

DEDICATION.

TO THE CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS
OF IRELAND.

I AM fully aware that by this publication, I lay myself open to an accusation, of an attempt to expose the proceedings of *my Fellow-Catholics*—for this I shall offer no other apology *than this*, that public measures, when *radically wrong*, should be *radically cured*.—I am at a loss to know how *this* can be done without public investigation. I chiefly *censure* the overstrained, unnatural, and, if I may be allowed to say, *Faith-Flinging Loyalty*, *disloyal*, *illiberal*, and (what I have attempted to prove) *even unconstitutional Liberty*, stamp upon, or deducible from our proceedings; and yet I know how to revere the British Constitution, which has given to the world, *its ISLAND Freedom*

Freedom and Happiness—it's now Single Hope.
 In the course of these observations, I have looked steadily *to measures, not to men,* upon whom I *seek not to throw odium.*— I wish only to have a mean, compromising, *bartering,* and, at the same, *proselitizing spirit,* *at once arrested.* I have endeavoured, *as far as I could,* to avoid personalities, which I have *ever despised,* nay [hated—whatever have been indulged in, have been used only for the purpose of *praise,* or *friendly,* (though humorous) *admonition,* which must at once remove all imputation of malice, spleen, or ill-nature. I have thus joked, because I am *decidedly* of opinion, that a National Question *should not be trifled with,* and because I have been taught by a first-rate philosopher, that ridicule will succeed, where censure fails—

————— *ridiculum acri*
Fortius & melius magnas plerumque secat res.

This is intended as a *vindication of Public Spirit*; the Bishops are defended, *because their Christian Spirit is it's Best Spirit.*

I am

I am vain enough to think, that the spirit upheld in these pages, *is the spirit of the country*. For this so objectionable vanity, I plead no other excuse *than this*, that I consider myself *a true Irishman*, and that I know the character of *our People*, in delineating which (as regarding the subject in hand) I have looked to nature *only*, and have therefore applied to it no other sentiments, than those which the public voice *has long-ago spoke aloud*, and which *I am proud to profess*, have *always* been *my own unborrowed impressions*. Let me not be accused of attempting to be *idly popular*, by endeavouring to be *greatly Christian*. I dedicate to Protestants, because I know no *social* principle of distinction, I know a distinction, *but in name*, between Protestant and Catholic—as to religious distinctions, I am concerned with them *but for their extinction*, and I know no other way to effect this, than by disregarding and allowing them *ALL* to fall, to the common level of *Christianity*, which, as founded by it's Master, ought to be one unruffled and prospering ocean of *Harmony and Love*.—I know besides, that *the Irish Protestants*

testants established our Constitution of 1782, and that they gave us *all the privileges* we have obtained. I therefore say, may the spirit of 1782, "*that cheap defence of this nation,*" restore us our Constitution—complete our Liberty, and save the Empire.

LUKE PLUNKETT.

May 1st, 1810.

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

Tendency of some late Proceedings of the

GENERAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

BY the resolutions of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, passed on the 24th of last month, our proceedings are placed in so absurd, ludicrous, and spiritless a point of view, that all among us, who cherish and revere even a particle of that *public spirit*, which *alone* has passed us over the vestibule of the Constitution, and which, if still upheld, must force our admission into it's very sanctuary, are obliged to hang down our heads, and pass along with confusion, disgust, indignation, and dismay.

This bitter affliction is also increased by the consideration, that the odium of these hateful measures is thrown upon the Dublin Committee, (as the General Committee is *falsely* denominated) which, *through some few counties* of Ireland, is studiously and ungenerously represented, (by the enemies of that spirit, which having grown up in this city, *has long ago* identified itself with the spirit of the nation) as being composed almost entirely of (a) Dublin citizens, or rather of those, who, much to the honor of their hearts and understandings, have ever followed and revered Mr. Keogh's political conduct, upon the great question of Emancipation. But, to the shame, confusion, and discomfiture of their enemies, *be it now known*, that I have attended almost every meeting of the Committee, since its formation in May, 1809, and that neither Mr. Keogh, nor they, have taken

(a) I have often been sneeringly informed by some members of the Committee, who, though citizens of Dublin, can yet be better distinguished by the name of *country gentlemen*, that, in the country, no one ever pays the least attention to the resolutions of the Dublin Committee, as the citizens of Dublin *are supposed* to have it all to themselves, and as the late proceedings have been marked by a total want of spirit and consistency—*if so*, I am surprised that those gentlemen do not keep away from such disgraceful meetings, if it were only to avoid a share of such supposed, (though factitious and unmerited) odium.

taken any active or leading part *whatever* in those measures which have been adopted since the above period, and that upon *those last resolutions, they have taken no part at all.*—

Though Mr. Keogh, from the state of his health, was unable to attend, if even he wished it, I have often been surprised, though pleased, to find that neither the influence of his name, nor of his opinions, was ever *once* exerted.—It gives me extraordinary pleasure to bear testimony to his purity of conduct in this respect, as I have always considered his political conduct as most entitled to public favour, gratitude, and confidence. Though I admire and applaud the fair and popular principle, which thus forbade his influence upon our proceedings, I cannot but deplore in common with *almost all* my Catholic countrymen, it's sad and fatal effects. For since he and his influence have been withdrawn from our meetings, I am sorry to say that the spirit which formerly distinguished the citizens of Dublin in them, has almost entirely vanished. It was not until the Cox-Hippesley scheme of bartering our religious freedom for political enfranchisement, that they took any active or decided part in our concerns; and, until then, they had almost entirely kept away from *this last* Committee—acting by themselves *alone*,

and apart from the Committee, on this occasion, their retained spirit broke forth, and the effect of their interference has been, that this skeleton of a bill of his has never since been *incarnated* or *Grenvillized*, but now remains a raw-head-and-bloody bones, to frighten away from Sir John's mansion all religious, conscientious, and *therefore dangerous Papists*—and yet Sir John was sincere, and not without his merit, for knowing well the maniacal nature and tendency of theological fervor, when entirely unrestrained; he only wished for the good and preservation of us his poor patients, (not rejecting, however, all regard to the well-being and security of this Protestant empire) to make a *short* experiment, for a little time, of a straight waistcoat, upon a small, easy, and *patent-improved* construction. I was the humble instrument of a vote of thanks to them, for their prompt, manly, and patriotic conduct, *patriotic indeed*, because strongly calculated to secure the peace and tranquillity of this too much and too long tortured country. I should not advert to this vote of thanks, were it not to prove that since 1807, (when first, by almost mere accident, I was appointed a member

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ber of the Committee) I have followed up the same spirit of conciliation, which then alone recommended me to the notice of my Catholic countrymen:—and upon such a subject as I now write upon, it may be of no disservice to the cause I advocate, that the public should know that *I am, and ever have been through life, the supporter and promoter of dignified conciliation, not only upon public questions, but upon every private transaction, whether regarding Catholics or Protestants.*—This has ever been my most favoured maxim “*Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur.*”

This vote of thanks brought our Committee, once more, the acquisition of the honest, spirited, and unsophisticated votes, of many of those who are deputies from the parishes, and whose opinions have always been ranged upon Mr. Keogh's side of the question, because that side is no other than public spirit and consistency, upheld and directed by no inconsiderable share of public, and I may even say, *senatorial wisdom.* They then gave us their marked assistance, upon, I may say, *the almost only popular, spirited, and national resolutions,* which have passed

sed this Committee. They joined us in a hearty reprobation of Lord Grenville's *damning manifesto*—they joined us in rejecting *even the consideration* of the 5th resolution (a) of the English Catholics, commonly called the “*arrangement*,” but which may be better entitled the “*Derangement*”—they joined us in our unanimous spurning of any over-awing of our Prelates by lay intervention, by voting against the opening of any communication whatever between the Committee and them—they joined us in a vote of thanks to our Bishops—they joined us in a declaration, that they would never consent to the Crown's having any influence *whatever* in the nomination of our Bishops—*these are the measures* which they have supported since they have returned to our meetings. Though a friend, an active and a successful friend, to unanimity and conciliation, I do not think that I afford reason for being accused of contravening these so desirable objects, when *I solemnly and indignantly declare*, that a very unmerited, accumulated,

(a) This resolution was not printed; I know not for what reason.

cumulated, and still spreading odium, *is studiously and meanly* imposed upon the political sentiments and conduct of the citizens of Dublin, for no other reason which I can *explore* but this, that they have done most for, and deserved best of their Catholic countrymen; and when a complete, and, at the same time, honourable emancipation follows, *as ere long it must*, I have no hesitation in declaring, that they shall then have deserved best of even their Protestant countrymen. That such should be their return for their great services, should occasion in our minds neither surprise nor irritation, when we consider that envy and malice are the inseparable attendants upon the good and virtuous. But, though I think it enviable to be *thus* traduced, I by no means think it right or desirable to lie under a load of censure and misrepresentation, when *no cause whatever* is furnished for such obloquy.

The citizens of Dublin have *ever been, still are, and ever will* continue to be (as long as freedom shall be dear to Ireland) the assertors of public spirit, manliness, and (in reference to these great qualities) of consistency. This very
error.

errors, if any (errors *at most*, only in form, and not in substance) have sprung from their devotion to these great principles, and have ever been on the side of public virtue. But notwithstanding their long and well established character, *I am well informed*, that whatever resolutions of the General Committee are deficient in those *great and national ingredients* which should be the *sinè quâ non* of our proceedings, that they are, in some parts of the country, *maliciously and sneeringly* ascribed to them. Now as the City of Dublin is entitled to pre-eminence on this question, from former services and success, as well as from local superiority and precedence, and as the sentiments of it's Citizens *are truly national*, I think I cannot be well accused of narrow, partial and unenlightened views, by *thus vindicating in their persons*, the honour and spirit of this *Catholic nation*, which I consider now as *strangely* trampled upon, because trampled upon *by ourselves*. I cannot better *complete* this object, than by exposing to public view the absurd, inconsistent, spiritless and mischievous resolutions, which passed on the 24th of last month, and which are, and will be

be set down to their account, though they have taken no part whatever in them. Before I enter upon them, I must frankly acknowledge, that if I could have foreseen them, I should not, for the first time in my life, have voted against Mr. Keogh at the last General Meeting, for I might then have been enabled to have entered into the feeling of apprehension, which perhaps assailed his mind at the time, that by *ourselves alone* we should be degraded and trampled upon to utter contempt. Yes, by ourselves alone, alas! we have been thus degraded and trampled upon, and nothing short of a great, prompt and national exertion, shall be able to rescue us from the vortex of political chicane and irreligion (its inseparable attendant) into which we have been innocently plunged—one word more, and then to the resolutions. If inconsistency and absurdity *alone* attached to those resolutions, I should not as a Catholic, and a member of the Committee, stand forward to arraign them, but there is so predominant a spirit of wickedness in the two last of them, and so stamped are they with a contempt of all we have been in the habit of holding most dear and venerable, that I fear

not only for our total loss of character, but I declare to God, am even apprehensive for the peace of the community. The first resolution is harmless, *and if they must have it so*, may be considered good: it certainly was highly unnecessary, because it was called forth by the mere loose reports of those who had returned from the other side, or in consequence of letters received from those *English Catholic Dissenters*, whose authority, I hope, will never again be looked to by this country, after their late gross and despicable tergiversation. The English public has too *exact, comprehensive and enlightened a knowledge of the whole Science of newspapers*, not to know that in 1808, the authority vouched by Mr. Grattan was *solely ecclesiastical*—how then could they imagine it was a lay sanction? But though the subject, *like the deaths and marriages*, thus obtruded itself upon their sight and memory, be assured, they never did, (because unwilling) allow their minds for a moment to be troubled or haunted by its consideration. As I am now upon the point, I take the opportunity of warning the Irish Catholics, to reject, *in toto*, the reports of those
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exports-and-imports of our own body, who are continually at the other side, flirting with the question, and who viewing it as they do a suit of cloaths, consider that it never can wear or fit well, unless shaped by a *London or Cockney pattern*, and who consider themselves respected by Englishmen, *merely because they are not openly despised*. I also think, that the accounts of our lay missionaries, should be received with considerable caution and scrupulosity for this plain reason, that their residence in London, must naturally have given their sentiments a *new bias*, and warped them towards the unpopular side of the question. But I am *decidedly* of opinion, that those who next go out *with the Catholic mails* should travel *with guards, and without blowing horns*, for I have been *strangely and credibly* informed, that by means of a *very loud and long-winded instrument** one of them from being a *simple messenger*, has been, *almost miraculously* blown into a *Ple-nipotentiary of Church and State*. This gentle-

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man,

* It is ten to one but Lord Grenville by his assertion, that the Irish Catholics spoke through *no common organ*, meant that they spoke through *an uncommon organ*.

man I am *told upon all sides*, has been most zealous and fervid in his mission, and might have done considerable good, *if at all empowered to act*, and if he had luckily hit upon the right method of proceeding, but unfortunately (I am also told) he, according to the old saying, “got the wrong sow by the ear.” Never having heard of any missionary, *whether priest or lay brother*, having ever succeeded in planting the Gospel by the depreciation of its ministry, I do not, nor cannot believe, that he has acted so. It is, however, a fact, that he has returned with not only *chapters upon pockets*, but *with pockets upon pockets of chapters*, which he will read or repeat *very audibly* on the 7th of this month. I hope he has not pledged himself *for and against the bishops* upon the subject of those chapters. If he has, Mr. Grattan’s disrespectful conduct to our religion (and which I shall soon advert to) *is at once* accounted for. If he has interfered *officially or authoritatively* upon this point, I shall feel much regret, as I rank myself among the number of his well-wishers.—The second resolution is a vote of thanks of Mr. Grattan. That Henry Grattan, in a general point of view, is deserving of the thanks and
gratitude

gratitude of the Irish Catholics, I am very willing, nay anxious to acknowledge—but though so entitled, it does not follow that he should be thanked *at any rate, at any risk, upon every particular occasion, and for every particular act,* whether making *for or against* our interests and character.

If Grattan acts wrong, I say, as the Constitution speaks it of the King, “he is deceived, for he can do us no wrong,” but though so favourably impressed towards him, I will not praise him either *generally or particularly, for what is in itself wrong.*—I will not, at the expense of my feelings and understanding, praise him to *my own dispraise.*—In such a case, I should prefer remaining silent as to the past, and endeavour to provide for the future, by guarding against the repetition of *the error.* But I also think, that a great character should not be trifled with, by being praised *unnecessarily.*—I proceed to prove, that this vote of thanks is not only unnecessary, but absurd, inconsistent, and *even mischievous,* from a consideration of the particular time and occasion which called it forth.—It is unnecessary, because

cause passed for the *known and sole purpose* of sparing his feelings upon the *first resolution*; it is therefore a consequence of this first resolution—but I have already proved that the first was unnecessary, unless it can be ridiculously supposed that Mr. Grattan, as a true-born Irishman, considered the ecclesiastical authority, (such as it was) which alone he had for making the proposal, to be a lay sanction—that it is absurd and inconsistent will easily appear, first, because it thanked him for and in reference to an act, which was not only in itself wrong, but which in the opinion of almost every one of our religion, *has done considerable, I hope not irretrievable, injury*, to the Catholic question; for as long as the Grenvillites chuse to *stick in our skirts, and goad us upon this point*, so long shall we be excluded from this *all-embracing Constitution*; *this Constitution, which receives All, even foreigners*, into its bosom, and turns its back only upon us, whose Catholic forefathers gave it birth, strength, splendor, and perfection.—It is also mischievous, because on the very day it passed, a letter from him to Mr. Hay was read at the meeting, which

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ends in this *summary, imperial and imperative manner*, “ I have stated to the Parliament, that the nomination of your Bishop should be *substantially domestic*, which the enemies of the Veto may well accede to.”—I answer to this, that he has no right *at all* to make terms for us, without consulting us. Upon this last *offer of his* in our behalf; he has consulted *neither Laity nor Clergy*. This conduct is therefore highly disrespectful to the whole Catholic Body. But it is particularly so, and must be very afflicting *indeed* to our exemplary and unoffending Prelates, who *alone* should be treated with on this point, and who have already upon most full and mature deliberation, (in two public meetings, at two several periods, and convened for no other purpose) rejected this very idea or scheme, (this *uncatholicizing scheme*) or any *innovation whatever*, in the present canonical mode of appointing Irish Roman Catholic Bishops. If this proposed measure could be looked at, *singly and stripped of the sanction of his great name*, it would and *must* appear in no other but a hostile point of view, it would be set down *at once* to be the act of an enemy, and especially on account of the blood-stirring alarm, occasioned

occasioned by the unauthorised veto-proposal in 1808, and which, *if persisted in*, would have thrown this unfortunate island, into more and worse scenes of blood than it ever yet experienced. It would have been here what the revoking of the Edict of Nantes was in France; it would *have been even worse*, because it would have occasioned a bloody, unarrayed, unmarshalled, and almost unidiscriminating warfare, which would end in the destruction of every civilized institution, and of that very object, which had at first called forth such horrid conflicts, and had occasioned *such relapse into barbarism*. But Henry Grattan “has *again* been deceived, for he can do us no wrong,” and I say, even in the words of this so objectionable a resolution, that no misrepresentation can delude him from the support, (sorry I am I cannot say *on this occasion, just support*,) of our cause. What greatly adds to the objections to this vote of thanks, *is this*, that being subsequent to the letter so read at our meeting, it will be considered by him, as a virtual approval and sanction of *the measure itself*. When it shall be again rejected by our Bishops, (as it has been twice already) he may then, with *more plausibility than before* declare in Parliament, that “he will not defend himself at the expence of his country.” I may be asked are things

things always to remain as they are, and what *would I advise?*—I answer in the first place, that I consider any legislative arrangement *whatever* regarding the nomination of our Prelates, as not only *completely unnecessary*, but as even dangerous to the interest and peace of *both* religions. I also consider this anxiety for “*a state security,*” through the medium of *this episcopal muzzle*, to be a hollow pretence, set up for political purposes, and to be a direct and scandalous *Insult* to the feelings of the most loyal,* virtuous, dignified, and elevated characters in society. *I say elevated*, because their rank, in itself the first, is gloriously illustrated and emblazoned by their poverty, sufferings, and humiliations, the almost only characteristics of *their Master's life* when upon earth.—Why do I feel and partake of this insult? Because my religion and it's Pastors have *taught* me loyalty as a moral principle, and because by such an attempt, *it is proclaimed to the empire and to the world*, that Irish Roman Catholic Bishops are

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* I have been lately and sneeringly told by a Catholic, whose name I shall not mention, (because the sentiment is unworthy of him) that *the loyalty of our Bishops ought to be secured to the Government!!!*

not to be believed *upon their oaths* (framed by the legislature itself) and which oaths they have lately and solemnly declared, have even become a part of the profession of the Roman Catholic religion in this country. Can contumely be pushed further than this? But whatever odium is thrown upon them, is thrown upon our religion, and therefore upon ourselves, our ancestors and our offspring—so *cruel and sweeping an invasion of nature, will and must range every conscientious man upon the side of his Pastors, who are bound, as they have declared, to lay down even their lives for the preservation and integrity of our faith.*

Can it be possible that our friends wish to make an experiment of their courage and their faith? *These, I answer for it, will be always found unshaken and invincible.* Though a professed enemy to polemics and religious feuds of any kind, as tending to impair the tender sympathies and kindness of our nature, and though I have always acted up to the spirit of this impression, *yet in spite of myself* (if I may so say) I find myself transformed into another character, when the defenceless and unoffending *shepherds of*

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our folds (whose virtues have outlived without a stain almost * fourteen centuries) are not only suspected, but disrespected, slighted *and set aside*. It is said, I know, that their conduct has been very inconsistent and equivocal upon this question. For my part, I am one of *four millions* who consider their conduct as perfectly consistent and unequivocal. And here may I be allowed to observe, that if no change of circumstances, nor terror of past times, can be allowed to explain or extenuate the actions of men, it would be no easy problem for our Committee, (which if duly and confidentially organized must represent the Catholics of Ireland) to reconcile *the extreme* of their present loyalty *in this year*, with the fact deposed before an Irish parliament in 1799, *that seven hundred*

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* I hope the solitary exception of a *late nobleman* shall not be quoted against the universality of this encomium. He was a melancholy and *sorrowful* instance of the contagious influence of worldly attractions and distinctions, and can be instanced with *mighty effect* to stop the current of irreligion, and of mercenary, prideless, and even *humiliating* ambition, which now, alas! is sweeping away the *glorious remnant* of our name (see Mr. Ryan's remark upon this in his sermon upon the festival of St. Patrick, which ought to prove to even Mr. Grattan the unconstitutional tendency of a "domestic nomination," as leading to a *sole nomination* upon the part of the Crown.

thousand males had joined in the national cause, *then an illegal one*. I wish to speak as I feel of my native country not only with affection, but with filial awe, I hold it *for a first maxim*, that a nation *cannot be a traitor*, because a nation has a divine right of self-preservation. I was cast by my duty, as holding a commission in his majesty's service, during the fatal year of 1798 to stand in array against the *Irish million*. I served at the battle of New Ross, under my much lamented Colonel, Lord Mountjoy. I witnessed and know the national feeling of that year, and it was not *the extreme loyal feeling* which now diseases our Committee.* The Catholic

* In the Dedication I have called this extreme loyalty, *unconstitutional*—it is unconstitutional *generally*, because tending to encrease the influence of the Crown, already *fearfully enormous*—*particularly*, because tending to give the Crown a purely *ecclesiastical authority*, or *power over Christian consciences*, which by the Thirty-nine Articles it has not—it tends to give this authority, because I *must* prefer being a *Protestant to a schismatic*. This would be rather a dangerous precedent for England! If the principle of it had been *but once* firmly established before the reign of Charles the First the English would not *now* have to boast of their Hampdens, their Sydneys and their Russels: they would not *now* have *their* Burdett! England would *not now* have to rejoice and

tholic bishops were then *left alone, and are now reproached with inconsistency!* But if a charge of inconsistency can at all be made out against them, I am confident that our General Committee at least has no right to bring it. The conduct of the bishops may be *thus epitomized*. In 1799, ten bishops, without the knowledge of the rest, and acted upon by terror and surprize signed for a limited veto to the Crown—in 1808, Mr. Grattan proposed this measure to parliament. In September of the same year, *all the Catholic Bishops of Ireland* voted, that any change in the canonical mode of appointing Irish Roman Catholic bishops *would be inexpedient*. In 1810 they referred to *this same* resolution, giving in many other resolutions, their reasons *at large* for having adopted it. These latter resolutions were *in fact*, nothing but the amplification of their *vote of inexpediency* in 1808, from which they all may, and might be deduced, as

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to weep for the murder of their King!!!—because all must and would have been Royal Episcopalians.—(See the 37th article, and the 2d of the ecclesiastical Constitutions of the Irish bishops, 1634—if a purely ecclesiastical authority can be tortured out of them, I say that reason and nature have already, and will ever resist it in England.)

so many *Corollaries* and particularly *that* which goes to the *express* rejection of the chapters, under the *present circumstances* of the Irish Roman Catholic Church. Is not this consistency, nay *uniformity* upon the part of the Bishops of Ireland; when from the period they had been *first apprized of*, and convened upon this subject as *the body of the Irish Church up to this very moment* they have never deviated *in the least* from *their first opinion*. I shall, in a few words contrast with it the conduct of the General Committee—they thank the bishops for their communication, that is, *for the rejection of the chapters*, and they thank Mr. Grattan for *proposing it* to Parliament; they reprobate Lord Grenville's letter, which *proclaims the Veto*; they declare that they never will concede any influence to the Crown, and yet they thank Lord Belmore and the Orangemen of Tyrone, for supporting us *upon the very ground*, which they had thus before reprobated and disclaimed.

It is acknowledged by the government, that the objection *is not to the bishops but to the clergy*—but for this same, there is no ground, for of those unfortunate priests, who were concerned in the rebellious practices of 1798, there

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was *not one* who had not been silenced and suspended by their Bishops from the exercise of their functions—but if the objection *must lie* against them, would not it be to be apprehended, that the establishment of *chapters*, (from the *popular principle* of their constitution, and the very nature of the objection itself,) would *encrease* rather than diminish this supposed danger. Would not an O'Leary be chosen *over and over and over*? And yet we know that this *great, loyal and enlightened clergyman* was marked out by government, as a victim to their displeasure, *for no other reason*, which I have *ever* been able to make out, but because he exercised his sacred office, with evangelical zeal, piety and *independence*. But if *after all*, there must be an arrangement *in this way*, let it be one approved and sanctioned by our prelates, and consented to by the Pope—for even *those bishops who first* agreed to give the Crown a *limited Veto*, declared *specifically*, that nothing could be done without the consent of his Holiness. *It is a fact* beyond the shadow of a doubt, *that nothing can be done* in this way, without the
 consent

consent of the Pope being first obtained—As to a *domestic nomination*, this must mean Chapters, if it means any thing, for it cannot mean that the Bishops should appoint to the vacant sees, from their *own sole authority*, without holding any * *communion whatever* with Rome, as this would be an innovation and an usurpation upon what the Catholic world considers to be the *unalienable right* of the Head of our Church, and which therefore *never could or will* receive his consent. I clearly perceive, that *the only possible danger*, that can arise to the state, *from foreign influence*, † is by the appointment

* See the fifth and sixth resolution of the Bishops. *The first* says that a communication amongst *all the faithful* is a most essential part of *Christian polity*, and that to cut off *this* would be a manifest *oppression of conscience*: the second that this doctrine is *immoveable*.

† Mr. Grattan's object is to cut off all *foreign influence* upon the ground that the 37th article of the Church of England says, "that the Pope of Rome has no jurisdiction in these realms." This in the reign of Elizabeth meant, *I grant*, no *spiritual jurisdiction whatever*; but *now* reason would have it, it means no *spiritual authority* at all, as independent of, and uncontrollable by the *civil magistrate*; for he *unquestionably* has a controuling, superintending and paramount authority, if the exercise of even the *mere spiritual* Headship of the Pope, should bring with it any danger

pointment of *foreigners* to fill our vacant sees—
 but this *never will or can be attempted*, for
 this sufficient and *unanswerable reason*, that it
 would at once justify and sanction the inter-
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ger to the state, *for example*, by the appointment of foreigners
 or otherwise. But the Bishops have stated, that not a single in-
 stance of such danger has occurred. See their 14th resolution,
 wherein they, on the contrary assert, that *danger to the state*
would arise, from any change in the *present mode of their ap-*
pointment, by disabling their authority, “ *which has and will*
ever be exerted in the public cause.” See also their 7th reso-
 lution, which states that the authority of the Bishop of Rome,
 being *sole and single*, cannot be subject to *any lay authority*,
however extensively or even universally predominant. What does
 this import, but that the Pope *must be again freed*. *But there*
may be danger in the interim by Buonaparte’s having a Pope
of his own elected. *If so*, I draw this conclusion from the
 11th resolution (wherein they say, that if the election shall
 not be a *free, canonical and due election*, that they will ac-
 count the Holy See Vacant) that such a Pope will not be
 considered by them as *the Pope*. In the 8th resolution, they
 assert that the right of giving *communion and confirmation* to
 Roman Catholic Bishops abides, in his Holiness, and that such
 a *condition* is become a *landmark of Catholic discipline and ec-*
clesiastical peace throughout *all the churches*. *Reason would*
have it, that the jurisdiction of the Pope is not so rigidly
prohibited from these realms as formerly, for the following rea-
 sons, that contradictories cannot stand, that the law is the
 perfection of reason, and that “ *leges posteriores priores*
“ contrarias abrogant.” The English act of 1791 and the
 two Irish acts of 1782 and 1793 *tolerate and protect* the
 Roman Catholic religion. I ask, *is it so tolerated and pro-*
 tected

ference of government, who would then with a strong hand, oblige us to separate from all communion with *the Catholic world*, and thus force upon us the alternative of becoming *Schismatics* or *Protestants*.—But *if we must be besieged* and tortured into an arrangement, which *cannot be* acceded to by our Pope and Prelates, in the name of God, let us have *our petition back again*, and let all proceedings drop to the ground, *as if they had never been adopted*. If we cannot be supported upon any other ground, I demand from Mr. Grattan's hands the Irish Catholic petition. I forego *respectfully and decidedly* his support. I forego also the support of the whole Grenville Party, *however known or characterized*, and with it, that of all its divisions and subdivisions, *however named or however classed*. Let the Catholic petition in this case be advocated by not even *one honest man*, and yet it will and must *triumph before long* over the

tected as the religion it is, or as the religion it is not? If as the religion it is?—

If as the religion it is not, why are we not forced by the sword to renounce it? *But the legislature is omnipotent, it will be said, and therefore contradictories may stand.* I answer, the law is founded upon the *best reason*, and is superior to the King, though he can do no wrong. What then can be done it will be asked. *Let your establishments be founded once more upon the freedom and affections of all your people!!!*

the malice, the snares and the misrepresentations of our enemies. Remaining as we are for the present, we shall be better enabled and disposed to practise all the charities of a Christian life, and even better adapted to meet the common enemy, than by an emancipation *in name*, reluctantly, perhaps contemptuously granted, and the abandonment of an *inherited faith*, which, by confederating our cause with all that is universal, permanent and victorious *in the world*, has raised our desponding condition, from the dry pit of slavery and degradation, to such a height of importance, *in population, mind and hopes*, as to have rendered us, (it is said,) *formidable* to the greatest empire in the universe, and *formidable only because not trusted*, as our sufferings faith and destinies have merited.

The 3d resolution is, *in fact*, though not in substance, a vote of thanks to Lord Belmore and the Orangemen of Tyrone, for supporting us upon the ground of Lord Grenville's veto-proclamation, which had long before been unanimously reprobated and spurned by us, Irish Catholics, as containing the terms, not of our freedom, but of our eternal, *solitary*, and irremediable slavery.

The more I reflect upon it, the more am I convinced that this was nothing but a state-trick, for the purpose of *forcing* * upon us this odious measure—I also fear that there is a deep and foul conspiracy on foot for *forcing* the gates of our sanctuary, and that it will require much vigilance and night-watching, to prevent its keys from being delivered to our enemies—let us take care that no wooden horse be admitted within it's walls—let it not be recorded of us as of Troy—

“ Talibus insidiis perjurique arte Sinonis
 “ *Creditaes* : captique dolis lacrymisque coacti
 “ Quos neque Tydides nec Larissæus Achilles,
 “ Non anni domuere decem *non mille Carinæ.*”

That *Protestants* should be thanked for their support of our cause I am willing to acknowledge ;

* To prove that *force* was intended, Sir John Hippisley Cox in his sketch of a bill, uses these remarkable words:....
 “ That there can be no question or doubt, but that the Parliament can legislate in the spirit of these veto-provisions, without entering into any concordât whatever with the Pope.”
 Even the Veto-Bishops had before *specifically in writing* expressed, that no alteration in this respect, could be entered upon, *without the consent of the Pope* ! I have been often surprised, that this opinion of their's has not been made the chief ground of their defence. In my mind, it goes *the whole way* of absolving them from the imputation of any sinister and unworthy motives or intentions.

ledge; that they should be *even loved* by their Catholic brethren I am taught and am proud to profess—but that *Orangemen* should be thanked by us, for supporting us upon such base terms, as the surrender of all our principles, is a violence to, nay a denial of our *known feelings*—*feelings*, which though hostile and indignant, (from the nature of our sufferings) are at least manly and *undisguised*, and therefore *so far respectable*. The Orangemen of Ireland have been and are our enemies—we have resisted their oppression—their oppression and our resistance have occasioned our common subjugation and debasement. If Orangemen, from sad experience of past, and sorrow for present misery and humiliation, have *now* repented of their conduct to us, *It is well*.—As Catholics *we forgive, and only wish and insist on time to forget*. If they wish to support us *for their own strength*, let the *odious name* of Orangemen, which *alone* must make us, even though averse to suspicion, to doubt the motive and reject the boon, be *entirely removed*—we wish to forget who they are, and where they reside. Let us know them as *Protestants only*, and *not at all* as Orangemen.

But,

But, above all things, we deprecate their supporting us upon any terms incompatible with our religion, our honour and our principles. If we shall receive their co-operation in this *great work* of the empire, let it be upon *the broad and blessed basis of Christianity*,* or if a *constitutional*

* The Bishop of Norwich supported the question in 1808, upon this *single ground*. The Queen's County, in a meeting of Protestant noblemen and freeholders, July 1808, advocated our cause upon this same *one ground*. So *sublime an act* deserves particular mention, and therefore I shall give two of their four resolutions.

II. "Resolved, that as Protestants and Roman Catholics in common profess one Head, *Christ*, from whom they derive their peculiar name, so are they bound to the strict observance of that *new and distinguished* principle of their religion, *universal love*, without which their profession is vain and nugatory."

IV. "Resolved, that *under such circumstances*, we are of opinion, that they are entitled to experience from us *the full benefit of CHRISTIAN LOVE*, to be evinced in our approbation and support of their claims, for a full participation with us, of the blessings of the Constitution."

I cannot *well* conceive any thing more grand and imposing than this. What a creative power of freedom does this principle contain! *If followed*, it would *almost* be a "fiat lux & lux fuit." *Let the Catholics be free* (because Christians) *and they are free*. These resolutions, with the names subjoined, ought to be inscribed in *golden letters*, upon the pedestal of *a large monument*, raised (in the centre of Ireland,
and

constitutional principle must be bottomed upon, let it be upon *this* also, that Catholics who gave the trial by jury,* should be judged by their
peers

and fronting its Parent County) to gospel Peace, who should be represented, as crowning Hibernia with Freedom on the altar of Christianity. Just within view, and no more, I would have erected, a small decent tomb to the “*domestic nomination*,”—within view, in order that under such mild protection, it might sleep for ever in peace! No vote of thanks has passed the General Committee for such an Act!!!

* Mr. Parnell, in his Historic Apology, asserts, that Roman Catholics enjoy not the benefit of the trial by jury, upon those *innumerable questions* in this country, which are either instigated by, or intermixed with a spirit of party. In January, 1808, six distinguished Protestant noblemen, and many distinguished gentlemen throughout Ireland, signed a declaration in our favour, upon *the constitutional ground* of “*equal law and equal liberty*,” and of *the certain amelioration*, (in every point of view,) of the situation this country, which must follow upon the liberation, of so large and *effective* a population. A Tipperary meeting of a similar nature soon followed this, the mind of which seem even more enlarged, for they say they *see no reason whatever* for not conceding, &c. Their resolutions were signed by seven noblemen, and a very great number of gentlemen of the first property and distinction. Galway, Roscommon, Meath and Down followed upon almost the same principle, and *without one word* concerning “*wholesome provisions and checks*” for the security of those *inviolable* establishments, which are such objects of Lord Grenville’s *pure devotion*—a devotion which
even

peers, and if these are not enough, let there be thrown into the foundation the *tacitly acknowledged principle* of the laws of all civilized nations, that *foreigners** should not be more privileged than subjects, and that subjects, at least, should not be tempted or forced by unnatural privations to vary the object of their allegiance.

Upon reviewing the above observations, and comparing them with the feelings that dictated to my pen, I feel very sensible that the execution has been imperfect and hasty—for such imperfection I shall offer no excuse but the *principles I maintain*, and which in my mind have received a considerable shock from the late acts of some of our body. *Double-dealing*, I believe, has never as yet established the character of an individual, or the glory of a nation, and for my part I would prefer a *later emancipation with a good name* to a system of *immediate freedom*

even the English Catholics have, through their secretary, called, "*rash and impolitic*" and which we have, by a resolution of our Committee, stamped with the name of *unrelenting intolerance!*

* Germans, Sicilians, Portuguese, and even French, are at present incorporated into the military service of the Empire.

freedom, on the condition of foregoing our character for perseverance. Let but the Catholics be sincere, uniform and constant, and Protestants will soon become liberal. Let but Protestants become liberal, and Catholics must be free. Let but Catholics be made free as men, and prejudices become at once as harmless infants, not destined to live. Let but prejudices Fall (from their forced ~~and~~ level) and the empire will Rise, and must Last. Emancipation unconditionally, and our gratitude is unlimited!!!

Page 32. *Tacitly acknowledged—not expressed, because it is no other than self-attachment and preservation, the first law of nature—as unnecessary to have expressed in their several codes, as the self-evident maxim, “ that the laws of a community are made for itself, and not for another.”*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

RESOLUTIONS REFERRED TO.

Unanimous Resolutions of the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops in 1808, and which were confirmed, 1810.

1st. RESOLVED, That it is *the decided* opinion of the Roman Catholic Prelates of Ireland, here assembled, *that it is inexpedient* to introduce *any alteration* in the canonical mode hitherto observed, in the nomination of Irish Roman Catholic Bishops, which mode, by long experience, has proved to be unexceptionable, wise and salutary.

2d. RESOLVED, That the Roman Catholic Prelates *pledge themselves* to adhere to the rule,
by

by which they have been *hitherto uniformly* guided, namely, to recommend to his Holiness *only such persons* as Candidates for vacant Bishoprics, as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable conduct.

15th *Resolution of 1810.* RESOLVED, That the idea of making the elections of the Bishops *entirely national*, by confining said elections to Chapters alone, or to Chapters and Metropolitans, is superseded by the matters and considerations of the three *preceding* resolutions, is moreover *not within our competence*, and though it had been free from the *guilt of schism*, would, *in the present circumstances* of the Irish Catholics, subject our religion to the most serious and unseemly disadvantages, and in our judgment would *most probably lapse into the sole and positive appointment of the Crown.*

(This Resolution removes, I hope, the objection to the word *inexpedient.*)

16th, RESOLVED, That as to arrangements regarding our Church, and said to be intended for accompanying a proposal, of the emancipation of the Irish Roman Catholics, *Prudence, and a regard for our duty* forbid us to pro-

nounce a judgment, whereas those rumoured arrangements have not been ascertained by us through any channel—however we declare, that no spirit of conciliation *has ever been wanting on our part*; that we seek for nothing beyond the mere integrity and safety of the Roman Catholic religion, in its Christian faith *and communion*, and in its *essential* discipline, *subordination* and moral code: nor can we be justly reproached for our solicitude in guarding *those sacred things* for which *we are bound* to watch and bear testimony *with our lives*, if required.*

Resolutions

* Conclusions deducible from the above resolutions:

That no innovation *whatever*, in the present mode of appointing Irish Catholic Bishops can take place, and that if even it could, that such change is not within the competence of the Irish Bishops to determine.

A Tipperary meeting (held March 1810) recommends a change in the mode of nominating Irish Roman Catholic Bishops upon the ground of conciliation in general, and *the becoming and patriotic spirit*, (in particular) *in this respect*, evinced in one of the resolutions of their clergy!! Is it *necessary* for me to say, that, the Bishops by declaring that they *ave never been wanting* in a spirit of conciliation, *only meant*, that they have always been ROMAN CATHOLICS and *enemies to all schism*? Would the greatly learned and religious Clinch have written, if he had seen these resolutions?

Resolutions of the General Committee :

I. RESOLVED, That we are not representatives of the Catholic body, or any portion thereof, (proposed by Mr. O'Connell, and passed at the General Meeting, May 1809.

II. RESOLVED, That the discussion of the matters contained in the 5th resolution of the English Catholics be adjourned *sine die* (proposed by Mr. Hussey, and passed by acclamation. Mr. Hussey declared, that his object was to cut up, "root and branch," all connection with those *called* English Catholics, upon the subject of Irish Catholic emancipation. I hope *sincerely*, that this spirit will not be found to have been deviated from.)

III. RESOLVED, That a letter (in answer) be written to the English Catholics, acquainting them, that though we regret the confusion into which they have been thrown (by having signed a resolution which *still* leaves them open to the *Veto* or *its principle*) yet that such^d confusion, can have no effect upon our proceedings, which *are*, and *have ever been kept*, quite distinct and separate. (This, or some such resolution

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tion, was proposed by Mr. Scully, who wrote the letter. I was much surprized, on the 24th of last month, to find that this gentleman, who, upon the discussion of *the petition itself*, called aloud and indignantly for such a petition as would rouse the sympathies and interest the feelings of the Peasantry, that, I say, he did not enter his protest against such *petty, spiritless and aristocratic proceedings.*)

IV. RESOLVED, That a Committee be appointed to hold communication with the Irish Catholic prelates (proposed by Major Bryan, and *unanimously* rejected. Upon this occasion Counsellors O'Gorman and Finn displayed great talents and pure attachment to their religion. Mr. Keogh and they seem *identified* in public spirit.)

V. RESOLVED, That the thanks of the Committee are due, and are hereby given to the Most Reverend and Right Reverend the Catholic Prelates of Ireland for their communication, (proposed by Major Bryan, and passed unanimously.)

RESOLVED, That as Irishmen and Catholics, *we never can* consent to the Crown's having
any

any influence *whatever* in the nomination of our Bishops (proposed by Mr. O'Connell, and passed *by acclamation*.) This was evidently an *Irish Bull*, as the Committee had no authority *at all* to determine this question, which had been *already* decided by the *only proper authority*.

VI. RESOLVED, That we never did give any authority, *directly or indirectly, to any person whatever*, to direct our representatives in parliament to offer to the Crown a Veto upon the nomination of our Bishops (proposed by Mr. O'Connell, and passed *by acclamation*.*)

VII. RESOLVED, That a letter (in answer) be written to Mr. Grattan, requesting him to communicate with the Irish Bishops, upon the subject of a *substantially domestic nomination* (proposed by Mr. Plunkett, but which he could get *no one person* to second.—I must, however, be so candid as to acknowledge, that there *was one gentleman* who, I believe, would have seconded it, if he had been *but* allowed to
have

* This is wrongly worded and placed.—See the 9th resolution, which corrects it.

have *first moved it*. I regret I did not know his wish at the time, for *then* I could have seconded *myself*.)

VIII. RESOLVED, That a Committee be appointed to draw up a list of all our grievances, (passed *by acclamation*, and proposed by Mr. O'Connell.) It is *rather remarkable*, that nothing was done by the Committee, in furtherance of this object. When the subject shall be next taken up, I shall add to *the one** I have already sent in, to the Committee, the *insult* offered by *a handful* of English Catholics to a *Roman Catholic nation*.

IX. RESOLVED, That the Catholic Laity of Ireland never have, *directly or indirectly*, authorised any person to offer through our friends in Parliament, or otherwise, the conceding to the Crown any interference *whatever*, in the appointment of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland. (*Passed*, and proposed by Mr. Hussey.)

X. RESOLVED,

* *The loss of our Parliament*, which alone has kept us slaves since the Union. I wish *much* to see this subject taken up with spirit—the Catholic question is comparatively with this a minor question. Why is not Mr. Mathew (who intends moving the repeal of the act of Union) supported by us?

X. RESOLVED, That the most marked and grateful thanks of *the Catholics of Ireland* are due and are hereby given to that zealous and enlightened patriot, the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, whom no difficulties can deter, no influence can seduce, nor any misrepresentation delude, from the *just* support of our claims in Parliament, the success of which affects no less the true interests of the empire, than the rights and liberties of us and our posterity.—(The influence of “the domestic nomination,” does, I maintain, delude him from the *just* support of our claims.)

XI. RESOLVED, That our cordial thanks are hereby given to the Earl of Belmore, Sir John Stewart, Bart. and our other Protestant brethren of the county of Tyrone, for the spirit of patriotism and *conciliation* displayed by them at their late meeting.*

TYRONE

* Conclusions which must be drawn from the above Resolutions:—

That the General Committee *does not* represent the Catholic Body, and *that it does*—That *they* are against “the arrangement,” and that *they* are for it—that our Bishops *should* be

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TYRONE RESOLUTIONS.

Their third resolution refers to those ages of *Harmony and of Happiness*, which must follow from our Emancipation *upon their own terms*.

IV. RESOLVED, That we never can consent to expose those great fundamental protections of our state, *political and ecclesiastical*, to any *innovation whatever*, and that it appears to us, that Lord Grenville, in a letter to Lord Fingal, recently published, has set forth, with proper constitutional

left to themselves to determine *this point*, and that they *should not*—that they *had* determined it, and that they *had not*—that they should be *thanked*, and that they should be *slighted*—that the *Veto could never* be conceded, but that a measure tending to establish it, *could*—that the conduct of the English Catholics *should be reprobated*, but that the same conduct *should be followed*—that Lord Grenville should be *reprobated* for his letter, but those who advocated it *thanked*—(a resolution has been omitted, which immediately followed Lord Grenville's manifesto, and which begins thus “ that solemnly protesting against *the unrelenting intolerance* of this age, &c. &c.)—that Mr. Grattan *was wrong*, and *that he was right*—that he should be *thanked for the repetition of his error*—that *Orangemen should be thanked* for their kind endeavours to promote and establish *this political desideratum*—“ that the existence of the Catholic Religion should depend upon *the will* “ *and caprice* of the Kings of England!!!

constitutional discretion, *the true and real foundations*, upon which a great and perfect system of conciliation may be effected.

V. RESOLVED, That we do approve of the *distinct specific principles* set forth in that document, *as the ground-work* upon which so desirable an adjustment may be bottomed, and that we are satisfied that *any plan less circumspect and salutary*, would only give new forms to subjects of contention, disunion, and discord, &c. &c. &c.

VI. RESOLVED, That our representatives in Parliament be instructed, *to oppose any loose, unqualified, unconditional repeal* of the remaining Popery Laws, and that they be further advised to give *their * cordial support* to any great *plan* of national conciliation, upon *the distinct principles* to which we have already referred.

As this address to the public *began and ended* with Christianity, let its *conciliating spirit* breathe upon *its very last page*. The resolutions

* *Heart-squeezing*. This brings to my mind Lord Cornwallis's "cruel mercy!"

lutions of the Committee should have been given without the names of their movers, were it not that the vindication of the conduct of Mr. Keogh's Party would have been in *such case* imperfect and incomplete. I am sensible, that the two most objectionable resolutions are thrown upon Mr. O'Connell—their spirit which I have so *openly* and *decidedly* attacked, I am *very far* from attributing to him. I consider It on the contrary, as being *directly repugnant*, to the character of those *glowing and patriotic feelings*, which he not only possesses, but which he knows how so eloquently to express—his *over-zeal alone in the common cause*, has misguided and contracted them, within so narrow, so unaccustomed, and *so unworthy a Sphere*. I have alluded pointedly, and perhaps *too jocosely* to Mr. Hay, because I heard that he had *rashly and indiscreetly proposed the chapters*, to which alone my words, “if at “all empowered to act” were applied. If he has really committed this error, I am quite willing to acknowledge, that it could have proceeded from no other than an honest motive of Zeal, nay, of *Over-anxiety for Catholic Freedom*.

Freedom, which, *I know*, he has done so much to advance and establish. I find, that a Vote of Thanks is intended to be moved to him at our next meeting. Though I consider this *rather premature*, yet so persuaded am I, that he is *still* entitled to *our Approbation and our Confidence*, that (if I can *at all* find out that it will be *in any manner* grateful to his feelings) I shall be *much pleased*, by being allowed to **SECOND IT.**

FINIS.

ERRATA.

- P. 8.—ingredints, *read* ingredients.
P. 12.—vote of thanks of, *read* vote of thanks to.
P. 21.—inconsistency, *read* inconstancy.
P. 24. note.—at all, as independent of and uncontrollable by the...(these ought to be in italics.)
P. 25. note.—prohibited from, *read* prohibited in.
P. 27.—not in substance, *read* not in *it's* substance.
P. 29.—to doubt, *read* doubt.