tenets of the Church of Rome. The national system in Ireland rests on an act of the Imperial Parliament as its basis, and is supported by the public money. The leading principle of these institutions is, that the Bible shall not be taught, and has been adopted as a concession to the Church of

Rome. The inference is inevitable, viz., that this infamous dogma is the law of the land. Popery then, in one of its most odious doctrines, is established —it is the *infantine* religion of the State. In this insidious way, in all human probability, the Papacy will recover its power through the empire. It is not likely that any attempt will be made to fasten the anti-christian hierarchy on the shoulders of the nation at once; but, as in this case, one point will be sought after another till the whole will be gradually attained. In Ireland we are greeted with the spectacle of two Establishments, equally attached to the state; a Protestant Church, to teach the adults within her own pale; and then a great and universal school apparatus, to teach Popery. Which of the two rival *government* institutions will gain the ascendant, it is not difficult to divine. A system which embraces, teaches, and directs the young mind of a nation, must infallibly possess the fealty of that nation. The youth of Ireland have been given by act of Parliament to the Popish Church; and as to the old, feeble, and tottering Establishment, set up by the doting Reformers, *she* is left to die a natural death, amid the joyous shouts of the rising progeny of the subjects of Rome.

This legislation on the Bible is a bold and daring assumption of unauthorized power. On the ground of their divinity, the sacred writings are above all human authority. They are the free gift of God to all mankind; the charter of our privileges, and the covenant of our salvation. To determine by act of Parliament that they shall be read or not read, mutilated or unmutilated by the community, is to subject them to the condition of a code amenable to human authority, which is of itself an invasion of the prerogatives of the Supreme Divinity. Christianity is antecedent to, and above all earthly power or law. It stands on a level with the natural, or rather the divine rights of the human race. The right to life, or freedom, in case neither is forfeited by crime, is not more perfect and indefeasible than the right to the Bible. The reason is obvious: The exigencies of our salvation cannot be provided for by human legislation; must rest with the Deity; are necessarily limited to his grace and love; and consequently, if He chuses to make known the mode by his truth, and offer the privileges in his covenant of grace, this must infinitely transcend the authority of man. A law which interdicts the means by which the divine grace and mercy are made known, equally interdicts the blessings in question. An arrangement which prevents a community from coming to a knowledge of the faith of Christ, will, in its results, prevent the blessings of that faith being enjoyed. What earthly power then, it may be asked, can have the prerogative to place itself betwixt the Redeemer of man and the purposes of his mercy and grace? How can the right to possess the Gospel, written and unmutilated, be refused to the meanest child under heaven without violating his dearest interests,—his highest privileges? In prohibiting the free and unfettered use of the Scriptures, the Church of Rome has been guilty of haughty injustice and tyranny, as well as directly invaded the prerogatives of God. When the British Parliament seconded her in this abomination, adopted this dogma as its own, and made it, if not directly, yet virtually, the law of the land, did not the nation become her partner in guilt?

What then, it is triumphantly asked, must be done? Are the people to be left without instruction, if they choose to repudiate the bible? The answer to this is short and plain: let what may arise, we have no right to be

accessary to evil. No conceivable case can equal, in its magnitude of mischief, the adoption of this fatal measure. Like many other enormities, the tyranny of Popery, at least in this form, was wearing itself out. The people were restless for the word of God, and began to free themselves from the oppression. But just at this moment, when the priesthood of Rome felt its feebleness: and its grasp on the people was beginning to give way, the State stepped in to its rescue, and gave the Irish nation back again as its prey.

All this as been conceded by a party in the State, calling themselves Protestants; and indeed priding themselves, not merely on the soundness, but also on the fervour of their devotedness to the principles they hold. Good intentions may be accorded them, but it is a most singular coincidence of facts, that every movement made by these *devoted Protestants*, turns out in the issue to be the furtherance of Popery. Surely it might have satisfied the most fastidious and sensitive liberality to allow the Romish Church, by its own ecclesiastical system, to banish the bible from its people, without adopting the iniquitous principle as a national act. To tolerate the Popish priesthood in driving the children of English subjects from Scriptural schools, to which they were sent by their parents, and to compel them to receive the dogmas of Popery in the place of the truths of Christianity, it might be imagined, would have been a sufficient amount of freedom, without making the British people partners in the crime, by furnishing the funds, supplying the machinery, and adopting the coercive scheme as the law of the land.

When will the country awake to the degradation of her position? This one enactment has made her the humble handmaid of Papal Rome again. Away with the cant respecting extracts, new translations, impartial commissioners!—The wily priest has caught the confiding politician, and made him his humble tool in affirming one of the most pernicious dogmas of his Church, as well as in carrying into effect the most cruel and oppressive of his exactions. The bible is withheld from the children of a whole people by Act of Parliament. The British nation are parties with the Pope of Rome, in depriving these people of a right and privilege which belongs to them on an immutable, because a divine tenure. They have as perfect a right to the Scriptures, and with them to the blessings of Christianity, as they have of life itself, and a state would be no more sinning *in principle* against the rights of mankind in passing an Act of Parliament to take away life, than in taking away the bible. Neither are in the keeping of human legislation. The one is the gift of God as the CREATOR; the other is the gift of God as the REDEEMER. Life and religion stand on an equal footing, because they are equally divine.

Were it not for the mischief involved, it would be most amusing—if the observer could free himself from the feeling of disgust—to behold every political theorist, every pseudo-philosopher, every school agitator, propounding to us their sapient nonsense on the inexpediency and the danger of employing the Bible in the instruction of youth. Thus a principle which was generated in the darkest days of Popery to prop up its despotism, by blinding the eyes of the people, in withholding the Scriptures from them, is now registered on the statute book of England, is applauded by the orators of the day as the quintessence of philosophical wisdom, brought up as by magic, or the diving bell, from the depths of *modern* discovery. And is it possible that such deception can exist! That men can be working into the public mind of this

country one of the most pernicious doctrines of Rome, and attempt to make it, under various pretensions, the basis of a national system of education, and yet the parties imagine at the same time that they are doing some wonderfully liberal thing, and advancing the cause of universal freedom! Such are the follies we behold, and such the professions under which they are performed. Under the mask of religious freedom, such principles are gaining ground amongst us, as must inevitably, if not arrested—and probably before we are aware—lead to a state of Popish and universal despotism. Talk of the progress of liberty! Protect the poor and oppressed Roman Catholics from the cruel tyranny of the priests; secure to them the rights of conscience and private judgement; throw around their poor and terribly doomed offspring, the free and unmolested privilege of attending Scriptural schools; gain for the whole people freedom of worship, and make the whole secure by enactments of law, with a watchful and impartial magistracy, and then something will be done for freedom. Can anything be a greater burlesque on common sense, than to pass an Act of Parliament, and take other measures, to consign over, with increased means of keeping them in thraldom, the whole Popish population to their priestly task-masters, and then call this liberty?

Here then again is the betrayal of our cause. The gentlemen who promoted this measure, are professed Protestants. But it is most evident that they either misunderstood the nature of their own measure, or otherwise, intentionally played into the hands of Popery. In either case the same conclusion must be come to, viz., that they cannot be safely trusted wtth the religious destinies of this great empire. Lost in the turmoil of party politics; eager for popularity; deluded by the phantom of liberality; anxious to conciliate the favour, and gain the support, of a party able to render them some service by their votes; or, otherwise, prevented from perceiving the points of difference between human expediency and the immutable claims of religious principle, by their habits of reflection on questions of civil and temporal legislation, they seem not, in general, to possess the caution, gravity, and inflexible fealty to religion, which her divinity and sacredness demand. The hand of Uzziah withered when he profanely put it out to touch the ark of God; it is well for the politicians of the day that they live under a milder dispensation, or a similar calamity might befal many.

LETTER III.

The course of our remaks on the vacillating tactics of mere worldly politicians, in regard to Popery, and the insecurity of our Protestant institutions in their hands, brings us now to consider the spirit and policy of the present Government. The progress of legislation in favour of this dangerous Church, and the consequent power they have attained, is steady, but rapid and alarming.

1. The Conservative party, we have seen, conceded Emancipation against their principles and judgment. This first measure was simply the removal of their civil disabilities.

2. The Grey Ministry went further, and, adopting a leading Popish sentiment, established a national system of education, on the principle of excluding the Holy Scriptures. This measure, by Act of Parlament, consigned the children of the Irish nation into the hands of the Popish priesthood, instead of leaving them to be instructed by voluntary societies in Scriptural schools, or encouraging and strengthening the national Church, to perform this educational duty, as well as to seek to recover the whole population from the dark and dismal superstition in which they are involved.

3. The next step in the descending scale, brings us to a still more fearful point, viz., the direct countenance, support, patronage, and *endowment* of the Church of Rome by the present Government.

4. By way of anticipation, it is not unreasonable to look for a fourth and more alarming demonstration by another party, still more in favour of Popery. The Marquis of Normanby is understood to be aspiring to the Premiership, and to be actually on the threshold of that high office. Taking the government of that nobleman, in Ireland, as the index of his future policy, it is hazarding little to believe that he will set himself strenuously to advance the claims of the Roman hierarchy. Neither profound knowledge, want of confidence, scupulous delicacy in the employment of means, over-attachment to any form of religion, anxiety to live in grave and holy retirement, objection to the turmoils of office and the shouts of popularity, or even desire to return again to the avocation of writing novels to relieve the tedium of life, or swell the tide of his fame; not one, or all these things united, are at all likely to stand in the way of that *high genius* to attempt to do something to distinguish himself for the glory of Popery, far beyond that of any of his predecessors. He certainly will scorn to tread in the cautious footsteps of those who have only been "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the temple of idolatry. The next step will, in all probability, be an attempt to establish Popery in Ireland; the measure which Lord Howick announced as the *true question* for consideration, but kept in abeyance for the present by his more conscientious or timid colleagues. When the Marquis of Normanby assumes the reins of Government, nothing less than this will be the point at which he will aim. We shall see!!!

At present, however, it is necessary to trace the conduct of the party now in power, in relation to what has been done already. Many things must be put out of our consideration, as too extraneous or too political, though they bear most unequivocally on the subject. But our business being chiefly with the Church, such affairs as the Lichfield House compact; the direct leaning of a Protestant Government on the Popish members for its very existence; the valuable consideration in patronage and power given in return; the promotion of Popish gentlemen to all sorts of offices, to the exclusion of nearly all the Protestants, except occasionally a Liberal, to keep the party quiet: the graceful spectacle of a nobleman giving his courtly services in the palace of the Queen, and then heading an Irish agitation against a measure on the subject of tithes, introduced into and carried through Parliament by her own Ministry; these, and a thousand other matters of a similar description must be omitted. Yet no one can deny that they all have a most intimate connexion with the elevation of the Popish hierarchy.

It is, then, an undeniable fact, that the Irish Popish Church has been so encouraged, supported, and patronized, by the present Government as to be

placed, not only in a new and more advanced position, but also in a state of *moral dominance* in that country. The policy seems to be, so to elevate, strengthen, and inflate this Church as to make its establishment irresistibly necessary. This, of course, could not be accomplished at once. A course of preparation, of a longer or shorter duration, must be essential. Hence, dignity and influence are given to her priesthood; office and power to her laity; facilities and means afforded for the erection of new and imposing places of worship; as well as impunity, and, indeed, stimulus, to her to assume and enlarge her old ecclesiastical platform. All this has been sedulously going on for some years. A mere stranger, passing through the country, is instantly apprized of the fact, that Popery is the dominant, the favoured, and the triumphant religion of the land.

This moral energy accorded to the system is of much greater service than assistance in any other form. It inspires new life; animates to vigorous exertion and enterprise; gives boldness and assurance; produces united, increased, and zealous habits of devotion to the cause; encourages the assumption, vindication, and enforcement of their haughty and injurious claims; and puts them into an attitude of aggression, such as they have not dared to assume for many ages. This is quite natural. Bodies of men, whether united for civil or religious purposes, must move towards their object with slow and cautious, or bold and undaunted steps, just as they are encouraged by an adequate or an insufficient hope of success; and this again, must be influenced by the means at their command.

Popery possesses no religious power, properly considered. Hers is the power of superstition and error, or that of a jesuitical employment of political means. The bible, which she banishes; the evangelical doctrines of Christianity, which she so miserably corrupts; the simple and holy ordinances of religion, which she secularizes by her forms; the pure and elevated morality of the Gospel, which she neutralizes by her casuistry and human distinctions; and the presence of God, promised in the service of the Church, whom she excludes by placing the Virgin and the saints as co-partners of His throne; none of these great principles and verities of religion can be any strength or power to her. The influence she possesses, and the dominion she exercises, is borrowed. Her conquests have been, indeed, numerous, and her authority great, but they have ever been the conquests of "carnal weapons" under the garb of religion. The agency of the kings of the earth, the dungeons and murders of the Inquisition, and the insidious employment of the secular arm, have always been the ministers of her usurped and tyrannic dominion.

Hence the support of the secular power of this country now afforded to this corrupt Church, has already produced a perfect change in her spirit and demands. It has drawn her from obscurity, and emboldened her to stand forth in all the effrontery of her proud and boastful superiority. By these means a co-partnership is established. We behold the hateful spectacle of the state playing into the hands of Popery, and she, on her part, yielding her deleterious support, or rather increasing her domination over the state. The Protestant Church is no longer the moral instrument employed by the state to teach religion, to soften the asperities of the people, to unite them to the throne and the empire; this office is now ominously assigned to the Church of Rome. Nothing is expected, sought, or desired from the former, but the

mere occupancy of her churches, her tithes, and the naked dignity of her titles; *for a season.* She is treated as a sinecure occupant of old, useless, and falling possessions; something like the chiefs of coast, or feudal castles, no longer useful for the defence of the nation, but retained to afford an asylum and living to veterans who have lost their limbs in the active service of the country. How long a Church, which is treated as a sinecure, no longer necessary to the good of the nation, and unessential as the instructress of the people and support of the public faith, will be permitted to exist in these times of utility and reform, it is not difficult to divine.

In the mean time, the reasons given for deserting the Protestant Church and transferring the favour of the state to her rival, are most curious. These reasons all merge in one, viz., that she has failed in converting the Papists into Protestants. It is considered an evil in her not to have accomplished this object of her mission. By implication it follows that it is most desirable that this should be accomplished. Now the common sense conclusion would have been, that the causes of failure should be sought out and remedies applied. But no, instead of this being the case, she is set aside as useless, and the very superstition, idolatry, tyranny, and national plague, which she failed to remove, is taken into the favour of the state. And what do our politico-ecclesiastics intend to do with their bargain? Will they convert them into sound, loyal, and holy Protestants? If it were desirable for the national well-being that the Protestant Church should do this, it must be equally so that the new moral agency, brought into con-fraternity with Popery, should do it. And moreover, if it were a sin that the Church did not make the Irish people a peaceful community of loyal Christians, it must be a sin for our political philosophers not to accomplish so desirable an object.

But no, this is not the purpose. So long as the Papists were destitute of secular weight and importance, all parties of statesmen deplored the terrible evils of Popery, and felt the necessity of their conversion to the Protestant faith. But now the case is altered. They can bring their millions into the political scale; furnish their quota of votes in Parliament; turn the balance betwixt contending parties; and keep in or put out the present, and, for anything which appears, succeeding Ministers. This makes all the difference. We now hear no more, except from dull or enthusiastic theologians, respecting the dangers of Popery. The temptation to the present amalgamation of our Protestant Government with the Popish power, was great; indeed, pressing beyond all precedent. Liberal principles were in danger, and Popery has become liberal! The best test of her liberality, however, is to be sought, not in her bland and enthusiastic professions, but within her own precincts. She has the power—for amongst her own people she is omnipotent—to exercise a lenient, gentle, and liberal sway. What kind of sceptre does she wield? The answer to this enquiry cannot be given. Human language cannot depict the horrors of her rule. Does she allow her disciples to read God's holy book? No. Does she permit them to exercise their own free and unbiassed judgements and consciences in matters of faith, the most important which can engage the thought of man? No. Does she suffer them to enquire into the differences betwixt their own and the Protestant Church, by reading, hearing the Gospel preached, or otherwise? No. Does she tolerate them in the education of their children in the way their parents often

most approve? No. Nay, more than this; are they not often threatened, denounced, and visited with various penances, if they dare to have any temporal dealings with heretics, employ their franchise otherwise than as their priests direct, or in any way step beyond the line of their own dark despotism in search of one ray of the light of truth? Liberal principles! These despots come to teach and aid us in carrying out liberal principles! Truth is one—liberty is one. Let them set *themselves* free, and then, it will be within the limits of possibility that they may aid the British nation in securing and enlarging their freedom; or at least, they will be in a state to mingle with them in its enjoyments, but not till then.

The fond aim of these parties is to make us all brother Papists with themselves. They do not bring their forces to support the party in power that the nation may calmly and peacefully repose under her free and Protestant constitution, but to aid in unloosing the foundation of all things, so that, under the guise of liberty, they may prepare the way for the introduction of their own despotic sway. Would this advance our freedom? Let the present enslaved, ignorant, barbarous, and wretched state of the Irish peasantry answer this question.

It may be readily admitted that the strength of the nation consists in the unity of its people, and the security of its freedom in the fealty of all parties to its institutions. The hope that this might be effected, no doubt, induced many, whose Protestant feeling and attachment to the British constitution cannot for a moment be doubted, to support the removal of the penal statutes and civil disabilities, under which the Roman Catholic population lay. The experiment has been tried without success. Instead of being less attached to the throne and system of Rome, in consequence of their nearer connexion with that of England, and her unrivalled constitution, they are, if possible, more loyal to the one, and less so to the other. Instead of *this kingdom within a kingdom*, created by the organization of her hierarchy and the dominion of her priesthood being broken up, Popery is more compact, united, isolated, and anti-national than ever. She moves altogether in a circle of her own. The interest of her Church is the basis of all her operations. The objects pursued by the nation, and those sought by this alien power, are perfectly dissimilar. The one is struggling to maintain her independence, her integrity, her religion, her freedom; the other is employing her utmost skill and power to link the destinies of the country to a foreign despotism.

For ages the empire, reposing under the peaceful influence of Protestant instructions, appeared like the blue ocean beneath the bright sunshine of heaven, whilst the setting in of Popery, has been like a mountain deluge, rendering muddy and turbid the pure and tranquil waters. Every thing English is now sought to be poisoned by the *malaria* of the *Pontine* marshes of Italy. To talk of the struggle of principle now going on as that of Toryism and Whiggery, is a perfect delusion. This was the case in ages gone by, but a third party has entered the field, and completely turned the tide of battle. The antagonist forces in the presence of each other are Protestantism on the one side, and Popery on the other. In this as in other things England has been assimilated to Ireland. No one ever hears the party names employed in this country in the neighbouring island. The Protestants and the Roman Catholics are the terms employed to designate the party divisions existing in that country. Those two mighty interests absorb every thing

else. So it must be in this country ere long. To this point we are rapidly verging. Under the new cognomen and array of Conservatism, or some other to be selected for the purpose, Protestantism will collect her mighty energies, whilst Popery, either in her own unveiled character, or some one assumed for the purpose, will marshal her opposing hosts. Indeed we have nearly arrived at this already. There may be some loose and light enthusiasts who are dreaming of Utopian schemes of republican freedom; but it must be evident to every body but themselves, that the millions of Papists on the one hand, headed by their priesthood; and the millions of Protestants on the other, led on by their chiefs, must decide the momentous contest. The few persons amongst us of no creed, no principles, no fixed opinions—unless attachment to their own crude negations can be so considered, will be crushed, or driven before these two mighty forces as the air-bubbles of a lake before the confluence of two mighty rivers, struggling on its bosom for the mastery of the channel.

The ground of complaint is, that the present party in power has given its moral weight in favour of Popery. It is made a mark of identity with the ten kingdoms into which the Roman Pagan Empire was divided, that they "*gave their power to the Beast.*" Many commentators have attempted to show that England was not one of these kingdoms. The doubt, however, seems now likely to be cleared up. If in ages past our ancestors rendered a reluctant and imperfect homage to this ominous power, the defect seems now likely to be amply supplied. And where is the difference in *principle* between "the kings of the earth giving their power to the Beast," and the dominant party in this limited monarchy doing the same? Such is the structure of Popery, that she can receive homage in every form, and from all parties. In the new arrangement of things in this country, the popular branch of the three estates is the governing power, and, strange to say, the democratic portion of our divided constitution has, again and again, presented the sweet incense of its favour and patronage to Popery.

Lest all which has been said respecting the moral influence of the present party in power being given to the Church of Rome, should be mistaken for declamation, it may be proper to refresh the memory of the reader by the mention of a few facts.

1. Then what was meant by the celebrated *appropriation clause*, but injury to the Protestant Church, and favour to the Popish? If, as the Prime Minister stated, this measure was calculated to "*deal a heavy blow and great discouragement* to the Protestant Church"; the converse of this must be true, viz., that it was calculated to deal a heavy blow and great *encouragement* in favour of the Church of Rome. When it was proposed to confiscate the property of the Church, secular education, indeed, was the object to which it was proposed to appropriate the funds. All this did very well as the excuse for an argument; but there did not exist a man in England, or in the civilized world, who took an interest in the measures of our legislature, whether Tory, Whig, Radical, Papist, or Protestant, who did not believe, and know, that the measure was intended to weaken the power of the Protestant, and increase that of the Popish Church.

2. The permitted resumption of the ecclesiastical titles of the Irish Church by the Popish priests, is another illustration of the bias and policy of the party now in power. The Relief Bill prohibited the assumption of these

titles on the part of the Popish priests, and guarded the enactment by the sanction of severe penalties. The reader must recollect the true nature of this measure. It is not that these parties shall not adopt the titles and perform the functions of vicars-apostolic, bishops, and archbishops, if they choose to do so. They are at perfect liberty to do this; but the object was to prevent them assuming the titles of the Anglican prelates, and that for a most obvious reason. No question can be entertained, but the priesthood of the Church of Rome cherish the notion of occupying the dioceses of the Establishment, and that provision of the Relief Bill was intended to prevent this catastrophe. The importance of the clause, in the estimation of the authors of the measure, may be imagined by the amount of penalty annexed. The Archiepiscopal office of Tuam has been abolished; but long before this took place, by the demise of the late prelate, Dr. M'Hale assumed the title, and in all his clerical documents invariably signed himself "JOHN TUAM." By the strenuous exertions of the Protestant party in the Commons, indeed, a petition presented as the *humble* request of this Archbishop of Tuam, has been rejected on account of its glaring violation of an existing Act of Parliament, but with indecent reluctance; and many stammering apologies on the part of the Noble Lord at the head of the Government in this House. In the mean time the law is suffered to slumber in the statute book, and this Popish Archbishop is left in undisturbed possession of his illegally assumed dignity.

The spirit in which these usurpations are viewed by those in power may easily be perceived from another transaction in connexion with "JOHN TUAM." On a requisition being presented to the Lord-lieutenant of a county to convene a public meeting, this ecclesiastic claimed, and exercised, the right of precedence over the new Bishop of the Church, who may be fairly considered as the representative of the opinions and feelings of the government of which his father is a member. We see, first in order, the name of John Archbishop of Tuam in this document, and then, humbly follows the signature of "THOMAS TUAM," the bishop of the Established Church. Had Thomas Tuam been acting in his private capacity, and been called upon to give his own name (Plunkett) instead of that of his country's Church, the position in which he placed it would be sufficiently elevated. But when the question of precedence lies betwixt England and Rome, it assumes a very different aspect, and nothing short of the most reptile meanness, anti-national sentiments, or religious poltroonism could lead to so base a compromise. Here we are cheered with the spectacle of a dignitary of the English Church, trained in the new school of Christian politics, publicly acknowledging the superiority of Rome over England,—Popery over Protestantism. What should prevent this gentleman becoming a subject of the Holy See, but the emoluments of office? In open profession he acknowledges, by his act, the superiority of the Papal hierarchy over his own:—it is first in his notions of ecclesiastical supremacy; he must consequently, as regards Church order, be a true son of Rome, and Protestantism would be much safer without such shepherds of her flocks—such guardians of her folds. This case, indeed, would be of trivial consequence considered in itself. But as the index of a class of sentiments, which there is good reason to believe, extensively exist in the school of which this young bishop is a disciple, it is of great value and consequence. By these concessions, com-

promises, and gradual surrender of first one and then another great principle to Popery, she will soon occupy the position she seeks. By the national school act she obtained the recognition of her dangerous dogma, which excludes the Scriptures from the people: and now, by this compromise, she has wheedled, or bullied, one of the bishops of the Established Church, who probably speaks and acts for his party—into an acknowledgment of her SUPREMACY.

3. Many of the colonies presenting, like the American wilderness, an open field for religious cultivation, it follows that free scope is afforded for the development of the plans of any party happening to be in power. Of course the whole, or nearly the whole country, being unoccupied, a fair opportunity is afforded for the display of either Protestant or Popish zeal. Alas! we have no record of any remarkable countenance and support given to the one system, but we have abundance of proof of attachment to the other. The parties themselves may, we presume, be believed on this subject. The Catholic Directory for 1839, either in gratitude or in exultation, states:—

"*Under the protection of her Majesty's Government, the British Colonies, East, West, and North, have received New Bishops and Vicars-General: Bishop Clancy, for British Guiana; Bishop Smith, as coadjutor to the Bishop of Trinidad: Bishop Carew, as coadjutor to the Bishop of Calcutta: Bishop Griffiths, at the Cape of Good Hope: and Bishop Hynes, as coadjutor to the Ionian Isles,—all of whom, as well as in Australia, are supplied with a well-selected accession of assistant Missionaries.*"

The "*protection of her Majesty's Government*" is no barren and useless friendship, as may be seen by the following extract from a most valuable paper on the "Statistics of Popery in Great Britain and the Colonies," in *Frazer's Magazine* for April, 1839:—

"In *Upper Canada* there are, as declared in the Parliamentary papers of 1836, which are our authorities in the following statements on the Colonies, thirty Roman Catholic priests receiving from Government £50 each, and one Bishop receiving £100.

"In *Lower Canada*, according to the same documents, the Roman Catholic Church has all their tithe, liable only to a few exceptions in favour of Protestants. A numerous priesthood produces a colonial epitome of Ireland. The Popish Bishop receives from our Government £1000 per anuum.

"In *Newfoundland*, the Romish Bishop has £75 per annum, by parliamentary grant.

"A grant of eight acres of land," says Mr. Gladstone, in his work on Church and State, "has lately been made for the erection of a Roman Catholic Cathedral. It is stated by parties connected with the Colonies, that the contributions of the Roman Catholics of Newfoundland, to the support of their Bishop and Clergy, amount in value to not less than £6000 or £7000 annually.

"In *Jamaica*, one Romish Bishop, and two Priests. It seems that the Jamaica House of Assembly affords no assistance to Popery. Query—is this the reason for its proposed annihilation by the Queen's ministers?

"*Trinidad*—Two Romish Bishops, Drs. M'Donnell and Smith, and

twenty-two Priests; to whom, it appears, by the parliamentary papers referred to, £2487 was granted by Government in 1835, whereas £860 only was given to the Clergy of the Protestant Church. This reminds one of the Irishman's idea of reciprocity, which was all on one side.

" *Granada*—Six Priests, to whom are given certain lands as their support.

" *St. Vincent*—Two Priests.

" *St. Lucia*—Six Priests, to whom are granted 11,000 francs per annum. The Catholic Directory for 1839, adds, ' Permanent salaries have been granted by the Colonial Government to these four, and a similar provision made for an additional one.'

" Dr. Smith, the coadjutor Bishop, is now in England, begging from West India merchants, under the plea that the Priests alone are able to quiet the emancipated negroes. Better that the children of Africa had remained in such slavery as they were born in, than come under the iron crosier and foul despotism of Rome.

" *Dominica*—Five Priests, paid by the Colonial Government.

" *Mountserrat and Barbadoes*—Two Priests, do.

" *Gibraltar*—Church of Rome receives from Government £196 per annum, of which the vicar-apostolic takes £100.

" *Malta*—A Romish Chaplain is supported by our Government, and military salutes paid to Popish festivals.

" *Ionian Islands*—Thirteen Popish Chapels, with salaries amounting to £1010 per annum.

" *Australia*—One Romish Bishop, and twenty-two Priests; and these are endowed by our Government on the same terms as the Clergy of the English and Scottish Churches. To the deep disgrace of the Presbytery of New South Wales, a unanimous vote was passed approving of these ' judicious and impartial regulations;' and Dr. Laing has lauded this sacrifice of principle in no measured terms. Dr. Polding, the Popish Bishop, was sent out by our Government. On the 27th of August, 1838, the following estimates were moved by the Secretary, and agreed to by the Legislative Council:—

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY.

The Right Rev. the Roman Catholic Bishop	£500	0	0
The Vicar-General	200	0	0
Fourteen Roman Catholic Chaplains at £150 each, per annum	2100	0	0
To provide salaries for six additional Chaplains, expected to arrive in the year 1839.	900	0	0
	£3800	0	0

PROSPECTIVE ENCOURAGEMENT.

Allowance to Chaplains for travelling expences	£200	0	0
Towards erecting Chapels, and dwellings for Chaplains, ON CONDITION OF AN EQUAL SUM BEING RAISED BY PRIVATE CONTRIBUTION	1600	0	0
	£1800	0	0

ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

Towards the support of Roman Catholic Schools at present established in the Colony	£800	0	0
In aid of additional Schools, on condition of sums to an equal amount being raised by private subscription.....	300	0	0
Towards the support of destitute Roman Catholic children.....	1000	0	0
	£2100	0	0

" *Madras Mission for India*—Two Bishops and ten Priests; to whom are given, by the State, 16,697 sicca rupees, or £1669 14s.

" If to these endowments of the Romish Church be added the annual grant to Maynooth, it will be found that our Government—Tory or Whig, for both are equally guilty—grants, for the dishonour of God, the ruin of souls, and the extinction of truth, not less than £30,000 per annum. If, to all these, the grants to the National Schools of Ireland be added, the countenance shown to the Papal Church, by our country, is most painful. Disastrous policy! Surely individual Protestants will neutralize this pernicious conduct, by doing much more than they have done, for the downfall of Babylon."

A friend, who is well acquainted with the West Indies has sent me a copy of the *Barbadoes New Times*, containing the following " *Government Notice.*"

GOVERNMENT NOTICE.

THE RIGHT REVEREND THE LORD BISHOP OF OLYMPUS, having been pleased to appoint the Reverend WILLIAM RODGERS as Minister of the Roman Catholic Church in Barbados, the same is hereby Published for general information.

By His Excellency's Command,
JOSEPH GARRAWAY,
Acting Private Secretary.

Government-House, Barbados,
2nd March, 1839.

This document clearly identifies the government of Barbadoes with the operations of the Church of Rome. Would the governor employ the Royal Arms, the government press, the authority and influence of his own name and office, together with the signature of his secretary, to proclaim the auspicious event of the approach of a Popish priest, had he not received some instructions from home to do so? Would the LORD BISHOP OF OLYMPUS have his TITLES proclaimed in this " *Government Notice,*" had

not the government in this country determined to sanction the claims of the Papacy!

One instance more of favour shown to the Roman Catholic Church may be added: the large allotments of land called "*Clergy Reserves*," in Canada, set apart originally for the support of the Protestant religion, it is now proposed to divide, on the plan of giving equal parts to the Church of England, the Church of Rome, and the Church of Scotland, and by way of keeping all other parties quiet, to confer one share amongst them.

4. The last display of Popish feeling on the part of the present party in power, which may be noticed, is, to foist Popery into the new scheme of national education. As this is so fully before the public, it need not be dwelt upon further than to notice that, up to the present moment, the vigilance, zeal, and fixed determination of the party to serve the cause they have espoused, have evidently suffered no abatement. The first plan of the Committee of Privy Council, to allow the Popish Bible, with its iniquitous notes, to be used in the Normal School, in which it was proposed to train hundreds of youths for the service of the country, at a time when they might all have the *favour* of receiving the necessary *virus*, is sufficiently evident in its meaning. But being defeated in this, a grand change in the plan is proposed, to the effect, that, these Lords of the Council shall be at liberty to accomplish privately, and by their own irresponsible power, if they think proper, what the country has determined they shall not be allowed to do publicly. Truly these persons must entertain a curious opinion of the temper and spirit of the English people. They claim the innocent and unsuspecting trust and confidence of the public with all the boldness of conscious integrity and innocence. After the ample opportunities afforded, will the nation allow this new power to be assumed and exercised in favour of Popery? Why do not the promoters of this scheme proceed to accomplish their purpose in the old English, and constitutional method, *by Bill?* Just because it would give the other House the opportunity of expressing an opinion, and thwarting the measure. It may be fairly questioned—indeed, confidently alleged, that the means adopted to carry this measure are in perfect harmony with the jesuitry of the scheme itself.

Then from all these facts and circumstances it may be asked, is it *safe*, is it *rational*, is it *English*, is it *Christian*, to confide the religious destinies of the country to such hands as these?

It is quite time for other parties to appear on the stage. Too long have the ministers of religion stood aloof. Their meek and quiet demeanour, in the midst of the perils of our Protestant Christianity, is surely sufficient to screen them from the imputation of political meddlers. But if other parties turn aside from the path of secular legislation to corrupt and endanger our pure Christianity, for the purpose of making it the instrument of their power, then for the ministers of religion to remain neutral, is to betray their sacred trust. This time is now fully come. To doubt respecting the course of the current, is folly; to be indifferent as to the result, is cowardice or treachery. The voice of our Christianity must now be heard in high places. The result cannot be doubtful. A light is going forth, which will either flash conviction or confusion on the enemies of our Protestantism; and by the blessing of Almighty God, the Church will gather strength in the storm, and stand forth in greater majesty to rebuke her enemies, as well as in greater purity and charity to bless the world.

LETTER IV.

If the present collision betwixt the Popish and Protestant parties in the State is, as we have shewn a pre-eminently religious question, then this will not only justify the appearance of religious men on the field of contest, but make it absolutely their duty to take their place and support their principles. The remark of Bishop Burnet (Life and Times) in reference to the divisions and coldness of Protestants of his day is equally applicable to the present time:—"The whole body of Protestants, if united, might be an equal match to the Church of Rome. It is much superior to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal which the monastic orders, but chiefly the *Jesuits*, spread through their whole communion: whereas the Reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed, in matters that relate to religion." In removing this reproach, and bringing about a better state of things, great difficulties lie in the way, and especially in regard to *unity*. Such is the rancour and animosity of many Protestant sects towards each other, that they would evidently rather witness the ascendancy of Popery than unite with their rival in repelling the danger. However, there is, no doubt, among all parties of true Protestants, large numbers who might be brought to rally—not on neutral ground, for there can be none in this contest—but on the well-understood principles of our general Protestantism.

1. The Preservation of the Constitution and the Monarchy is a point on which all real Protestants may well agree. The advancement of Popery is opposed to the spirit and genius of the Constitution, the integrity and independence of the nation, the security of the monarchy, and the freedom of the subject. Let us try these questions by an induction of particulars. One of the leading doctrines of Popery is the *supremacy* of his Holiness the Pope. What is meant by this dogma? The plausible Jesuit, and the blind democrat his dupe, will unite to affirm that this claim is limited simply to spiritual things; relates to abstract questions of theology; has nothing to do with any thing but men's consciences; and is only a ghostly influence exercised by an old venerable saint at Rome over his disciples and admirers in distant nations;—that this claim can injure no worldly and civil interests, endanger no rights of princes or of nations, and in no way interfere with the freedom of men. This is only said when a deception has to be played off on the gullibility and simplicity of parties, to be "taken captive" by this enemy "at his will." How is the matter of this supremacy put by their own highest authorities? The angelic doctor, Thomas Aquinas, says, that, "in the Pope is the top of both powers (temporal and spiritual) and that when any one is denounced excommunicate for apostacy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion and their oath of allegiance." Baronius holds, "that there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal; and that God hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual Church." Bellarmine delivers it as the common opinion of Catholics, "that by reason of the spiritual power, the Pope, at least indirectly, hath a supreme power even in temporal matters." The Bull of Pope Sixtus V. against the two sons of Henry, King of Navarre, and Prince of Conde, begins thus—"The authority given to St. Peter and his successors, by the immense power

of the eternal King, excels all the power of earthly Kings and Princes. It passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all; and if they find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so powerful, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer;" and then, in the exercise of this authority, "We deprive them and their posterity for ever, of their dominions and kingdoms." And again:—"By the same authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath (of allegiance), and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience, and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands." Boniface VIII. proclaims—"We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of *necessity to salvation* for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff—one sword must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power—and hence, if the earthly power doth go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power." Leo X., in his Bull, read and approved in the Lateran Council, says, "We do renew and approve that holy Constitution, with approbation of the present holy Council;" and Baronius holds "that all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth who doth not by discord fall from the Church;" and another of these documents puts the crowning glory on the head of his Holiness: "Our Lord God, the Pope: another God upon earth; King of kings and Lord of lords. The same is the dominion of God and the Pope. To believe that our Lord God the Pope might not decree as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy. The power of the Pope is greater than all created power, and extends itself to things celestial, terrestrial, and infernal. The Pope doth whatsoever things he listeth, even things unlawful, and is more than God." The oath taken by the Popish Bishops contains this principle of absolute supremacy. "I, N——, from this hour will be faithful to my Lord N——, Pope, and his successors; the counsel that they shall deliver to me I will reveal to no one, to their damage. I will be their helper in retaining the Papacy, and *royalties* of St. Peter, and I will defend them against every man. I will be careful to preserve, defend, and promote the *rights, honours, privileges* and *authority* of the Pope. I will not be (a party) in any counsel, deed, or treaty, in which may be devised any thing sinister against the Pope, or prejudicial to his person, *rights, or power;* and if I shall know any such thing to be under discussion by any parties whatsoever, I will hinder it as far as I am able; and as soon as I know it, I will signify it to my Lord the Pope. The Apostolic mandates I will observe with all my powers, and I will cause them to be observed by others; heretics and rebels against my Lord the Pope, I will persecute and attack; being called to a Synod, I will come."

These are samples of what is meant by the Pope's supremacy. It is true, that, in modern times, it has not appeared, practically, in this haughty and offensive form, and for the very good reason that the nations of the world have refused to concede it. The great national struggles of the Reformation turned on this point. Previously to that auspicious period, all that is asserted in the above extracts actually existed. The power therein claimed was exercised in all the nations of Europe. Kings, nobles, nations, trembled in the presence of this ghostly power, and meekly bowed their ignoble necks to

receive the yoke so sedulously prepared, and so boldly put on, It was only after the most fierce and bloody wars; the death of millions of victims to these desolating storms; the expenditure of a countless amount of treasure; and the most strenuous and long-continued mental and religious contest, that this hideous power was shaken, and the nations, in some measure, were freed from the bleeding despotism. Has the right of the Popedom to this power ever been renounced? Have we ever heard of modern Pontiffs rescinding the Bulls, and abandoning the claims of their lordly predecessors? How can this be, with the claim to infallibility still maintained?

Does the revival of Popery in our day mean the revival of these claims? Most unquestionably. None indeed can be so simple as to imagine that the full enormity will be attempted at once; and no doubt many private Roman Catholics, in their hearts, renounce the notion of the evil in its ancient magnitude. But do they renounce the *principle* of the Pope's supremacy? If the root is left in the soil, what should hinder the ripe fruit again appearing, which was produced in ancient times? This, amongst the other leading dogmas of the Papacy, is held *ex animo* by the nine millions of Papists, now pressing for power and authority in the empire, and though it can neither be much studied nor well understood by the Irish peasants, yet it is both studied and understood by their priestly leaders, and their ignorance renders them the most suitable instruments possible, by whom to work out the design. Let this question be gravely pondered. Can this claim of supremacy, put forward by the Pope, be conceded, admitted, and be *practically* acted upon by half the people of the empire, in safety to the monarchy? It may indeed be conceded, that so long as the two forces are pretty equal, the independence and nationality of the country will be secure; but let a direct recognition of the rights of the court of Rome be admitted, ambassadors again interchange visits, concordats be negotiated, and nuncioes of the Holy See appear on our shores in pretended priestly, but in real secular power and grandeur, and England is again a province of Rome. Let not this be considered chimerical. At this moment the Protestant King of Prussia is entangled in a war, if not as bloody, yet as intricate and difficult as the one he waged with Napoleon, by just admitting the right of the Pope to interfere, in the civil affairs of his people, on the subject of mixed marriages. We have the odious spectacle of a powerful Protestant Monarch dallying, by his ambassador in Rome, with his Holiness, on a question vital to the independence and Protestantism of his kingdom. His Holiness, in all probability, will conquer in the issue; and simply by the folly of this good and moderate prince allowing him to become a party, not remotely, but directly, in the affairs of the country. Let some such event cause our not very scrupulous leaders to enter into a treaty, negotiate a concordat, for the benefit of the Papists of the empire, and in that instant this foreign power is acknowledged, and he becomes a party in the affairs of Great Britain.

Is it not time then for the friends of the monarchy to rally their forces for its protection? England has been free, as a nation, ever since her separation from Rome, and her liberty was acquired by that event. Under the stimulating and fostering influence of her Protestant freedom, she has risen from being the vassal of priestly despotism to become one of the mightiest nations on the earth. With her freedom and her power, every thing else has had a corresponding expansion. In intelligence, in science and the arts, in manu-

facturing and commercial greatness, in colonial growth and enlargement, in the success and triumph of her arms by sea and by land, in all the means of physical comfort and enjoyment, and above all, in moral and religious excellency and influence, this country has stood unrivalled amongst the nations of either ancient or modern times. Surely all good men, of every sect, name, and party, who are sensible of the mercy of Divine Providence, in raising the country and themselves to so high an eminence, will unite to guard the national integrity, independence, and power? So far as the throne is under Popish influence it ceases, not only to be Protestant, but to be English. It is no more the bright gem and diadem of a free, independent, and heroic nation, bnt the sullied, crest-fallen, and shattered ornament of a power decrepid and paralyzed, just ready to pay homage to the triple crown of papal Rome. In like manner in the same proportion as the legislature is brought under the influence of Popish maxims and power, just in the same degree it ceases to be independent, national, and free.

Moreover, the claims of Popery and the spirit of the British constitution are as much opposed to each other as the supremacy of the Pope and the integrity of the Monarchy. The *ecclesiastical system*, as well as the doctrines of Popery, is put forward, and exacted, as of divine right. The head of this ambitious Church, is not only exalted above all earthly power, but the artful and heterogeneous canon law, decrees of councils, bulls of Popes, and finely woven net-work of Church authority, intended universally to pervade the world, are all held to be infallible, and consequently possess an authority transcendently above all human law. It only requires the slightest acquaintance with the history of the Reformation, either in this country, or in any of the reformed nations of Europe, at once to perceive the oppressive and tyrannic nature of this system when once established. It is only necessary for the reader to picture to himself the circumstance of an entire community pervaded by Popery, and adhered to by the people, to be convinced of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of freedom which lives and breathes in the British constitution.

The point is simply this. The Church of Rome claims the dominion of law—call the code spiritual or civil, or both—the fact is, it is such law as seizes the whole mental and moral energies of man, and of the community at large. This system of law is not like an act of Parliament, debated and recommended on the grounds of general justice, and the well-being of the subject, but it is enacted as a code infinitely above the scrutiny, examination, and opposition of the people; it is enforced as an unquestionable ecclesiastical obligation, and hence becomes a part of their religion. Now these laws enjoin universal and absolute fealty to the Pope; devotion, strong as death, to Mother Church; exalt the priesthood above all other official persons; enjoin and exact obedience to canonical discipline as divine; when unobstructed, they interfere with the property and civil state of all parties; and also under various pretexts assume the right of hearing appeals, and thus prevent the progress of political justice.

When the light of the Reformation first dawned on the nations, the noble Reformers found themselves confronted, at every movement they made, by this terrible incubus of canonical law. The rights, immunities, and property of the Church; the religious houses, the ecclesiastical courts, and the orders of monks, friars, mendicants, and fraternities of every kind; were found so

numerous and powerful, that it was impossible to erect a national fabric, without first clearing the ground of this complicated mass. But the struggle was fearful, and the operation like plucking up the very roots of society. The nature of this evil may be illustrated by the state of Ireland at the present moment. By the Reform Act, the elective franchise was conferred on the Popish population of the sister country. It is of the genius of the constitution, that all such persons shall be free to exercise their own judgement in the choice of representatives. How stands the matter in reality? The power of the Church comes in and practically nullifies the power of the constitution. The law of the hierarchy is found much more operative than the law of the country. When six millions of people are found to think, reason, feel, and act alike, on all the great and grave questions requiring their attention in the choice of representatives, it might as well be said that finely-cropped hedge-rows, cut down to just the same size and trim uniformity by the shears of the gardener, were free agents. The franchise given to the Popish people of Ireland, as in the case of all other British subjects, was conferred for national purposes; but the Papacy comes in and turns the whole to her own account. In this case, we have a constitutional provision and a Popish power put in direct collision, and it is seen, that the domination of the latter entirely subverts the former. Nobody on earth will affirm, that the Popish members are elected, otherwise than by the *direct* influence of the priesthood. Yet in Ireland the ecclesiastical system of Rome does not exist in at least open and palpable power—in all its imposing influence; and yet, in its *mitigated* form, it is found to be sufficiently operative to annul, to the full extent of its dominion, one of the most essential blessings of our free constitution. What should prevent the same evil in England, under similar circumstances? Indeed, it is utterly impossible for the British constitution to develope its power, and produce its benefits, in case Popery prevails. The choice of all parties now lies between the despotism of Popish rule, and the freedom provided by the Protestant constitution of this country. It is to be hoped that the English nation will ultimately open its eyes to this stirring fact. Whatever shades of difference may exist among British Christians, as to mere politics, they ought all to rally round our Protestant constitution, *not for the sake of party*, but from an infinitely higher consideration,—gratitude for the goodness of Providence, in bestowing upon us a system of government which has secured to us personal, civil, and religious freedom. British and Romish principles, laws, and domination, cannot possibly co-exist. The constitution of the country was laid in the overthrow of the Popish system, and if the latter is allowed again to predominate, the institutions of the nation must be gradually overthrown, till the fair and beautiful fabric appears like a castle in ruins, inhabited by "*every foul and hateful bird!*"

2. THE RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE AND FREEDOM OF JUDGEMENT, SO PROMINENT A PRINCIPLE OF OUR GENERAL PROTESTANTISM, IS ANOTHER GROUND ON WHICH ALL PARTIES MAY RRADILY AGREE.—Popery is founded in a subjection of the consciences of its disciples to its power; whilst the Protestant religion teaches the right of private judgement as one of its leading doctrines. The two systems are here at perfect issue. The claim of the Church of Rome to the exercise of the office of infallible interpreter of the faith, effectually nullifies the right of conscience. She requires her own dis-

ciples to believe; without even any mental scruple or doubt, whatever she propounds as an article of faith; and anathematizes as heretics, doomed to eternal punishment, all Protestants who have the boldness to differ from her dogmas. In fact, all her persecutions have arisen out of this assumption. It would be easy to fill a volume with extracts on the subject; a few will suffice. "We say, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to salvation, for every man to be subject to the Pope of Rome. The Pope is Christ's vicar, St. Peter's successor, and hath the supreme power on earth over the whole church."—(Council Trent.) The Rhemish Testament contains the following note on Rev. xvii. 6, "*Drunken with the blood of the saints:*" "Protestants," they say "foolishly expound it of Rome, for that *there* they put *heretics to death,* and allow of their punishment in *other countries:* but their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of *thieves, man-killers,* and other *malefactors,* for the shedding of which, by the order of justice, no commonwealth shall answer." Lest this should be considered antiquated and obsolete, it may be proper to give an extract from a Bull of his Holiness so late as 1824, on the question of toleration, and suited in its topics to the times in which we live.

On the subject of TOLERATION, his Holiness writes—"But what is the tendency of these remarks? a certain sect, which undoubtedly is not unknown to you, improperly arrogating to itself the title of PHILOSOPHY, has raised from their ashes the disordered [or routed] phalanxes of nearly every kind of error. This sect, holding out the alluring yet specious semblance of piety and liberality, makes a profession of TOLERATION, as they term it, or of INDIFFERENTISM, and extols it not only in civil matters, about [its utility in] which we are not now speaking, but likewise in the business of religion: it teaches that God has granted ample liberty to every one, that, what sect or opinion soever pleases a man according to his own private judgment, he may embrace or adopt it without endangering his salvation. Against this impiety of doating men, the Apostle PAUL gives us the following admonition:—'Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them. For they that are such serve not the LORD JESUS CHRIST, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.'

"But will it ever be possible for any man, who makes a right use of his reason, to approve of a TOLERATION which extends itself to *Deism,* and even to *Naturalism,* and which was reprehended by the ancient heretics themselves? Yet (such is the degeneracy of the times! and such the deceit of this lying philosophy) a general *Toleration* is approved, defended, and commanded by this species of false philosophers.

"Indeed there have not been wanting several eminent writers, professors of the true philosophy, who with great devotedness have attempted to destroy this monster by invincible arguments. That it is impossible for God, who is supremely true, nay, Supreme Truth itself; who is infinitely good and wise in the administration of his providence, and the rewarder of the good,—that it is impossible for him to approve of *all sects,** who suggest and propagate false doctrines, which are frequently contradictory and at variance with

* See the adroitness with which his Holiness mixes up all sects of Christians with infidel philosophies, and at the end of the paragraph assigns them a similar fate.

each other, or for him to bestow eternal rewards upon the professors of such doctrines,—is a thing so evident in itself as to render it superfluous to add another word on the subject. For we have a more sure word of prophecy; and when writing to you, we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the wisdom of this world, but the wisdom of God in a mystery! It is by this wisdom that we are instructed, and by divine faith we hold one Lord, one faith, one baptism; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, except the name of JESUS CHRIST of Nazareth, whereby we must be saved: wherefore, we also openly profess, that OUT OF THE CHURCH IS NO SALVATION."

BIBLE.—On the question of the Bible Society and its operations, the Pope writes:—

"What now can be said? The iniquity of our enemies proceeds to such a length, that in addition to the filthy mass of pernicious books, which is of itself prejudicial to religion, they endeavour to convert to the detriment of religion the very Sacred Scriptures themselves, which were bestowed on us by God for the establishment of religion.

"It is no secret to you, venerable Brethren, that a certain society vulgarly called 'THE BIBLE SOCIETY,' [*audaciter vagari*] is audaciously dispreading itself through the whole world. After aspersing the traditions of the Holy Fathers, and in opposition to the well-known decree of the Council of Trent, (Session the Fourth, on the publication and use of the Sacred Books) this society has collected all its forces, and directs every means to one object,—to the *translation*, or rather to the *perversion* of THE BIBLE into the vernacular languages of all nations! From this fact there is strong ground to fear, lest, as in some instances already known, so likewise in the rest, through a perverse interpretation, there be framed out of the Gospel of CHRIST, a gospel of man, or what is worse, a gospel of the DEVIL.

"For the purpose of averting this pest, several of our predecessors published constitutions; and in these last days, PIUS the Seventh, of pious memory, delivered two briefs, &c.

"We likewise, in discharge of our Apostolical functions, exhort you, venerable Brethren, *diligently to occupy yourselves by every possible method, to remove your flocks from these deadly and destructive pastures.* Reprove, entreat, be instant in season and out of season, in all patience and doctrine, that the faithful under your charge, conforming themselves exactly to the *Rules of our Congregation of the Index*, may be assuredly persuaded, if the HOLY BIBLE, translated into the vulgar tongue, be GENERALLY PERMITTED without discrimination, more *detriment* than utility will arise from such a practice, in consequence of men's rashness."

Evidence might easily be multiplied on this question. We have, however, living proof of the actual dominion of this corrupt Church over the consciences of millions of our own countrymen. The case of Ireland appears to be preserved either to illustrate the true spirit of this monstrous form of religion in order that we may be enlightened and convinced, or otherwise to overthrow our Protestantism and freedom. No one that is acquainted with the facts of the case can affirm, that the Irish Papists are free *in their* church. A state of blacker tyranny does not exist on earth. It is impossible to discover a more deeply injured, afflicted, and enslaved people. From time immemorial, the fashion has been to decry every government and party in

the state, till they found allies of their system in the present; whilst, in truth, the cause of Irish misery is of home growth—it is moral: the despotic hierarchy is the fruitful source. How should it be otherwise? The people are deprived of the right to read the Bible; of questioning the monstrous folly which is palmed upon them as the infallible truth of God; of investigating the foundations of religion; or in any way exercising their reason and judgement. By some talismanic influence, the intellect, conscience, fears, (they have but few hopes or joys) are seized, rivetted, and held fast by Popery. If the English people could be benefitted by a simple narrative of facts, on the grinding despotism exercised over their fellow-subjects in Ireland, it would stand in the place of a volume of arguments in condemnation of this monstrous system. As if to display the perfection of their tyranny, and refute all the beautiful eloquence employed respecting the melting and healing nature of the Emancipation Act, ever since that period, the priesthood have been tightening the chain, so that now the poor people are perfectly inaccessible to the light of the Gospel.

To free the people from this tyranny over their consciences, and invigorate the national mind with a just appreciation of the rights of private judgment, was one of the battles and victories of the Reformation. Neither was this sentiment apprehended, or this right gained, at once. The Protestant Church has been charged with a persecuting spirit. There is some ground for the charge. So long as the relics of Rome hung upon our Protestant profession, and our Church lingered on the confines of her dark dominion, so long imperfect notions of liberty were entertained. But, on the other hand, so soon, as the *virus* of the old despotism of Rome had worked itself out of the veins of our Protestantism, then we ceased to persecute, and recognized liberty of conscience as one of the unquestionable privileges of mankind.

In case the spirit and claims of Popery prevail again in the nation, it must be to the extreme hazard, and final annihilation, of this precious and invaluable right of private judgement. Every British subject who may fall into the snare of the Romish Church, becomes the victim and the supporter of despotism, and is consequently a much less valuable member of the empire. The exercise of this power over the conscience works two ways; first, in regard to the Papists themselves, who allow and submit to it; and then, secondly, in relation to those who separate from the Popish Church; in their case, the right of dissent is denied, and they are all denounced as heretics.

The adoption of the claim of the priesthood to exercise an absolute controul over the judgement and conscience of the disciples of Rome, when adopted by large numbers in the State, becomes a precedent of great importance, and so far as it goes, must tend to overthrow one of the most necessary, as well as one of the most ennobling rights of mankind. We hear from Mr. O'Connell and other Papists, loud and blustering speeches on the question of religious liberty. It is quite easy to comprehend the meaning of this; but let us ask, are these gentlemen themselves, and the millions they represent, free? Do they or do they not allow, that, to the Church and to the Church only, belongs the power and right of infallibly and authoritatively settling all controversies and enjoining all articles of faith? Do they or do they not hold, as one of the verities of their religion, and on which their salvation depends, that they themselves are bound to receive, and believe, without any right to examine, or question, the dogmas enforced upon them?

Do they or do they not assent to the doctrine of the Papacy, that the right of private judgement in searching the Scriptures, examining the grounds of religion, the doctrines to be embraced, and the duties to be performed, is a dangerous and a pernicious error, denounced and anathematized by their Popes and Councils? Every one knows that the clamour for religious liberty is an exertion to obtain the advancement of that monstrous hierarchy, one of whose fundamental rules is, the utter denial of the right. Concessions, no doubt, are made by the priesthood to the wealthy, the talented, and the powerful. But as a *principle*, the rule is enforced with the strictest rigour; and we have the very pleasant circumstance, of millions of men, living in the very heart of the empire, constantly clamouring for their claims, making their support the pivot on which the government of the country turns, and also increasing in numbers, wealth, standing, and influence, one of whose leading, fundamental, and even religious dogmas is, the denial of the rights of conscience and of private judgement. Talk about free institutions! How can these either be originated or secured unless the mind is free?

The reverse of this dangerous and humiliating doctrine of Rome is one of the leading, glorious, and most essential maxims of Protestantism, viz., the inalienable right of every man to exercise his own free and unbiassed choice in all matters of religion. Surely on this ground all Protestants can unite. It is a sentiment common to them all. Would not the moral and political ascendancy of Popery lead to the utter overthrow of this solid, and as long as it is maintained, impregnable rampart of Protestantism. How is it, that, whilst civil rights and political power are conferred on Popery by men professing Protestant principles, no pains are taken to raise, at least, a moral barrier against the extension of her pernicious opinions? If legal guards are removed, and this great and powerful body is raised to political equality with all other parties in the State, then certainly it ought to be accompanied by a clear and intelligible line of demarcation, between the tyrannic and pernicious principles of this Church, and the constitutional principles of our common Protestantism. Whilst Papists are yet free from the external restraints of law, and civil penalties *from without*, let it always be understood by the British public, that amongst themselves they are bound together by a system which annihilates the right of private judgement: that this blessing is denied to us, accompanied by the bitterest anathemas; and that it is intended, amongst other things, by the spread of Popery, to rob us of our individual freedom, by placing our consciences in the safe custody of Mother Church. Milton, one of the earliest and most strenuous asserters of the true principle of liberty of conscience, says:—

"The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by reading of his revealed will, and the guidance of the Holy Spirit? That this is the best pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant Church allows no Supreme Judge or Rule in matters of religion but the Scriptures; and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers liberty of conscience: I have heretofore proved at large in another treatise; and might yet further by the public declarations, confessions, and

admonitions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all histories since the Reformation."

LETTER V.

THE last letter related to a basis of union amongst true Protestants, in resisting the encroachments of Popery. In furtherance of the same object, permit me to add :—

3. THAT THE INTEGRITY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, TOGETHER WITH THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO THEIR USE, IS A PRINCIPLE ON WHICH ALL PROTESTANTS MAY UNITE.

Of all the questions at issue betwixt the Popish and the Protestant Churches, this is the most momentous. In fact, it is a dispute for the platform and basis of either system. Popery being built, chiefly on a corruption of the truths of Scripture, or on principles inimical to those truths altogether, is naturally desirous of putting the Bible out of the way, that her dark designs and pernicious dogmas may remain unquestioned by the people. On the other hand, Protestantism being based on the Scriptures only, must be anxious to keep them before the public, not merely as a weapon of opposition to the rival Church, but as the foundation on which she alone claims to rest. To wrest the Bible out of the hands of Protestants, is to disarm them of their shield and spear, leaving them defenceless in the hands of their enemies ; whilst, on the other hand, the absence of that blessed book allows Popery to arm herself in the complete panoply of her power.

Moreover, to place the Word of God in the hands of the people has always been considered one of the most noble triumphs of Protestant freedom ; whilst to deprive them of that invaluable blessing has been held as one of the worst forms of Popish despotism. Then the contest on this question is a contest of the spirit of liberty against tyranny, not for some national territory, church revenues, state ascendancy, ecclesiastical polity, but for an object infinitely superior to them all,—the book of God's covenant, and the charter of our salvation.

We find, in tracing the progress of the "*mystery of iniquity*," from its earliest dawn to the perfection of its vile usurpations, that one of its leading objects has always been, either the proscription of the sacred volume, or otherwise, its tolerance to the "faithful" only on the license of the priest. The effect has ever been the entire overthrow of Christian liberty ; the reign of superstition in the place of "*a pure offering ;*" the banishment of all evangelical doctrine and sentiment from the Church, and also from the habits of thought and feeling amongst the people ; the enforcement of the grinding oppressions of the Papacy on the souls and lives of her disciples ; and the consequent dominion of a state of complete mental and moral darkness. On the other hand, the extension of the pure gospel of Christ, has always stood connected with the circulation of the Holy Scriptures. In times of primitive piety, it is well known that the zeal of the Church, and even of private Christians, without the aid of printing, had increased the number of manu-

script copies of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, to a prodigious extent. On the revival of primitive Christianity at the period of the Reformation, one of the first and most essential objects was, to give the people the Bible in their vernacular language.

In the midst of his other arduous, gigantic, and dangerous labours, Luther gave his countrymen the Holy Scriptures in the German language. This great achievement awakened the resentment and persecuting zeal of the Church of Rome, in the same manner as his opposition to the sale of indulgences had done before. Among our own countrymen, Tyndal, one of the first translators of the Bible, and John Frith, his pious companion, after suffering banishment accompanied by the greatest privations, were betrayed, brought to this country as prisoners, and finally suffered martyrdom, *for the crime* of opening the sealed fountains of eternal truth to their oppressed and benighted countrymen. This, it is known, was the fate of great numbers of private Christians of both sexes, in this and other nations, whose only impiety was the possession of some portion of the Word of God, and conscientious fidelity to its teaching.

These facts are adverted to in order to shew the importance of the question in the opinion of the first disputants. The love of cruelty and blood, surely, could not have been so instinctive to the Church of Rome as to lead her to slaughter myriads of persons of all ranks and ages, for the only fault, alleged or surmised, save their possession and love of the Sacred Scriptures; had not their extirpation been considered an essential and vital matter on other grounds. On the other hand, the confessors and martyrs of those times, surely would not have endured expatriation, poverty and want; the loss of liberty; allowing themselves to be laden with chains and fetters; to be immured in dungeons, the companions of silence, solitude, and sorrow, only to end their miserable existence at the stake; had they not felt that the possession of the Word of God, adherence to its doctrines, and its spread amongst the people, were subjects of greater consideration than even life itself.

This, then, is the aspect in which the question stood in the commencement of this great debate. Have either party changed their position? The scattered opinions of the Church of Rome, as taught by her most celebrated doctors, promulgated by the bulls of individual Popes, and decreed by minor councils, being finally settled by the Council of Trent, it only remains to ascertain whether those decrees have been abrogated, or whether they still remain in force, Or, seeing that the Church of Rome, in consequence of her pretended infallibility, cannot formally rescind any of the articles of a universal council, or any of the bulls of her Popes; it is necessary to inquire whether this ancient doctrine of the Church is permitted to remain a dead letter.

The fair way is to compare, as briefly as possible, the decrees of the Council with the modern opinions and practices of the Papacy, on the subject of the right of the people to possess the Scriptures. The general rules respecting *Prohibited Books*, adopted by the Council, and afterwards confirmed by the Pope, contain the following provisions:—

I. "All books condemned by the supreme pontiffs, at general councils, before the year 1515, and not comprised in the present Index, are *nevertheless* to be considered as condemned."

III. " Translations of ecclesiastical writers, which have been hitherto published by condemned authors, are permitted to be read, if they contain nothing contrary to sound doctrine. Translations of the OLD TESTAMENT may also be allowed, *but only to learned and pious men, at the discretion of the Bishop:* provided they use them merely as elucidations of the Vulgate Version, in order to understand the Holy Scriptures, and not as the Sacred Text itself. But translations of the *New Testament* made by authors of the first class of this *Index*, are allowed to no one, since little advantage, but much danger, generally arises from reading them. If notes accompany the versions which are allowed to be read, or are joined to the Vulgate edition, they may be permitted to be read by the same persons as the versions, after the suspected places have been expunged by the theological faculty of some Catholic university, or by the general *Inquisitor*. On the same conditions, also, pious and learned men may be permitted to have what is called *Vatablus's Bible.*"

IV. " Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience, that if the *Holy Bible*, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of men will cause more evil than good to arise from it, it is, on this point, referred to the judgement of the Bishops, or inquisitors, who may, by the advice of the priests, or confessor, permit the reading of the Bible, translated into the vulgar tongue by Catholic authors, to those persons whose faith and piety, they apprehend, will be augmented, and not injured by it, *and this permission they must have in writing.* But if any one shall have the presumption *to read or possess* it without such written permission, he shall not receive absolution until he shall have first delivered up such Bible to the ordinary."

" Booksellers who shall sell, or otherwise dispose of, Bibles in the vulgar tongue, to any person not having such permission, shall forfeit the value of the books, to be applied by the Bishop to some pious use; and be *subjected to such other penalties,* as the Bishop shall think proper, according to the quality of the offence. But regulars shall neither read nor purchase such Bibles, without a special license from their superiors."

A reference to the extract from the Bull of the Pope, so late as 1824, in the preceding letter, will show that this " *Index of Prohibited Books*" was recognized by his Holiness as then in full force and authority. Some curious and important avowals on this subject were elicited from various Roman Catholic authorities, by the " *Select Committee of the House of Commons on the education of the lower orders in the metropolis,*" in 1816. Lord (then Mr.) Brougham, presided in this Committee, and the object was evidently, to devise some system of united education, in which the children of Papists and Protestants might be sent to the same school. An examination of the report will convince any one that the famous Irish system had its birth in that committee. But it is only the opinions expressed on the subject of the Holy Scriptures, by Popish priests of different grades, called before the Committee, that we now consider.

The liberal and literary Roman Catholic barrister, Mr. Chas. Butler, says, in reply to questions put to him by the Committee: " It is an article of discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, that the Bible in the vulgar tongue should not be put into the hands of the children or the absolutely unlearned; I state it as an article of discipline, which of course may be varied, but it is

certainly at present a settled article of discipline." Again: "The objection to the Bible being put into the hands of the unlearned is not an article of faith, but an article of the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church. There is a letter of Archbishop Fenelon expressly explaining this difference."

The Rev. James Yorke Bramson, Roman Catholic priest, says, in answer to the question, "Do you admit the common people of the Roman Catholic persuasion to have the Bible, without notes to explain the text?" "I never saw one without notes, and I do not know any without notes in England." In reply to the question, "Would you allow the Douay version to be taught to the lower classes of society, unaccompanied with notes," "I should answer to that, that I believe it is not at all the practice to give the Scriptures to the common people without notes."

Dr. William Poynter, Roman Catholic Bishop, and Vicar Apostolic of London District, stated, in reply to questions proposed to him:—"that the Roman Catholic Church considers the sacred Scriptures as a precious deposit, which was originally *committed by the Apostles to their immediate successors*, and that the Catholic Church has always *carefully preserved it*, as it were, in its archives, and has *never permitted the faithful* to read any other edition or version which is not duly sanctioned and authenticated by the authority of the Catholic Church: consequently I should act contrary to the constant discipline of the Catholic Church, if I were to approve of the Catholic children reading a version of the Sacred Scriptures which emanates from a body of Christians not in communion with the Catholic Church. These are the principles of my answer." And again:—"The reading of them without the approbation and *permission* of their pastors, is not agreeable to the regulations made by the Council of Trent." And again: "In England we generally *permit* the faithful to read the authorized Catholic version in the vulgar tongue, which is *always* accompanied with notes."

It would be easy to multiply extracts from all periods of history, as to the opposition of the Church of Rome to the use of the Holy Scriptures by the people, together with the shocking means employed to suppress them. But, as the charge is often denied by modern Papists and their friends, it was considered proper to present some competent modern authorities on the question. In the late debate in the House of Commons on the Educational question, and in a recent letter to the Wesleyans of Manchester, Mr. O'Connell is reported to have disposed of the charge against his Church in circulating the wicked and persecuting Rhemish notes, by saying, in effect, that some obscure bookseller in Liverpool, published those notes many years ago: but HE (!) was the first to denounce them. It turns out, however, by the testimony of the Apostolic Vicar and Bishop, Dr. Poynter, as well as that of two or three priests, given before a Committee of the House of Commons, that in *England* it was the custom never to allow the Bible to the "*faithful*" without notes, and it is well known that the Rhemish notes are those which are in general circulation. Various solemn and most important principles are involved in this doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome regarding the Word of God.

1. An authority of the Church *above* the Scriptures is involved. This ecclesiastical discipline evidently puts the law of God *under* the jurisdiction of the Church, instead of ruling the Church by that law. It follows, that, in the faith and practice of the Papacy, the hierarchy is considered above the Scriptures. He who holds jurisdiction over another, must be greater, and

possess much higher authority and power than the person who is the subject of the juridical control. A government which should determine that, in conducting their administration, they would suppress the laws altogether, or only allow their promulgation accompanied by their own explanatory notes, in favour of their own pretensions, would unquestionably be acting *above* the law thus laid aside or explained away. It is exactly the same with respect to the Church of Rome in the case under consideration. She claims the right of *suppressing*, or of *allowing*, the Word of God to be read as she thinks fit. Is not this the assertion and exercise of a power over the Divine law, and consequently, an assumption of prerogatives and rights even above—on the supposition that the Bible is Divine,—the authority of God?

Whence is this authority derived? Dr. Poynter says, "*the Catholic Church considers the Sacred Scriptures as a precious* DEPOSIT, *which was originally committed by the Apostles to their immediate successors, and that the Catholic Church has always carefully preserved it.*" And so it seems, by this, that the Holy Scriptures have an *Apostolical succession*, as well as the living Ministry! Can any thing be more absurd or more shocking than this? Pray, Dr. Poynter, did St. Paul, when he addressed his Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, and the other Churches, commit these portions of Holy Scripture into the hands and safe keeping of his colleagues and descendants in the Apostolic office, to be deposited in their "ARCHIVES," and only brought out for the instruction and edification of the people as they may think fit? Were not these precious, inspired, and divine letters directed to the *people;* and when so sent did they not become their own property and inheritance? But now, and for many antecedent ages, this bold and blasphemous conspiracy, denominated Popery, has usurped a power of *surveillance* over the Scriptures themselves, and thus daringly intercepts the law of God's mouth. Well may the "*man of sin*" be represented as "*exalting himself above all that is called God.*" He builds his dominion of darkness, despotism, and sin on the *suppression* or corruption of the truth of God.

2. But this power thus exercised over the Scriptures contravenes the law of the land. It is an axiom of our Constitution that "Christianity is part and parcel of the law of the land," and that the false and fabulous Christianity embodied in Popery, is not in any way meant, is certain, for the same constitutional authorities brand Popery as anti-Christian and idolatrous. Another principle of our laws and Constitution is, that every subject shall be free to serve God according to the dictates of his conscience, and accordingly to read the Bible; and he is incited and encouraged to do so. In fact, the authorized version is put forth on Royal authority, and is sanctioned and recommended by the State. But we find in Popery a power which sets itself up against this authority of the law, and actually exercises a dominion to the extent, they tell us, of eight or nine millions, the effect of which is entirely to set aside one of the most invaluable rights of the people, and blessings of the Constitution.

What ought to be done in such a case as this? Let us suppose the existence of some combination of men, sufficiently powerful to interfere with the right of British subjects to possess any human writings—say, on the sciences or arts, by which he might greatly advance his temporal interests, and actually to prohibit the use of those books! What would be done in

such a case? The Parliament would be roused to the highest enthusiasm against the wickedness of impugning one of the most perfect provisions of the Constitution, in depriving her majesty's subjects of any books which they might think proper to possess. Amongst the foremost of these noble champions of the right of all men to read as they please, and become as wise as they can, would stand forward Messrs. O'Connell, Wyse, and Sheil, supported, *not led*, by all her Majesty's ministers. If the public indignation could not at once break up and disperse the rotten monopolists, who dared to put one book of secular science into their *prohibitory index*, and determine that nine millions of British subjects should not read it, then these gentlemen would no doubt bring the matter before Parliament, instantly beg permission to introduce a Bill, and by law secure to all the people the right to read and improve their condition, by the use of any book of science which they chose to employ. This is just what ought to be done in the case in hand. The decrees of the Roman Catholic Church, which prohibit the free use of the Bible, ought to be burnt by the common hangman; any attempt to interfere to prevent its reading by the people, ought to be an indictable offence in law, and means should be taken to set free, and to protect, in the enjoyment of the blessing, every person in the empire.

How can British subjects be considered free, notwithstanding the praise justly bestowed on our constitution and laws, if *another* power exists of sufficient authority and influence to deprive half the community of a great blessing secured by both the civil and ecclesiastical settlement of the State. The outcry of persecution, no doubt, would be raised against any attempt to prevent that of Rome. She may, it seems, if she will only play the hypocrite, put on the mask of religion, and plead conscience; coerce, oppress, misuse, and injure our countrymen as she pleases—but any means employed to prevent this is branded as persecution. Her whole dominion is in fact founded on a permanent system of persecution, namely, that of depriving the people of the Word of God, supported by the severest penalties of corporal suffering and threatenings of eternal punishment. The English constitution and laws will not have produced their full and perfect fruit till they put an end to this system of oppression, and secure to every subject the right of possessing and reading the Holy Scriptures, none daring to prevent.

3. This suppression, or corruption of the sacred writings, is an invasion of the *personal* rights of all who suffer by it. To hear the Pope, the Council of Trent, and the bishops and priests of the Church of Rome affirming that they "permit," "allow," and "grant," by their written "license," the "faithful" to possess the Bible, yet only with notes; and then that booksellers who in the course of their business shall dare to sell these forbidden books shall suffer loss, and be imprisoned; are vile and impious invasions of the rights of men. How is it that the idea of civil or political slavery can rouse and excite the British people to the highest elevation of enthusiasm and resolution, whilst the wretched spiritual bondage of millions of their fellow-countrymen can gain from them little or no attention? We are deceived by two things—disregard to the value and importance of real religious liberty; and the double game which is being played by the Popish priesthood. These "wise men of their generation" all profess to be the disciples of liberal principles. They are found the vociferous advocates of Negro emancipation; the enlargement of the elective franchise; the enjoyment of municipal rights;

and all the objects of liberty and reform enjoy the benefit of their zealous support.

By thus dividing the world into two—civil and ecclesiastical,—they accomplish their purpose, as well as blind the British people. With one move of dexterous policy they contrive to appear as the zealous advocates of civil freedom, and thus conciliate the lovers of liberty through the nation, whilst by another they keep the millions composing their own community in a state of entire vassalage, by depriving them of the right to read the Word of God. Their policy is like one of the mystic animals which are often found in ancient sculpture, with more faces than one. Towards the British public she assumes the face of a *calf*, simple, innocent, and harmless; whilst towards her own crouching and enslaved people she presents that of a tiger. On us she fawns for the present most gently, whilst to them she puts on the horrid grin of a deadly ferocity.

How shall these millions of people become free? How shall they be put in the possession of their rights? How shall the priesthood be disarmed of their power to prevent them enjoying the Scriptures? How shall they be so disentangled from the meshes of an ecclesiastical tyranny as to capacitate them to enjoy the liberties of the English constitution? These are questions of the deepest importance. It is full time they were considered. Every true Englishman must rejoice to share the blessings and advantages of freedom and religion—and they are intimately connected—with all his countrymen. To behold the elevation of the Papists of the empire to the internal as well as external freedom enjoyed by the Protestant part of the community, must be most satisfactory and joyful to the latter. But their investiture with power, whilst their principles remain unchanged, not only leaves themselves in the same despotism which they previously endured, but it also endangers our freedom as well. Of what real value can power be to the Romish Church, if it is only a power to propagate, to extend, and to perpetuate her own oppressive dominion? Would her victory, in this war of principle now waging, augment the happiness and enjoyment of her own people, in case it left them without the liberty to read the Bible, to exercise their own unbiassed judgement in matters of faith, and chuse for themselves the means of virtue, religion, and immortal life? It is well known that the rights they have given up themselves they deny to us; and such is the perversity of human nature, that though they seem content with their lot, and take no effectual pains to obtain their freedom; yet it would be perfectly easy for the priesthood to lead forward the whole host of their laity to affirm the doctrine of the Church, that Protestants have no right to the use of the Bible, and for reading that blessed volume, together with other misdemeanors, of a similar kind, they are heretics from the true Church, and ought to be anathematized as such.

Some startling facts came out at the last meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the subject of persecutions in connection with the spread of the Scriptures, together with the designs of Popery on our country.

The Rev. F. Martin, Protestant minister of Bordeaux, says—"Now I pray that the members of this society will go on circulating the Bible in France; for at the present moment the Roman Catholic priests there are doing all they can to prevent the diffusion of the Gospel; and they have the intention, not only to thrust it out from France, but to introduce Popery into *your*

country. Yes, they wish to convert England to Popery. Is it not a strange idea, my Lord? What! is not this country the country of the Bible? Is your government not favourable to Christianity? Is your young, your noble Queen, not the protector of the Christian faith? No! never will the Pope conquer in Great Britain. But let me entreat you not to slumber, nor to sleep."

The Rev. T. S. Grimshawe stated, "During the time I was in Rome, but a few months ago, there were two Augustine Friars who had received Bibles, and the effect had been, that their minds had been enlightened;—the character of their preaching was immediately changed; and (on the principle that, when a man once perceives the value of divine truth himself, he feels a desire to communicate that blessing to others) these Augustine Friars went through different parts of the country, as we should say, preaching the Gospel, and producing a powerful effect. At length they were checked by the power of the Church of Rome, and lodged in the castle of St. ———, and there I left them, imprisoned for the great crime of *reading the Bible*, and preaching according to its divine contents. And further to shew what the degree of persecution is, I would beg briefly to mention, that a Swiss minister, distributing the Bible in a part of Italy, the name of which, perhaps it may be more prudent not to disclose, was in consequence visited by the police, and commanded to leave the country in forty-eight hours. I may also state, that though he had distributed only a small portion of his books—I think about twenty-three Bibles and Testaments—*those that had received them were actually imprisoned, some for six weeks, some for seven, and one for ten weeks, in consequence of having a copy in their possession.*"

Then, as one of the great, perhaps the greatest, question at issue between the popish and the protestant Churches, has a direct bearing on the divine authority, the integrity and purity, together with the right of the people to possess the Word of God; surely no one can hesitate a moment regarding his line of duty.

Shall the Popish Church, by her pontiffs, her councils, her bulls—be allowed to assume a power above the divine law? As the "voice of many waters," all Protestantism ought to repudiate so monstrous a claim, and rally round the standard of Divine truth. Let *religious Protestants*, by their church authorities, whatever they may be, put forward a renewed *protest* against this blasphemous usurpation. It is time this was done, with, indeed, the calmness of truth, but at the same time, with the strength of conviction, such as principle only can inspire. How long shall his Holiness be allowed to sit in unmolested majesty on his throne of tyranny, interdicting the very Word of God, sealing up the fountain of mercy, and throwing into the shades of night that sacred truth which alone can make "wise to salvation," whilst the whole of Protestant Europe sits in mute and puling silence under the shadow of this anti-christian throne? It is time he was told, together with his conclave of cardinals, his priestly hierarchy, and all the abettors of his *super-divine* claims of authority, that his pretensions are blasphemous falsehoods. Would the crowned heads of Europe come forward to vindicate the supremacy of the Pope, not only over themselves, but also the Word of God, against such a moral demonstration? If so, let them; under such circumstances our Protestant Christianity would know what to expect from them, and also what it had to do for itself. In the mean time, it may be asked

what would be the feelings of this country if the monarch, by the exercise of her prerogative, were to deprive half the community of the right to possess and freely to search the Scriptures? No doubt it would be zealously, firmly, and *effectually* maintained that such a stretch of power was a gross outrage on the liberties of the subject, the constitution of the country, the fundamental laws of the State, and ought to be resisted by all lawful and Christian means. Does not the fact, that all this is done by the Pope, a foreign priest, usurper, and despot, infinitely aggravate the enormity of this evil? Let Britons ponder well the fearful and portentous circumstance, that an ecclesiastical sovereignty exists, which claims, and actually exercises *the power of depriving* nine millions of British subjects of all freedom of conscience; and prohibits their enjoyment of a right which rests on a foundation above all human law—the right of reading the Word of God.

The assumption of so fearful a power as this would cost any monarch of these realms, his throne—if not his head. It was on account of his invasion of these rights, and his claim to this power, which cost James II. his kingdom. Yet, strange to say, a combination—calling itself a Church—is permitted to do, with impunity, that which occasioned James the forfeiture of his throne. Can any one point out the difference betwixt a secular power depriving its subjects of all the rights of conscience, and goading them to obedience by an arbitrary stretch of power, and a pretended spiritual power doing the same? It is notorious that the Popish subjects of our gracious Queen are deprived of rights, by the ecclesiastical rulers and emissaries of Rome, which the united power of the three estates of the realm would not dare to touch. Why should this monster be permitted to revel in his lust of dominion, any more than a secular tyranny? If it were right to exclude James from the throne on account of his invasion of the rights and liberties of the English people, by the establishment of Popery, then it must be equally right to prevent Popery itself accomplishing, without a King, that which was attempted to be accomplished by his agency.

Moreover, as successful villany always gains patrons in the end, so this usurpation, if permitted to succeed, will be first countenanced by politicians, and then in some form, come to be the predominant power of the State. When that catastrophe shall arrive, farewell to all freedom! Will Popery and its allies be more merciful to us than they are to their own people? If it can deliberately deprive them of the right of possessing the Scriptures, will it not do the same with us? If it insists on such a submission to its authority as annihilates all freedom of judgement, will it not claim the privilege of either putting the consciences of Protestants under the ban of its tyranny or of anathematizing them as heretics? In case this is deemed uncharitable the answer is at hand:—It does the same with its own followers and vassals: it has done the same in all ages and nations; it belongs to its system, its law, and its religion; no part has been rescinded, and there is no human probability, that in case Popery should gain the ascendant in this country, it will relax the rigour of its code in accommodation to a nation which has stood for ages the noblest bulwark against its ambition of universal dominion.

And then let the thoughtless abettors of Popery ask themselves this question—viz., whether it is likely that a power which robs us of our Bibles can be expected to respect our civil rights? The fact is, that the spiritual

despotism of the Papacy is exercised for a secular purpose. The truth is withheld from the poor deluded people, that they may be prepared to offer their suffrages and support to the tyranny, the pomp, the ambition of this half hellish and half earthly despotism.

Protestants ought to combine, not merely to preserve the rights of conscience, the integrity of the Scriptures, and the freedom to possess and read those Scriptures amongst themselves, but also to insist on the principle being carried out through the whole British empire.

Here is a tangible object of assault. His Holiness and his hierarchy in this nation assert a dogma, act upon a system, and enforce laws, which deprive millions of the otherwise free subjects of these realms, of their most valuable rights, and also endanger the liberties of the entire community. All Protestants are bound, by their principles, to unite for the purpose of destroying this monstrous power. Here is a victory for freedom! Let a moral influence be created by the combined exertions of all true Protestants, which shall drive back from our shores the usurped tyranny of Rome; break down the despotism exercised by the Popish priesthood; put it out of the power of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and the administrators of Dens' Theology, to deprive the people of the right to possess and read the Bible; and assert and vindicate the claims of all British subjects to freedom of conscience. We possess the means of breaking down this despotism, and establishing this principle of spiritual liberty. Let the whole of our Protestantism lift up her voice, concentrate her energies and power, send forth the light of truth, and she must ultimately prevail. The contest is, indeed already begun. The vanguard of Protestantism has confronted the enemy: a mighty *corps de reserve* is behind. It only remains for the scattered forces to be brought together, and a glorious victory awaits them. The movements of Popery will do this. When under the ban of proscription, however necessary, she excited the pity of many benevolent Christians; but now, basking in the sunshine, she begins again to erect her serpentine crest, and stand out to public view in all the enormity of her tyranny and craft.

No points of assault can be more vulnerable than the Pope's supremacy, the claims of Popery to coerce the consciences of men in matters of faith, and her blasphemous assumption of authority even over the Word of God. Will Protestants sit still, and allow her to exercise these oppressive and injurious claims in the British dominions, and over millions of British subjects? To them belongs the mighty prerogative of saying to their enslaved fellow-countrymen—BE FREE! If, however, they ignominiously determine to be quiet in the midst of this rampant impiety, then they will infallibly be dragged into the gulph of despotism themselves; and they will richly deserve the fate that awaits them, whilst unborn generations will be called to murmur the funeral dirge of our departed national and religious glories.

LETTER VI.

ALL that can be attempted in this final letter, is to throw out a few thoughts as to the means necessary to be adopted in this crisis of the Protestant faith.

I. *The first and most essential thing is,* THE CREATION OF A MORAL FEELING SUITED TO THE EMERGENCY.—The great lines of demarcation between the two systems of Popery and Protestantism having been very much put out of sight in modern times, ought again to be made tangible. Many circumstances have tended to obliterate these fundamental distinctions in the public mind.

A general apathy throughout Europe on all religious questions, seems to have prevailed after the wars of Louis XIV. of France with William III. of England; one, the great champion of Romanism, and the other, the triumphant and glorious leader of the Reformation. No doubt can be entertained, but the *moral* end proposed by the ambitious monarch of France, was the restoration of the papacy to its pristine vigour and power. This design was frustrated by the, then, head of the House of Orange; and, Providence favouring the design by numerous interesting incidents, he formed the famous league which, in the end, crushed the power of Louis, and overthrew the dark designs of the papacy. In this, as in all other cases, the proud pretensions, the ambitious projects, and the crafty designs of the Church of Rome on the liberties of Protestant Churches and States, fell with the political power which supported her cruel and oppressive policy. Thwarted, humbled, shattered, and paralyzed by the heroism of William and the sword of Marlborough, Popery lay a bleeding and almost lifeless carcass for many years. Exhausted by her own exertions, and the power which mainly supported her being crippled and borne down—whilst at the same time, the Protestant nations were alive to the value of their freedom, and equally prepared to support and vindicate it against all aggression—she seems, for a season, to have been cowed into quiescence, and to have abandoned the hope of enslaving mankind.

In this period of collapse, Voltaire and modern infidelity made their appearance; so that, instead of the points of controversy betwixt Popery and Protestantism being kept before the attention of the public, another, viz. the deistical question, for a great length of time, occupied the time and absorbed the attention of all parties who considered it important to pay any regard to religion. This pestilent fruit of human wickedness, having sprung up, and presented its most luxuriant growth in Roman Catholic countries, demanded the supreme attention of the Papal hierarchy, as well as that of the Protestant Church. The intensity with which this great debate was pursued on all sides, had the effect of placing all other polemical subjects in a state of abeyance for the time. The learned labours of divines, and the reading of the laity turned very much on these debates for a series of years, to the almost entire exclusion of the Popish controversy. Hence, in nearly all our modern systems of theology, while the other great points of difference amongst christians are noticed, and have their appropriate portions of argument, we have no notice taken of the great land-marks erected by the Reformers to guide the enquirer as to the differences betwixt these essentially opposite

creeds. For anything which appears to the contrary in our modern theology, whether given in a systematic and scholastic form, or in the more captivating and popular mode of oratorical discourses, these clashing elements might have ceased to exist, and a beautiful and christian unity have been brought about betwixt the two rival Churches. As these questions for a long period ceased to be the subject of even *study*, as well as teaching, amongst divines, so the great bulk of the community became entirely ignorant of the grounds of difference between the Church of Rome and the Protestant communions. With the absence of the knowledge of these subjects, all strong, conscientious, and moral feeling subsided; so that now these points of difference, though of the most essential and vital importance, are scarcely considered as deserving any attention, or of exacting any obligations.

The latitudinarian sentiments of the present age are the fruit of this state of things; whilst a strange co-mingling of clashing, contradictory, and heterogeneous opinions will be found to exist together. In the same mind, and the same religious body, the love of freedom, and a con-fraternity with Popery;—a strenuous advocacy of high evangelical doctrines, and the practical promotion of the dogmas of the Council of Trent; the firm and uncompromising assertion of the claims of conscience and the rights of private judgement, with the preparation of chains and fetters for both, by encouraging the extension of an hierarchy which claps its padlock on all such pretensions; the support of systems of religion and worship stripped to the lowest point of puritanical simplicity, and then a countenance given to a church whose adorning is the meretricious ornaments of the "*Whore of Babylon;*" are amongst the strange and hideous mixtures of "light and darkness,—good and evil," which we are called to behold. From this it is evident that the great and palpable, as well as the finer lines of distinction between the false, superstitious, cruel, and idolatrous Church of Rome, and the Protestant Churches, have passed from the public mind. How could it be otherwise, when the pulpit and the press, alike, for some generations, have ceased to give any "*certain sound*" on these questions?

But a cursory perusal of the fathers of the English Reformation, and indeed of their successors for many ages,—will convince any one of the great difference between their sentiments and our own, as well as shew by what means the *morale* of Protestant feeling and principle was kept alive, which feeling and principle were unquestionably the life-blood of our reformed institutions. On this question all parties seemed perfectly agreed. The writings of high Churchmen, as well as those of persons of dissenting opinions, equally abound in noble Protestant principle; in a discriminating classification of the differences between the two systems; and in a firm and uncompromising resistance to the anti-national and anti-christian claims of Popery. From the lofty episcopacy of Laud, through the different grades of churchmanship, to the moderate notions of Usher; from the divines of the Westminster assembly, to the Scottish Covenanters; from Baxter, Howe, Henry, Pool, down to Owen, John Goodwin, Nye, Marshall, and the most strenuous Independents;—we find equal firmness, with infinite talent and labour, to instruct the people in the enormities of Popery, and to exhibit the true doctrines and principles of the Protestant faith. Taking the published discourses of these eminent men as an index of their public teaching, it is most obvious that they considered these questions as of paramount importance, and

that it constituted a part of their pastoral office to instruct the people of their charge in all the doctrines of Protestantism, not merely in general terms, but as distinguished from the opposite dogmas. Nothing short of this could have created that popular wisdom, firmness, and devotedness to the principles of the Reformation, which were so often, in most difficult and perilous circumstances, evinced by our forefathers.

Popish writers are constantly taunting us with the circumstance that our religion originated with Henry VIII.; that it arose out of an illicit passion; that he was a tyrant, a profligate, and in all respects a bad man. Did it never occur to these gentlemen, that bad men are the only instruments which Providence can consistently employ in some departments of his administration? In the work of reformation, at the period in question, the meekness of Christian wisdom would have been but a poor match against a combination of men, calling themselves a church, in which wickedness had collected all its abominations; where duplicity, fraud, hypocrisy, and falsehood, were taught as a science; in which ferocity, cruelty, and murder, were legalized, sanctioned, and encouraged as religiously meritorious; and whose despotic throne, and oppressive and tyrannic claims, were supported by machinations of evil perfectly impervious to reason, to truth, and to religion. Individual minds may melt beneath the soft and gentle influences of religious truth; but masses of men, united together to support and perpetuate a system of abomination such as the hierarchy of Rome then presented, and still presents, can never yield to simple truth. In the times of Henry, rough and strong work had to be done in order to clear away the rubbish of Popery, and make way for the preaching of the gospel, as well as the erection of a spiritual church; and though no one can say anything in praise of the personal character of the monarch, yet, any one may perceive his admirable fitness for the task he had to perform. An ingenious observer might possibly discover some points of parallelism betwixt the agents by which the papacy was built up and pulled down. No true son of the Romish Church will deny that amongst her Popes, Hildebrand, Boniface III., and Innocent III., stand pre-eminently forward as the assertors of her claims; and that amongst Kings, Phocas and Pepin, were the most distinguished in yielding her the honour she sought. If, then, the hand which demolished the high claims of the Papacy was rough, those which reared the superstructure were much more so;—if moral blemishes deformed the character of this first royal reformer, infinitely deeper stains polluted those also who are considered the greatest supporters of the church; —if some streams of blood were made to flow in resisting the claims of Popery, oceans were shed by the brutal tyrants who initiated and asserted those claims.

But to return: although Henry might be the instrument of breaking down the outworks of the papacy, yet it was by the preaching of the ministers of the day, the dissemination of books, and especially by opening the Scriptures to the people, that a wide and ample foundation was laid for Protestantism in the public mind. Nothing short of this could have originated our institutions. Ambition, pique, or passion, may induce individual sovereigns to follow one line of policy in religion, rather than another; but a nation can never freely and spontaneously adopt such a course as led to the ultimate establishment of the Protestant religion and constitution in this kingdom, but by the creation of moral sentiments in accordance with this

free and holy structure. The unquestionable doctrines of the true *Catholic* Church, as opposed to the sectarian claims of the Church of Rome; the real rights, responsibilities, and duties of men; the personal nature of religion as a solemn engagement betwixt the soul and GOD; together with moral rules essential to the compact between sovereigns and their subjects,—must have been generally disseminated, as well as apprehended, in order to prepare the nation to adopt and maintain its gloriously protestant system. All this was produced by the *religious* instructors of the people. The edicts of the king; the spare and paltry legislation of the Parliament of the time; and the functions of the secular magistrate; were all perfectly inadequate to produce the Reformation. Religious minds alone seized the grand idea, and the labours of the clerical order impressed the subject on the public attention. Indeed, great moral changes of a religious and useful description, are seldom or never accomplished, but by the agency of the pastors of the Church. When the way is prepared by their enlightened and self-denying labours, for the deliberations of the senator, then the statesman may appear on the theatre, and erect the body politic on the ground already cleared to his hands. We are only indebted in a secondary degree to the mere politicians of any party, or of any age, for the blessings of the Reformation. In Germany, Luther, Melancthon, and their coadjutors, were the true authors, by their teaching, their spirit, and their sufferings, of this great and blessed change; and in our own country, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Tyndal, and a host of other eminent men, laid the basis of our religion and liberties in their literary labours, pastoral instruction, indomitable courage, personal sufferings, and martyred death.

It is the fashion of modern times to decry the exertions of these noble-minded men, and, indeed, to represent all ministers of religion as, *ex officio*, enemies of public freedom. Without denying the merit of many great and wise laymen, as connected with this great change; and also, in a spirit of gratitude to Divine Providence, for raising up many powerful potentates to protect and perform great and splendid services for this cause of truth and of GOD—it must be allowed that the pastors of religion of different orders, were the men whose labours were the most unwearied, and who, through all the fortunes of the struggle, were most true to the principles of the Reformation. Had the false dogmas and usurpations of the Church of Rome darkened and bewildered the intellect of the nobility and higher orders, so as to render them unfit to guide the popular mind in the assertion and employment of their just rights? The educational course adopted in the Universities and public seminaries of the nation, removed this darkness, and prepared for the service of the nation a class of senators who could apprehend the differences betwixt national freedom as opposed to the enslaving dominion of Rome. Had the superstitions of Popery brought the peasantry and population of the country into a state of ignorant and barbarous superstition? The parochial and pastoral labours of the clergy broke the chains of this superstitious blindness, and gradually prepared the way for that middle order of industrious, intelligent, religious, and patriotic men, who now constitute the palladium of our freedom and strength. The *pseudo* politicians and philosophers of the age, in their newly-awakened zeal for the education and liberty of the people, pretend, that the Protestant Church, as a Church, has always been the enemy of popular knowledge and universal instruction. Here we have proof of the contrary. The ministers of religion were the parties who in-

structed the nation in the spiritual difference betwixt the slavish superstitions of the Church of Rome, and the doctrines and duties of real Christianity; asserted and maintained the independence and nationality of the religion of the country; vindicated the rights of individuals to examine, judge, and act for themselves, as accountable creatures, instead of cringing in slavish fear at the feet of a cruel and horribly depraved priesthood: and it was this maligned and much abused class of men, who inculcated those great constitutional principles on which the throne, the legislative bodies, and the laws of this Protestant realm repose. The light which flashed confusion into the dark despotism of Rome, was light from the altars of the Protestant Church. The victory was not, indeed, an easy one. To enable a nation, sunk in the grossest ignorance, to emerge from such a state, and to judge aright on questions so intricate and multitudinous as those which were mooted by this great controversy, and by their suffrages to settle it on the side of truth, freedom, and religion, was an arduous task. The writings of the day will inform us as to the real authors of this grand triumph.

However powerful the daily and periodical press of the country may now appear in guiding the public mind on points of theology and political opinion, no such vehicles of sentiment, no such means of influence then existed. The translated scriptures; the sabbath service rendered intelligible by being vernacular; the plain, and always, in the points of difference betwixt the Church of Rome and the Church of England, distinctive enunciation of the truths of the gospel; the more learned lectures and discourses delivered before the court, the parliament, and the public officers of the state—very different to the vapid nihility pronounced in high places in modern times—in which the questions between Popery and the national religion formed a prominent part; the publication of tracts setting forth in forcible and homely style the grounds of the Protestant faith; and above all the truly soft, hallowing, and consoling influence of the whole combined agency of the church on the pious feelings of the populace;—all united to create that moral sentiment on which our national Protestantism originally rested.

This wholesome practice of the fathers of our religion and freedom, must again be resorted to. It is utterly useless, in this nation, to expect exertions to be made by the people, to stem the torrents of Popish superstition and despotism, otherwise than by *creating a moral platform of operations.* As the destinies of the nation are now very much in the hands of the people, through their increased franchises, and they must necessarily act on the convictions of their own mind, this, now especially becomes of paramount importance. It is, indeed, cheering to find a portion of the daily and periodical press nobly performing its duty in this respect. But from the comparative silence of the religious journals, till very recently, it seemed as if all the Protestant communities had simultaneously agreed that the matters in debate were of a purely secular and political nature. Nothing can be more mistaken than such an opinion. The fact is, it is not only *a religious question of the most momentous description, but it is a question which must, and will, be settled by the Church.* In what manner this will be done, it is at present difficult to divine, and impossible to predict. One thing, however, is certain,—that if the Protestant communities remain in their present apathetic state: if they agree as heretofore, to abandon the field to political men, however great, and however honest, our cause is lost, and

Popery will most assuredly prevail again in this empire. And, it may be asked, why should Protestant statesmen be expected to accomplish, on mere political grounds, that which is never expected from the popish statesman? The whole *moral force* of the Church of Rome is brought to support the champions of her claims, and the assertors of her power. O'Connell and his phalanx retire on this power, and it is always ready to sustain them. On the other hand, the protestant senator is an isolated character, as regards the Church. He is left alone, except so far as his opinions and actions are influenced by secular bodies of the people. What is Protestantism? Is it a political code, a state theory, or canons of human policy? It may, by consequence, embrace all these; but it is a great RELIGIOUS TRUTH. What parties, then, are to assert this truth, carry it out, and render it influential amongst the population? Obviously, the Church ought to do this. When the creation of a moral feeling, equal to the crisis, is referred to, a narrow, sectarian, and partizan zeal is not meant. This cannot meet the necessities of the case. The fact is, the contest lies between universal truth,—the means of the world's redemption,—the indefinite elevation and happiness of the human family, on the one hand;—and a system of universal falsehood, of degrading superstition, and of the undying opponent of all happiness, as founded on freedom, on the other. The elements now in collision are not new, though some circumstances of novelty may attend the general points of contact, at which they touch each other. The support of Protestantism rightly considered, is neither more nor less than the affirmation of the verities of the gospel, connected with liberty of conscience, and personal freedom; whilst the dominance of Popery is setting up the authority of the "*Old Serpent;*" the spread of a midnight of error and evil, together with the miserable subjection of the human race, to a state of mental, spiritual, and even civil slavery. The means by which this contest must be carried forward, with any prospect of success, are, not the feeble arms which human expediency, sectarian zeal, and a secular literature, can supply. If an enlightened *mind*, through all the ranks and grades of Protestant Christianity, cannot either be found or created on this question;—if a firm and inflexible CONSCIENCE, resting on clear and just perceptions of the paramount obligation to maintain the truth of GOD, cannot be formed out of the mighty mass of crude confusion now so apparent in the religious world;—if a centre of Christian UNITY especially, cannot be discovered, in which orthodox Protestants of every name may cordially and harmoniously meet, to fight the battles of their common faith,—then our cause is hopeless, and a surrender to the enemy is at no great distance.

Who, then, are the parties possessing the means of creating this *world of principle*, but those who teach religion? Our statesmen, our political philosophers, and the conductors of the periodical press, can accomplish much;—but they cannot call forth the religious sentiment and feeling which is required. One of the beautiful final causes, which is immutably fixed in the arrangements of Divine Providence, is, that no human or political means can, or shall, under any circumstances, accomplish, either in the human heart, or in the state of society, those moral effects which the gospel was ordained to produce. Only let the Church of Christ, of all parties, agree to transfer the duty and obligation of defending Protestantism into secular hands, and then, be they ever so faithful, talented, zealous, and indefatigable,

the cause must be lost, because they do not possess the means essential to the cure of the evils of our nation, or of producing those religious principles on which protestantism reposes. Religious men must be willing to forego much of the tranquillity which their pious feelings incline them to seek. They are called by the circumstances of the times to put on the armour of righteous warfare, against the growth of a system which threatens the overthrow of their fair patrimony, to subvert their freedom of conscience, and consequent personal liberty, and what is of much higher consideration to them, to lead to the ruin and destruction of the souls of men. The ministers of religion especially, are bound to consider this subject well. To them belongs a fearful responsibility. Their order achieved the glorious victories of the Reformation, and with them, at this moment, rest the destinies of Protestantism, and with it, of the world. Bright examples stand out to invite their labour, and to encourage the hope of success. But irrespective of these considerations, all the ministers of the true church of GOD, of every creed, are obliged, on the great and vital principles of their vocation, to come forward as the "*witnesses*" of Jesus Christ, against the claims of a system, which all their creeds, writings, and the pastors of their churches, have ever designated as anti-Christian. Let all parties recollect that the questions at issue do not relate merely to an ecclesiastical *regime*, but enter into the substance of religion. Fleeting interests, party feelings, secular politics, and angry passions, may induce many estimable ministers to stand aloof, at present, from this momentous contest. But the time is not distant, when these shadows will pass away, whilst the glorious verities of the word of GOD, the gracious purposes of the cross of our dying Lord, the paramount importance of the simple doctrines of the new covenant, and the rights and liberties of mankind will remain, and unite to form a grand platform for Christian exertion, which may, by the divine blessing, lead to a firm and triumphant resistance of the dark and wicked designs of the Church of Rome.

II. *A second very obvious duty incumbent on the Protestant Church is,* TO INCREASE HER EVANGELICAL LABOURS AMONGST PAPISTS, AND ESPECIALLY IN IRELAND. The danger to our religion, constitutional freedom, and national independence, being generated and nurtured in this quarter, Ireland, in the nature of things, ought to become the chosen field of evangelical labour. By a strange neglect on the part of the Protestant Church, this country has been left as the cradle of Popery. And now, nothing can meet the exigencies of the case, any more than in past ages, but the pure and unadulterated gospel. In ancient times, Ireland was conquered, British law introduced, a new system of polity carried into effect, and attempts were made to attach her to the crown of Great Britain; but Popery being left in its nascent state, it has contrived to grow just as vegetation is reproduced by the fecundity of nature, though cut down by the scythe of the husbandman, at periodical intervals. Will modern policy succeed any better than ancient, while the root of the evil remains? How can countenance, encouragement, patronage, given to popery effect anything, except its more rapid and luxuriant growth? Freedom and support given to evil can only add to its virulence, impetus, and wider extension. If, when the civil disabilities of the popish population of the empire were removed, the government had at the same time begun to augment the means of their instruction in the truths of Christianity, by an evangelical ministry, then there would

have been something like completeness and consistency in the scheme. This having been very much neglected, and nearly altogether so by the state, it remains still to be accomplished. How this is to be done, may be a question of difficult solution, and yet if it could be brought fairly home to the consciences of British Christians, it might soon receive a practical illustration to the satisfaction of all parties.

If the state is so crippled and dependent upon Popery as to render any assistance to the establishment impracticable, why cannot the voluntary principle come into more active operation in connexion with the Church? To imagine that in any period, because states have established religion, they created its means, is a perfect mistake. The ancient and universal practice of voluntary support, might be usefully revived in the Irish Church. The great English absentee land-owners ought to feel, that, as their estates were conferred upon their ancestors, and descended to them for protestant purposes, they are bound by every fair and legitimate consideration to assist, liberally, in making provision for the support of the protestant worship. As in Ireland the only classes in the country parishes are, the landlords and the pauper peasantry, no aid can be afforded by the middle ranks in such a work as this. It must rest exclusively on the land-owners and the Church herself. The state having now cast off the church, as an engine of political influence and power, and allied itself to popery for that purpose; the clergy, and other true friends of protestantism, will now have time and inducements to consider well the religious wants of their country; and, if they are faithful to the truth, to the principles of their own system, to their remaining internal strength and resources; and especially to their call from, and duty to God, in this emergency, they will be able to accomplish, in the day of adversity, that great work,—the conversion of the Irish Papists,—which they failed to do in the midst of courtly patronage, smiles, and intrigues. Appeals to the public, debates in Parliament, and the assertion of their rights against the despoilers of church property, may all be valuable as auxiliaries; but evangelical labours on the spot, and amongst the people, are most essential. It never has occurred in the history of the establishment, that a truly evangelical ministry—a ministry which has announced the doctrine of justification by faith only, with its concomitant truths and privileges—has not been attended by large members of the people, and the moral effects resulting from the gospel have followed. How should doctrines which exactly symbolize with Popery convert the people from its errors? Such doctrines have largely prevailed in Ireland. Let another, an evangelical system of preaching prevail, and before the simple, clear, and intelligible light of the gospel, the darkness of the Popish superstition must give way.—Indeed a noble band of enlightened, indefatigable, and holy men, has been raised up in the bosom of the establishment in recent times, who faithfully and successfully proclaim these truths. They are not likely to receive much countenance from the men now in power, or from clergy raised to office and dignity by their appointment; but they ought to be encouraged by the Protestant landlords and laity as the true salt of the land; and if Providence has still favours and mercies in store for us, they must prove the real and efficient instruments in the hand of God of regenerating the country, and bringing it from under the Babylonian yoke.

And what should prevent the Presbyterians of the north, aided and sup-

ported by their mother church in Scotland, from assuming a more missionary and evangelical character? Their noble establishments in Ulster indicate great strength and influence in that province. It may, however, be questioned whether this branch of the Protestant Church has done its duty faithfully in regard to the country at large, and especially, in seeking the conversion of the popish population. The conservative, rather than the aggressive principle, seems to have been acted upon by this highly respectable Church. The adoption of this rule can never lead to the salvation of the world, or to the conversion of the Papists of Ireland. Surely the noble-minded, courageous, and highly talented descendants of John Knox are, in the circumstances of the country, prepared to do something more than debate, defend first principles, and stem the torrents of popish aggression. Let them determine, from their well-established churches to support and send forth as in primitive times, bands of holy, zealous, self-denying men, into the very heart of popery.

The Independent, Baptist, and other Dissenting Churches, are equally called upon by their avowed principles to unite in attempting the conversion of Popish Ireland. Whatever may be their feelings on the political question regarding Popery, they can entertain no scruples respecting the duty of endeavouring to save them from the errors of their theological creed, the superstitions of their ecclesiastical system, the oppressions of the despotism under which they groan, the frauds and deceptions of an Anti-Christian priesthood, and especially, from the dangers in which their idolatry, false faith, and sin, have involved them. By the same rule that these parties advocate the political advancement of Papists, they are bound to seek their emancipation from their bewildering errors, and true conversion to GOD. If their own opinions, either theological or ecclesiastical, are worth anything in their own estimation, then they ought to be the most forward, of any classes of Christians in the world, to seek the overthrow of Popery, by the Christian illumination of the people. Without any intention to offend, or to deal in reproaches, it may be affirmed, that these churches have done nothing commensurate with either the wants of Ireland, or the obligations under which they have placed themselves by the prominence they have given to their own peculiar sentiments. As there is at present a great amount of loud and vehement profession in the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland—at least, there is so on the lips of Mr. O'Connell,—on the excellency and obligations of the voluntary principle, it seems, by this, that the time is come to try that scheme of polity, in its truly independent form, on the Irish people. Be this as it may, the time is certainly come when all those who know "*the truth as it is in Jesus,*" are called upon, irrespective of forms and modes of faith, to seek the spiritual and eternal good of this interesting part of the United Kingdom. It may not comport with their existing missionary establishments for the dissenting bodies to attach Ireland to the field of their operations; but it would admirably comport with the noble spirit in which their fathers originated those institutions, for their descendants to commence a sister society, which should have that country, and its wretched Popery, for its object.

The Wesleyan-Methodists, too, are called upon to redouble their exertions. It would be possible, by adequate support afforded from England, for the Irish Connexion to augment its efficacy to an indefinite extent. The Me-

thodist circuits and societies are spread through the extent of the country. The places of worship are, indeed, of the humblest description in many parts of the island; the number of school-houses very scanty and insufficient; the societies in the rural districts often few and poor; and the ministers bowed down by labour and poverty. And yet notwithstanding all these circumstances, the ecclesiastical platform of this church extends through the length and breadth of the land. It is of some consequence to have a foundation on which to erect a building,—a field in which to sow the seed of future harvests. These advantages are secured, and the great *desideratum* now is, the strengthening of this already existing system. Detail is not the object, nor, indeed, would it be proper; but like all other Christians, the Wesleyan Methodists are bound to meet the crisis of the times by exertions corresponding with the emergency. The English part of the body is called upon, especially, to foster and encourage the Irish. In this, nothing new need be attempted. Every thing has been prepared, as if by some immediate interposition of Providence, for direct and vigorous exertions in extending the light of the gospel through the land.

Above all other things, the union and hearty co-operation of all these parties of Christians is of vital importance. They may not agree in any common scheme of operations, or be able to work one common moral machine; but they can, without compromise, afford the countenance, encouragement, and support, which the points of agreement amongst them, and the oneness of the object they propose, if rightly considered, would certainly produce. Let all parties of Protestants consider that there are duties additional to those of supporting their own party; motives and sentiments more lofty and Christian than the indulgence of their sectarian partialities; objects infinitely more sublime than working out their creed within the tiny limits of their own circumscribed enclosures; and affections more vigorous, tender, and divine, than the love of themselves. If a case af urgent and pressing necessity and danger—and that at our very doors—creates a call to strenuous exertions, here it is before our eyes. A case of danger not of a common and ordinary kind, but of the most portentous description,—danger not to papists only, but to us.

It will not be in the power of any one of the Protestant sections of the church to meet this danger, and make provision against it. No one party of Christians possesses the means and the ability of either resisting the aggressions of popery, or making sufficient provision for the evangelization of Ireland. The whole, unitedly, could easily accomplish both, and a great experiment has soon to be tried on our Protestantism—viz., whether Christians will possess piety, magnanimity, and fidelity to their principles, sufficient to lead them to co-operate in accomplishing this work of GOD;—or whether they will have the infirmity to remain in their present hostile state, and allow the whole to be put in imminent peril, and, perhaps, the land again to be overrun with the dark dominion of popish superstition.

It is time all churches took up this question,—not in a party spirit,—but with a view to provide means for the evangelization of Ireland. If the power of Popery is not neutralized and weakened in the hotbed of its growth, by a suitable and adequate provision for the performance of Protestant service, the faithful preaching of the gospel, and the instruction of the people in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures,—and that not here and there, on a meagre

and paltry scale, but by pervading the whole country, and carrying these exertions home to every village,—then Popery must be expected to pour its burning lava on our Protestant institutions, till the whole are blighted, scorched, and burnt up.

III. The Christian and Scriptural Education of the Irish People, *is another most important and essential point for consideration amongst Protestants.* The Irish national system, adopted by Government, is now known to be working only for Popery. A grand apparatus of means has been established, consisting of a normal establishment in Dublin; school houses, placed generally close to the Popish Chapels, and entirely under the management of the priests; masters nominated and governed by the same power; and the whole provided and paid by the taxes of the country. The evidence is clear, that the scriptural extracts of which we have heard so much, are only partially used, and that as a mere deception; while the whole of the children are regularly trained in all the abominations of Popery.

The Roman Catholic Church is now universally represented as most friendly to the education of the people! and Mr. Wyse, the new Privy Councillor, and Lord of the Treasury, is the great apostle of the cause. What is meant by education as understood by these parties, is evidently instruction in the dogmas of Popery. This kind of education is now going on amongst the poor of Ireland to a greater extent, and with greater success, than at any former period, because the faithless folly of England supplies the means. A delusion of the grossest description is being played off on the credulity of this country by the notion that the public money is expended in Ireland in conveying useful knowledge to the rising generation. The fact is just the reverse of this; the whole benefit is given to Popery; and as that system is constituted purposely to put falsehood in the place of truth; to fill the mind with the bewildering fables, jargon, and nonsense of their superstition, instead of the simple and elevating doctrines of pure Christianity; to drill the docile pupils in accurately performing their genuflexions, repeating their *Ave Maria's*, and counting their beads, in the place of instructing them in the knowledge of the worship of God, and the spirit of genuine prayer; to establish them in a firm and unwavering confidence in the supremacy of the Pope, the power of the priesthood to pardon sin, the rights of the Church, and their duty to despise, hate, and persecute all heretics instead of leading them into the faith of Christ, and a reverential belief in the Bible,—the evil is greatly increased. This is the education of Popish children. The press could not be annihilated, its power thwarted, the dissemination of books prevented, by the numerous decrees and bulls of his Holiness,—whose next best device has ever been to obtain the direction of the education of the people. In the palmy days of Jesuitism, the strength of that intriguing and powerful society was directed to this point. No doubt this order has been revived chiefly with a view to obtain this ascendancy again. Its brotherhood is pervading the world for this purpose, and is now in the full and undisturbed possession of Ireland. It follows, that so far as scriptural and Christian education is concerned, the whole subject is open for reconsideration, and under circumstances of great disadvantage to Protestantism.

The matters for adjustment in connection with this subject, are two; first, the question of supporting these purely Popish schools at the public expense; and secondly, making provision for a scriptural system.

First, the Protestant part of the community have to determine whether they can, consistently with their principles, their consciences, and their rights, continue to support a scheme of education which is now known to be nothing but an engine of Popery. The British people have to consider whether they can silently, and without remonstrance, petition, or in any other manner shewing their dissent, contribute to the perpetuation of a form of religion which they are obliged to view as *idolatrous, anti-christian, and dangerous to the souls of men.* We may be obliged by the coercive *liberalism* of the day to do this, in despite of the authority of scripture, the Protestant foundation of the Constitution, the commanding influence of principle, and the remonstrances of conscience;—but the question is, *ought it to be done tamely,* and, shall a pusillanimous acquiescence be yielded to the shameless demand? If popery is an evil; if it is an organized system of sin against GOD; if it is a bold and daring blasphemy in opposition to the authority of the Saviour; if it is a tyrannic oppression of the human race; if it is a gigantic and diabolical conspiracy to blight the religion of the word of GOD; if it is a bigoted, bitter, and persecuting opposition to all the Protestant Churches; and if it is a crafty design to sweep away all the civil rights of nations, whether possessed by sovereigns or their people;—if it is all this, and the British people silently allow them to prosecute their enterprize, *with their money,* then to all intents and purposes they are participators in the whole offence and crime both against God and man.

Till the Protestants of Great Britain have employed all the legitimate means afforded them to crush and overthrow the Irish Popish system of education, whatever of wickedness belongs to it, attaches to themselves. We are not the active agents in this war against GOD and his truth, but we furnish the means of carrying it on. Is it not time that the Parliament, and, if necessary, the throne, should be told in respectful and dignified, but firm and unbending language, that the truth of GOD, the principles of the British Constitution, the rights of Protestantism, and our own religious principles and conscientious convictions, are all compromised and grossly outraged by *a state* support of Popery in any form, and especially as afforded to the Irish schools. Resistance, no doubt, would be made, to such a demonstration; but Protestantism possesses the means,—if it knew its own strength, and would rightly use it,—to make itself heard.

Secondly:—Provision ought to be made for the scriptural education of the Irish poor. Government will not do this in their present state of dependence on Popery, and plighted faith to the Irish system. The respective Protestant Churches consequently have the duty laid at their door, and ought, to the best of their ability, faithfully to discharge the debt of obligation. The church has been too much at the beck and bidding of states and secular men. Let her shield herself in her own impervious panoply; rest on her own proper foundation; trust in her own strength and resources,—and then, in humble dependance on the blessing of Almighty GOD, go forth to accomplish her clear and obvious duty in this as in other cases. A scriptural school ought to be provided in every parish. Two difficulties stand in the way of such operations, it is true,—the want of children, and the power of the priests.

The first of these impediments to usefulness would soon be removed if a regular and vigorous plan of operations were adopted. It is well known to

all who are acquainted with Ireland, that when the parents of Popish children are free to follow their own convictions, they generally prefer scriptural to their own schools. This fact could be verified by indisputable evidence. It is not from choice that the majority of parents send their children to anti-scriptural schools, but from necessity. They were not the parties who clamoured for the proscription of the Word of GOD, and the instruction of their offspring on the basis of the Irish system. In this, as in innumerable other instances, they are a greatly injured and persecuted people. If Bible schools were placed by the side of the Popish seminaries, the Word of GOD itself would, in time, effectually remove every difficulty.

The second point,—viz., the opposition of the priesthood, ought to be grappled with till overcome; and this tyranny constitutes one of the great reasons for the measure. How, indeed, is this priestly dominion to be broken at all, but by the creation and employment of an antagonist agency. The report of the Lords' Committee on the Irish system of education, discloses scenes of oppression on the part of the priests of the most disgusting nature. To "*empty*" a school by one sweep of the priestly besom, is a common occurrence. For these gentlemen to take a cart-whip, and drive the children, by its lash, from the scriptural schools, is a matter of constant occurrence, and of perfect notoriety. Moreover, this instrument of discipline is not limited to little children, for such is the mystic power of the priest, that men and women allow him the use of his thonged instrument of instruction and obedience on their persons, with perfect docility. When slave-owners flogged negroes in the West Indies, the cruel oppression roused the indignation of the whole country; but the popish *slave-drivers* of Ireland may inflict their lacerations on their degraded victims with perfect impunity! No evil is ever mastered but by fairly meeting it; and till a system of school instruction shall be devised, and vigorously supported by the moral and pecuniary weight of the Protestantism of both countries, this despotism must remain. The establishment of such schools would, at least, intersect the mischief, confront the tyranny, and introduce a dawning light into the regions of darkness. Universal effects cannot be reckoned upon at any time; and for the present, the spiritual labourer in Ireland must content himself with limited success. But that which appears small in other parts of the Christian field, is great in that unhappy country. To instil the truth into a few is to lay the foundation of a mighty work.

But who, it may be enquired, are the parties to undertake this department of Christian labour? The answer is, the whole Protestant church. If the different communities cannot agree to support one common system of education, let them adopt one of their own. There is a mental and spiritual popery which fascinates the heart, as well as its external ecclesiastical institutions. Nothing can so effectually counteract the hidden poison as early Christian instruction. All true Protestants of every party admit the existence of the evil, and deplore the dangerous effects. Enlightened men of all parties, must consider Popish education as a destructive moral virus introduced into the mental constitution, calculated to deepen and inflame all the symptoms of even our native and original depravity. It interests all good men to meet this dreadful case, and endeavour to rescue the rising generation from the fangs of this industrious enemy of their souls. Surely party and sectarian passions may be laid aside when two such objects as the word of GOD and

little children are placed before our attention;—the one offering its divine and saving lessons, and the other, in all the beauty and interest of youth, perishing for lack of this knowledge. O cruel Popery! which is not content with fixing its incubus of oppression and superstition on the souls of its adult millions, but it must also prepare for a similar, or even a worse fate, the budding flowers of immortality placed within its reach! In delivering them from their ignorance and dangers, it is a sign of infirmity for any Christian man to stop and ask—Is it to be done in the creeds and forms of my own Church? The answer to all such enquiries is;—the word of GOD is to be got into their hands, its truths are to be instilled into their minds, its precepts enforced on their consciences, its grace poured into their lacerated and bleeding hearts, its glorious salvation freely opened to their acceptance,—and then let this book make them what it pleases. If, laying aside all narrow jealousies, protestant zeal, love, principle, and property could be united in this holy cause, success must attend the exertion, and in time the children of a nation be rescued from the dominion of ignorance, superstition, and misery.

IV. *It is a question worth considering whether it would not be useful to form an* ANTI-POPISH TRACT SOCIETY, *in which a series of papers should be prepared on the principle of attempting to convince the lower classes of papists of the injuries and oppressions of their system.*

The questions at issue betwixt the Popish and Protestant parties, including, as they do, the entire range of national and social rights and duties, it seems clear that the time is come for the free and full discussion of these points. No means of bringing such enquiries home to the understanding and feelings of the Irish people, appear to be so easy as the creation of a plain and telling literature, embracing the points of difference between the two systems. As the rights of conscience, respect for private opinion, religious and civil liberty, as well as all the elements and means of social order and elevation, are on the side of Protestants, it is of great consequence to employ these advantages skilfully. Surely some rays of light, on these great subjects, may be introduced into the chaos of popish ignorance. The despotism of Romanism being as clear an invasion of all human rights, as it is an audacious perversion of Divine truth, ought to be assailed on this ground. The success of such an attempt would he gradual and slow. Moral victories are not like cutting down an opposing army—visible and obvious, but grow from conviction, and develope themselves in individual wisdom, piety, and patriotism.

What the issue of this great contest now going on, may be, it is impossible to predict. The event is in the hands of an all-wise Providence; but whether he may settle it in mercy or in judgement, no one can tell. The aspect of events alternates in a singular manner. Protestant power is greatly on the increase, but at present Popery appears to be far a-head. Were it not for the growing spirit of the Reformation, no rational hope could be indulged; and even as it is, we have numerous indications of the displeasure of GOD—sufficient, indeed, to produce fear for the destinies, not of our country only, but for the whole Protestant Church. If a government which is weak and wicked enough to lean on an idolatrous and alien church for support, instead of directing the affairs of the nation on the old and well tested principles of the constitution; if an insatiable fondness for change, on the part of the

people, the fruit of vanity, instead of a wise adherence to the experience of past ages; if to strengthen all the old modes of profligacy, and to introduce new and unheard-of forms of vice; if a latitudinarian spirit which aims at levelling all distinctions between truth and error, good and evil; if by the intrigues, falsehood, and baseness of party spirit, men of talent, principle, and patriotic sentiments, are depressed and thrown out of employment, whilst men of mean abilities, of no fixed and steady principles, and of easy character as regards religion, are put forward, rather as the puppets of faction than as the chosen depositories of the nation's honour;—if these are signs of the displeasure of Providence, then they abundantly exist. Since the period of sensible and miraculous interposition, Providence indicates His approval or displeasure by giving to nations wise or foolish rulers; by placing persons of integrity, virtue, and religion at the head of its affairs, or by allowing these posts to be occupied by profligate, vainglorious, and irreligious men; by enabling the legislative and governing powers to act on the immutable maxims of truth, justice, and liberty, or by permitting them to exercise their high functions on the footing of some crude, baseless expediency. And, moreover, when Providence favours a nation, He gives the authorities the affectionate confidence, loyal allegiance, and devoted services of the people;—when he manifests his displeasure, it is by suffering the passions of the populace to rise like the billows of the ocean in restless dissatisfaction and angry revenge. Which side of the picture is the one now before us, need not be argued;—it is obvious to the senses of all, except blind partizans.

In the mean time, it becomes all who have the interests of religion and of their country at heart, to exert themselves to prevent the catastrophe which, without such exertions, most assuredly awaits us. Let the truth be vindicated and upheld; let all parties take their stand on the religion of the bible; let the noble principles of the Reformation be again affirmed; let efforts be made to place before the public mind the great hazard to which their religious and personal liberties are exposed; let the church and the senate unite in simultaneous exertions to meet the danger at our doors; above all things, let us have no more puerile bandying of compliments; but, let every man assert his sentiments and take his side. No one need fear the issue, if the combatants can be disentangled, and the great questions in debate be brought out to public view. A church *with* the Bible need not fear a church *without* the Bible, if she rest in its truth, and employ it as her shield.

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