

James John Bugot

LETTER

FROM

LORD CLONCURRY

TO THE

MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE.

1826

[Faint handwritten text]

Houses of the Oireachtas

LETTER

FROM

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

LORD CLONCURRY,

TO

THE MOST NOBLE THE

MARQUIS OF DOWNSHIRE,

ON THE CONDUCT OF THE

KILDARE-STREET EDUCATION SOCIETY,

AND THE

Employment of the Poor.



DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY THOMAS REILLY, 17, ST. ANDREW'S-STREET.

—
1826

Houses of the Oireachtas

THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

1830

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

THE LORDS OF THE KINGDOM

AND

THE COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN

IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED

OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE

AND

MEMORANDUM OF THE HOUSE

OF COMMONS

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY THOMAS RILEY, IN ST. ANDREW'S STREET.

1830

LETTER

TO THE

Marquis of Downshire.

MY DEAR LORD,

The scene witnessed by your Lordship at the late Meeting* of the Kildare-street Education Society, induces me to trouble you with a few remarks relative to it, and to the serious injury it does the country. I do not so much blame the Kildare-street Education Society for *not doing* all that it could do, as for pretending to do that *which it does not*. As a Society for educating Protestants or Dissenters, it might be of great service, but, by declaring an intention which it does not fulfil, of educating the Roman Catholics, it does a *positive* mischief, by intercepting the bounty, not only of Parliament, but of benevolent individuals, who, from the *pretensions* of the Kildare-street Education Society, believe it to be a *bona fide*

* LORD CLONCURRY, an early, and probably not the least liberal Subscriber, was hissed, as he believes, by persons hired for the purpose, whilst endeavouring to advocate the cause of the Poor.

Society for educating the *Poor of Ireland*, and, therefore, withhold the contributions which would otherwise be given to the Catholic Clergy, or others instituting schools for the great body of our Poor. If it be the object of Government, either to convert the Roman Catholics, or to prevent the education of their Poor, they should go back to the Charter Schools, or to the Penal Statutes against Papists keeping Schools; but if they want to better the situation of the *People of Ireland*, they should put Education within their reach, without requiring a sacrifice of principle, or a breach of any, the smallest, religious observance. If Government wish to put the Bible into the hands of every body, let them employ the *Bible Society*. Many of our most respectable Divines, object to the indiscriminate distribution of the Bible, even amongst adults, far more so amongst children, to whom some of the best parents, of the Established Church, only read selections; but the Kildare-street Gentlemen, who are of all religions but that of the Church of England, and who, amongst themselves, agree in nothing but the persecution of the Roman Catholics, have, for 14 years, been the means of intercepting Education from the great body of the *People of Ireland*,—they are what BURKE would call swindling Mæcenases; they give a stone when they should give bread. But the Kildare-street Society pretend to have succeeded in part, because they, by their *own account*, contribute to the Education of 100,000, out of 700,000 of

the Children of Irish Poor ; and it is only by anonymous letters, or garbled reports, that even this statement is supported, whilst the same reports allow, that out of 200 Masters and Mistresses, only 80 were Catholics, whereas if fair proportion was observed with respect to the numbers and wants of the population, the Catholics should, at least, amount to 180. Your Lordship, as I observed at the Meeting, is fortunately so situated as hardly to feel the disadvantages of this system, but you are not one likely to refuse aid to help a brother from the waves, because *you* had reached the shore.

It is in the South and West of Ireland that destitution of every kind prevails, and where Education has literally *retrograded* under the auspices of this Bible Education Society ; this is the fact which the Commissioners of Inquiry should examine into and remedy. It was to remedy this, that the Duke of LEINSTER endeavoured to bring about an understanding between the Society and the Catholic Bishops, and to which the latter were perfectly well inclined ; and had the Education Society consisted, not of Sectarians, but of Church of England Members, an accommodation would readily have been effected ; in fact, it is only amongst the Members of new Religions that the violent spirit of proselytism prevails. I do not write this from any partiality to the Roman Catholics. I write from a feeling of justice, and of self-interest ; it is not

only disgraceful to the Government, but dangerous to life and property, that the great body of the People should be systematically degraded and despoiled. People of different creeds may read together as well as labour together, without touching on polemics; but that young persons of different persuasions, should read the Bible, (in different versions too) without religious controversy, is, I am certain, impossible, unless indeed the same process be followed, by which a Learned Serjeant would make one tree of two suckers, a process in woodcraft beyond my wooden comprehension, though an arch simile to engraft in a spiritual discussion.

I return to the Kildare-street Education Society, and ask what part of the Population of Ireland require Education? If that part be the labouring Poor, they are Catholics. Will their Priests permit them to read the Bible without Note or Comment, as a School Book? Can the Kildare-street Society induce them to read the Bible without that permission?—and if they could, would such reading make them Church of England Protestants, or wild fanatics.

About three years ago, a most benevolent and excellent man, though somewhat of a visionary, came to Ireland, and being struck by the wretched situation of our People, he proposed forming them into societies, in well laid out villages, where by their joint labour, they should support

themselves with a comfort hitherto unknown—pay rent for the land, and interest on the capital expended on the outfit. That they should be made the happy beings Mr. OWEN expected, or be freed from the passions and crimes of our nature, could not, in sobriety, be believed; but that the Plan would have introduced industry, education, regularity, and love of comfort, I have no doubt; the bringing of people together out of their wretched scattered hovels, would be worth the expense, as a matter of police, as well as for the purposes of education and economy. The Duke of LEINSTER, your Lordship, and the great body of Patriot Proprietors were anxious to give the proposal a trial;* but it was whispered that OWEN was not religious, and he was hooted down (by the very persons who declare that our People are worse than Idolaters,) lest these same People should be withdrawn from Anti-Christ.

A year later, some of the most respectable Merchants and Capitalists in Dublin, formed a Joint Stock Company, for the purpose of giving Employment to the *People* of Ireland, by Draining and Improving the Bogs. I know nothing more likely to repay the undertakers, and whether it failed or succeeded, would, far as it went, do positive good; the necessary act of parliament

* DOCTOR MURRAY did not appear so fearful of having his Religious opinions shaken by Mr. OWEN, as did the *Saints*. He listened with calm and dignified attention to Mr. OWEN's proposals for the Temporal Advantages of the People, without any seeming apprehension of their shrinking from the Faith for which they have been so persecuted.

was refused, until so large a portion of the subscription should be paid in, as could not be employed at once, and which, if vested in the public funds, would now cause on the re-sale, a direct loss of from *twenty to thirty thousand pounds*, to the patriotic subscribers. There is no individual in Ireland, who, according to his means, has expended more money in the advantageous improvement of property than I have. I have done this from my income, and I should, from necessity, have given up the undertaking, if it had been required of me to deposit four-fifths of the necessary sum at the commencement. In like manner, the Company for the Improvement of the Bogs would be repaid each year so much of their own outlay, as would enable them, in a short time, to improve a vast tract of country, and to give employment to our increasing population, the "*numerus sed fruges non consumere nati.*"—

Two only of the projects offered for the advantage of this country, seem to have met any attention from our Rulers; one, the Transportation to the Colonies of the most active and industrious of our People, a project, which if not confined to relieving the estates of a few favourites, would have cost the fee simple of the island to effect. The second project, (proposed by Mr. CROPPER, of Liverpool,) was to employ his ships to bring Cotton from the East Indies, to be spun cheap by the wretched Irish, and then sent back to India.

I know nothing more likely to deteriorate the health and morals of the People than cotton factories, and they are the last thing I would think of introducing into Ireland, where land, to be fully cultivated, would require more than double its present population; it is, however, the fashion to complain of our population, though *our People* are all we have to look to, the *only hope* of the land. What would be the Catholic Leaders, if unsupported by the People, to whom they appear so ungrateful? They might declaim to the winds, or lament the degradation of their ancient and holy religion, as do the Jews in Rome, who, since the days of TITUS, have, generation after generation, been confined to the same pestilential spot, locked up at night, and obliged by day to carry abroad with them a scarlet patch, as a mark of reprobation, "His blood be on us, and on our Children." Yet, were the Jews five millions, they would soon be free;* but the Catholics never will be free, and never will deserve freedom, until they demand it as IRISHMEN, in *perfect* and in *unalterable union*, with their countrymen, and, particularly, with the good, liberal, and steady Dissenters of the North; the men to whom Ireland owes whatever she for a moment possessed, and who, if not counteracted by the Catholics, would have made her great, glorious, and free.

*The Eloquent SHIEL, when at Carlow, compared the Irish to the Israelites in Egypt; but he might have made the case stronger, by showing that the Irish are in Bondage in their own Land of Promise.

But the Catholics, on every national question, have been persuaded, either by their enemies or by their leaders, that their interests were *separate and distinct from those of their country*, these, however, are the errors arising from their degradation; their virtues are their own; they are constitutionally brave, good natured, and moral—by want, and ill treatment, they are depraved. Their Association, which would have been of the greatest service to their cause, and to Government and the Country, has been converted into a tribunal for the false accusation of their best friends, and an instrument for renewing enmities which should have been buried in oblivion. *I rejoice, however, to believe that they now have seen their mistakes; that they are united among themselves, and well inclined to their countrymen of every persuasion.

* O'CONNELL has, I believe, honestly and sincerely given up the idea of trafficking with the rights of the Forty-shilling Freeholders—the Catholic Delegates were, probably, taken by surprise on that subject—they knew the importance of what they hoped to gain, and they knew that without a Parliament, with a mock Representation, and without Reform it mattered little to whom the *congé d'elire* should issue. I knew as well as they could, the humbug of Irish Elections, by either Peer or Peasant; but I also knew, that in seeking their own rights, they should value principle, and not barter the rights of others, valueless and trifling I will allow, but over which they had no power. There were, however, some illustrious exceptions; and one who wrote his sentiments to me at the very opening of the shameful negociation, was the respected Father of the mild, honest, and talented KILLEEN. If I thought O'CONNELL erred on that occasion, or in his attacks on some of the best friends of the Catholics of Ireland, it is the aberration of a powerful and generous mind, driven almost to phrenzy by injustice, by ill treatment, and by hope deferred. To me, his good temper and moderation have always been subjects of astonishment, and I think the excellent advice in Mr. WILMOT HORTON'S Pamphlet, has been followed (in an Irish way, by anticipation,) by the Catholics of Ireland, lay and clerical, giving the most satisfactory explanation and securities of their views and wishes, with a respect, perhaps, too marked for the chartered rights of their persecutors.

I have intruded too long on your Lordship's time, but I know your anxiety, not only to hear, but to forward whatever may be of service to Ireland, I shall therefore say no more of the Kildare-street Education Society, than to express my wish that they would attend to the excellent Sermon appended to this Letter, and that they should feel that of Faith, Hope, and Charity—*Charity* is the the greatest source of good. I would say to Government, educate or not, as you may think best, but do not delegate your power to Fanatics. If the misfortunes of this Country had not reduced her to a situation as unnatural as deplorable, the *People* would not require eleemosynary education, or eleemosynary aid. But in the state of Ireland, we must endeavour to mitigate what we cannot cure; for this reason, I advocate the unjust Corn Laws, and the dreaded Poor Laws, although my property would be lessened thereby. Let, therefore, our Clergy educate our Poor. Let the Priests educate the Roman Catholics. Let the Synod educate the Presbyterians, and give to the Kildare-street Education Society, the education of the Saints and Jumpers.

Having set forward some feasible system of Education for the Infant Poor, I would recommend Sunday Readers for the Adults, in a species of Poor Mans' Institute, where moral and amusing Books would win them from the whiskey shops. More essential, however, than the cul-

tivation of their minds, would be the relief of their bodily sufferings, and as the money which should be employed in labour, is abstracted by the Absentee, by the Excise Man, and by the Tithe Proctor, I would encourage such works as would profitably employ the People, without diminution of the capital devoted to their service. No Peruvian Mine would repay one-half what drainage would repay in Ireland; nearly the same may be said of planting. Iron prepared with our Turf, is nearly equal to Swedish Iron. A Ship Canal* from Galway to Dublin, would repay itself in five years of peace, or one year of war, by saving the trade from the dangers of the Channel, and of Steam Privateers, whose destructive efficacy few seem to anticipate, but against which such a Canal would afford effectual protection to the great benefit of the united kingdom, whilst it would also act as a tap to the great Bogs of Ireland, and at once, give food, profit, and employment to our dreaded millions.

England should advance the Money, as she

* Taking advantage of present circumstances, and of part of what has already been done, such a Canal would probably cost little more than Three Millions. The entire centre of Ireland is a flat not greatly elevated; the land though excellent and most reclaimable, is at present, waste—abounding with streams, and easily wrought—plenty of hands, able and willing to work it; which hands, to keep idle, must be tied by a Police, the cost of which, paid by England, if expended on this great national work, would be more valuable to her than the Steam Engine, and would bring her Fleets at once from the Atlantic into a Home Sea, such as neither China, Japan, nor any other Country has ever enjoyed.—Height of summit of Grand Canal, above Low Water Mark, 270 feet. Height of summit of Grand Canal above the Shannon River, near Banagher, 160 feet.

would chiefly benefit, though it would be a partial repayment of the sums drained from us by the disciples of M'CULLOCH, and would be a work truly worthy of a great nation.

I have the honor to be,

With sincere respect,

My dear Lord,

Your humble Servant,

CLONCURRY.

Houses of the Oireachtas

A SERMON,

Preached at Appleby, on Friday, August 12, 1825, before Sir JOHN BAILEY, and Sir JOHN HULLOCK, his Majesty's Judges of Assize, on the Northern Circuit, by the Reverend C. BIRD, A.M., Rector of High Hoyland, in the County of York.

*"Think not that I am come to send Peace on Earth; I came not to send
"Peace, but a Sword."—MATT. x. 34.*

Strange consequence this to pronounce of the mission of "the Prince of Peace," that he came "to send a sword upon earth." Strange declaration, too, for a Founder to give of his own Institution! Men do not usually disparage their own projects by a prospectus of their evil consequences. If they "offer you bread they do not call it a stone, nor if they hold out to you a fish do they term it a serpent." No, this is no human proceeding. Worldly wisdom is quite of another caste. Whatever be the essential properties and intrinsic value of their proposals, they set them off, at least, with all the superficial attractions and exterior embellishments of panegyric.

But "the ways of GOD are not our ways." His are the ways of truth, candour, and simplicity; ours, too frequently tortuous, artificial, and disingenuous. The Divine Author of our Faith foresaw, and did not dissemble, that his gospel, conceived as it was, in the bosom of mercy, and breathing as it did nothing but a spirit of peace, should nevertheless, when dispensed by human hands, and interpreted by human passions, become an instrument of numberless cruelties and calamities. Had these distressing consequences overtaken his followers unprepared, they would, it is probable, have

awakened their fears, and shaken their constancy ; but when following upon the prophetic warning of their Lord, did but confirm their faith, when they saw the violence of their enemies, and the perverse zeal of their friends, bearing concurrent testimony to his truth ; and even “ the wind and the storm fulfilling his word.”

That the warning was not visionary and superfluous, the fate of the early Church of Christ but too clearly proved ; when “ brother delivered up the brother to death, and the father the child, and the children rose up against their parents, and caused them to be put to death.” Nor were the miseries of religious feuds limited to the primitive ages, and first centuries of the Church, when the first converts suffered chiefly from the pride and policy of their Pagan adversaries. But through many succeeding ages of intellectual and spiritual darkness, down to the very verge of the last century, did bigotry triumph and persecution rage. The history of Christianity, some few halcyon days excepted, is little else than the history of the dissensions and combats of its opposing sects and parties, inflicting and enduring, as they alternately rose and fell, sufferings and tortures, for which Christianity blushes to have furnished even a pretext.

The progress of knowledge, and the more general diffusion of the genuine principles of the Gospel, have, thank God ! exploded in our times, the Sword and the Rack, as instruments of conversion, and persuasives to sanctity. There are no religious fraternities, either in Protestant or Catholic Europe, of sufficient influence, even if they should conceive the idea, to instigate Christian Princes to avail themselves of the bigotry of their subjects, to carry war and desolation into the territories of an unoffending neighbour, on the impious plea of extirpating heresy, and fighting the battles of the God of Hosts.

Would to God, that with the avowed purpose, the secret spirit also of persecution were extinct in every Christian heart ! That men who name the sacred name of Christ, were so intimately conversant, so thoroughly impressed, not with the unfathomable mysteries and insoluble controversies but with the gentle, charitable, peace-inspiring graces of Christianity, as to have exterminated those passions, from

which persecution derives its nutriment, and secretes its venom. Would to God that, now men are too refined to catechise on the rack and proselytise on the faggot, they had also learned of "Him who is meek and lowly in heart," to subdue that impatience of contradiction, that dogmatism of opinion, that insolence of office, that appetite for domineering over the very thoughts of their fellows, which have prompted tyrants and slaves, hypocrites and their dupes, in all past times, to destroy the peace of so many families, and to deluge so many kingdoms with blood.

But that this evil spirit is not exercised from Christendom, or finally laid in the oblivious deep, even among ourselves, is but too clearly to be inferred from the manner in which we have recently met the claims of our Fellow Christians of the Romish Church. Many, it hence appears, who would shudder at the idea of stretching the limbs, or lighting the pile, have no scruple—so deceitful is the heart of man—to harass the mind and torture the feelings of their religious opponents. While they declaim against violence and persecution, they traduce, without reserve or compunction, the characters, depress the fortunes, and abridge the civil privileges of those whom they cannot gain by their influence, or convince by their argument.

Into the political question connected with this subject, it is not my intention to enter. I leave it to the impartial and mature deliberations of men better qualified by their profession and talents to decide wisely, and to decide with authority. But I trust it will not be considered matter quite foreign to the occasion, or at least to the times, to investigate what, "as Christians," we may conscientiously do, or leave undone, in the progress of this much agitated and still undecided question.

In discussing this point, it is unnecessary to enter into any metaphysical speculations on the nature and grounds of human duty. We proceed immediately to the fountain of truth, and from that source draw the waters of life pure and uncontaminated; for if we are sincerely desirous of learning "how to walk and to please God, to whom should we go but to him who hath the words of eternal life?" This supreme and only infallible head of his Church, when he spoke of the

primary effect and event of his mission, predicted that he was sending a Sword; but when he spoke of its purpose, design and ultimate success, assures us that "he came not to condemn or judge the world, but that the world through him might be saved." In the furtherance of this grand object of saving the world, he declares against all force, or show, even of compulsion and menace. He would not do evil that good might come, however great that good might be. When his disciples, moved by a mistaken zeal, would have recommended a proceeding of severity against an unbelieving community, he turned and rebuked them—"Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them."

Again he says, "My kingdom is not of this world, otherwise would my servants fight; but now is my kingdom not of this world;" of which the obvious inference is, that his servants should not fight for his religion, or the extension of his kingdom. He proceeds further, and as the author of a new religion, he disclaims all pretension to apportion men's shares and possessions of the privileges of this world. "Who made me a divider over you?" And, last of all, to show that we should not only deal out to men of all religious denominations, an equal measure of justice and equity, but also of generosity and charity, he introduces the Samaritan, showing compassion to the Jew, who "had fallen among thieves;" divided as these two sects were by an acrimony of hatred, as great as the essential difference of their respective creeds was inconsiderable.

Such is the spirit, such the principles of conduct, which the Divine Author of our faith prescribes. Let not any one, therefore, in defiance of such authority, imagine that he shall "do God service," and his Saviour honor; or in any way advance the cause of religion, or the interests of humanity, by any species of persecution, positive or negative, whether it affects the body or the mind; whether it takes away what is already possessed, or withholds what ought to be granted; for the law of Christ is infringed, and his spirit resisted; whenever we render a man's worldly condition worse, or refuse to make it better, on account of his religious persuasion.

Shall we then suffer an adverse and erroneous creed to make

its way unresisted? Certainly not. Such a conduct would be a dereliction of our Christian duty in the other extreme. We ought "always to be ready to give a reason for our own faith to him that asketh us, and to resist with meekness those that oppose themselves." But let us take care that our resistance be characterized with both reason and meekness. Let us first of all accurately ascertain what the tenets of our opponents really are, and expose them, not by the dim reflection of our own systems, but by those direct beams of truth which emanate from the Father of Lights. Nor let us be in haste to do this, till we are sure we can do it in such spirit and temper, as may convince both them and our own conscience, that we are not labouring for the purpose of acquiring the strength and confidence of numbers for our own party, or the acclamations of a triumph for ourselves; but that our hearts desire is to convert the wanderer "from the error of his ways, and save his soul from death."

If this mode of resisting the progress of religious delusion does not succeed, our own personal experience and the history of our own country might serve to convince us of the futility of any other. It is in vain that our Statute Book has been disgraced by edicts more ingeniously cruel and absurdly oppressive than ever disgraced the codes of Imperial or Papal Rome. It is in vain that parents were compelled to surrender the nurture and education of their children, and the child bribed to rebel against his parents, to expel them from their homes, and consign them and their helpless families to beggary and famine. In vain have we attainted as a traitor the Minister for performing at the altar established offices of his religion, and branded as a felon the pious devotee who assisted at the solemn service. You have beaten them down to the earth, indeed, but they have risen up from it with Antæa energy and hydra-like fecundity. They sprung up from your ungenerous oppression, with renovated vigour and multiplied numbers to shame and amaze you. These sanguinary decrees (for laws they were not, if law has indeed "her seat in the bosom of God, and her voice be the harmony of the world") these decrees are rescinded, and milder restrictions have been substituted in their place. But being conceived in the same spirit, their issue, though less pernicious,

will not be more fortunate. They serve no other purpose, and never can, but to inflame their zeal, and to rivet their affections more fondly and closely to a faith, which they conceive to be unfairly assailed, and for which they are obliged to make daily sacrifices of earthly emoluments and honors. Just in the same proportion are they alienated from your faith, by the abettors of which they conceive themselves unkindly treated, and are but too ready to proclaim a sense of their wrongs by a conduct equally pernicious to you and to themselves. After every fresh legislative enactment, there succeeds a temporary calm. But the fire sleeps; it is not extinguished. Under a surface of ashes it is collecting fresh strength, to burst forth at some ill-omened hour, when you shall have no leisure either to direct its progress or repress its fury. Hopeless is the attempt to compress such a volatile and elastic element by brute force, or subdue its spirit by military menaces. While the disease prevails, the symptoms will show themselves. Men, indeed, are not to be coerced and menaced out of their religious prepossessions and affections. Were they base enough, under the influence of fear, to betray the friends of their childhood, and apostatize from the faith of their forefathers, they are not bold enough to barter for personal security and civil immunities all those principles, with which in their minds is associated every thing that is lovely and of good report, every thing that enables them to bear the calamities of a precarious life resignedly, and opens to them a prospect of a more durable existence, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest." It is to commit the ant in battle with the elephant, to array human penalties and human terrors, still more petty prohibitions and vexatious disqualifications, against those mighty passions with which religion fortifies the soul. They reply to all the thunder of your edicts and the brandishing of your arms, "we fear not man who killeth the body, and after that hath no more that he can do; but we fear Him who can destroy both body and soul in hell. We say unto you, we fear him." But there is no particular in which we do so much injustice to our brethren of the Romish communion, and eventually to ourselves, as by misrepresentation of their tenets and principles. I have already had occasion to say that we ought to begin the controversy by ascertaining accurately

their tenets—but not from the statement of their adversaries ; not from the musty records of ancient days ; but from their own acknowledged formularies of faith, and the avowed belief of living men.

It is alleged indeed that the Roman Catholic is unchanged ; but it is alleged in defiance of common sense and actual observation. For what can be more changed or contrasted than the condition and influence of the Pope seven centuries ago, when an English Monarch (unworthy indeed of the name,) was doing homage to him upon his knees for his kingdom ; and in our times, when a successor in the Papal chair was suing to our Monarch for personal protection and the preservation of his patrimony. But if his influence and authority over the Kings, and people of Christendom were the same now as in the dark ages, such circumstances and contrasts could not arise. The authority of the Pope, like the authority of other men over their fellows, was an authority of opinion. Those opinions on which his spiritual tyranny rested, are now gone both in Protestant and Catholic Europe, and they are gone for ever.

But if we do not succeed in showing the Roman Church to be formidable, we endeavour to make it odious. We charge upon its members that they keep no faith with heretics, that they can dispense with the obligation of oaths ; nay, that their Pope, and even a simple Priest, can forgive sins, unrepented sins—sins however heinous—and even grant indulgences for future transgressions, at a stipulated price. That these impious pretensions have been made, and even carried into practice in remote ages, is unquestionable ; but it is equally true that in all modern times they have been renounced by the public and authentic acts of the highest Catholic authorities ; and, what is more, by the uniform practice both of communities and individuals.

After attributing to them doctrines which they disavow, the next disingenuous artifice is to caricature those which they do maintain. In this spirit we call their invocation of saints Idolatry ; their doctrine of transubstantiation and adoration of the host, Blasphemy. We call the head of their church Anti-Christ, the Man of Sin, and names of still deeper turpitude. And after thus ascribing to him the malignity of the Spirit of Evil, we invest him with some of the attributes

of Omnipotency ; and ascribe to him the faculty of subverting the faith, and changing the religious opinions of the whole Catholic world, by the breath of his lips, and a turn of his pen. That men of education should fix upon them such imputations, not only groundless but improbable, is more to be wondered at, than that those who follow them either through ignorance or interest, should very sedulously and seriously repeat them. For when all the several ideas of idolatry, blasphemy, perjury, and disloyalty are collected into one complex idea, and denominated Popery, no wonder that the unread, unthinking populace should join in one universal cry against a religion every where spoken against, and should be ready to expel from society all who profess it, and all who claim for its professors a fair hearing and equal justice.

But of all the charges against the Roman Catholics, that which is most obnoxious, is, that they yield a divided allegiance, at all times ; and that on particular emergencies the portion of obedience due to their temporal monarchs, may be dispensed with by their spiritual sovereign.

The Roman Catholics do indeed yield a divided allegiance. so do Protestants yield a divided allegiance to their temporal monarchs. They “render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” Both Romanists and Protestants, if they are conscientious, “fear God, and honor the King” ; but whenever these claims are conflicting, both one and the other think it their duty to obey God rather than man. The limits of those two duties are defined in the same words, and by the same authority to each ; with this difference, that the Romanists concede the interpretation of the Scriptural precept to the Pope and the Church ; we reserve that as the privilege of private judgment. As to the power of dispensing with the duty of loyalty, it is one of those obsolete and antiquated pretensions, which if not formally abrogated, has long fallen into desuetude ; but which, nevertheless, we rake up from the oblivious dust under which it lay, and insist upon its actual validity, in defiance of all their protestations, and all our own experience. Thus have “their fathers eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge.” We “visit the sins of the fathers upon the children

unto many generations." We see before our eyes that the Roman Catholics who live among us, are devout, virtuous, loyal, mindful of their oaths and moral duties, as men of other sects, and yet we persist in calling them in the mass hypocritical, idolatrous, perjured, and incapable of private or public patriotism. But surely men who bring this railing accusation against the brethren, without any examination into its truth, who take for proved, every disgraceful imputation, however improbable and unnatural, incur a very serious responsibility, not to say a very heavy guilt.

What should we say of those venerable judges of the land, if they decided on the property, characters, and lives of their fellow-creatures upon common rumour and hearsay evidence, or even upon the solemn testimony of *one* party alone? Would their high office and their higher characters screen them from the reproach of good men, and the compunctious visitings of their own consciences? Yet of such iniquity, but in a much more momentous case, are all those guilty who undertake to pronounce on the fates and fortunes of a great proportion of the Empire, and on the happiness and peace of the whole, without hearing with patience and weighing with impartiality, the arguments and evidence of the party accused. To condemn unheard, is to condemn iniquitously, although the sentence may be merited.

But a candid investigation of the principles of the Roman Catholics would discover, amidst the fundamental and essential verities of our common faith, many superfluous and unprofitable doctrines; some indeed superstitious and unscriptural,* but none, I will venture to assert, that disqualify them for acting their part in society, honorably and discreetly, whether in a public or private situation. Their errors it is our duty to combat, not by compulsion or menace, but by bringing to bear upon them the improved philosophy of the age, and more especially the clear, unclouded blaze of the Gospel. But to insure a triumph over their errors, or to deserve it, we must persuade them by the arguments of kind-

* No doctrine can be considered as superstitious, nor can any practice be thought superfluous, which is founded on the Sacred Scriptures, or on the constant tradition of the universal Church; and if any opinions or practices, contrary to these rules, have been introduced in any part of the Catholic world, they are the abuses arising from national characters, not the effects of piety sanctioned by the Catholic Church.—B. C. A.

ness, and confound them by the unanswerable syllogisms of charity. Prove to them the evangelical tenor of your faith, by the purity of your principles, and the liberality of your conduct. Men who cannot reason, can feel; and if they cannot analyse your dialectics, they will love and imitate your practice.

Exact uniformity of faith, among all diversities of understandings, on matters so abstruse and comprehensive as theology, is not attainable. It is folly to expect it. But there is another and "more excellent way," of which an inspired Apostle speaks, "a bond of perfectness," capable, and at some future day, "destined" to unite the several members of the Christian Church in one concordant and harmonious body. This bond is charity. This was the remedy St. Paul prescribed, as fit to compose the distractions of the infant church. Even he did not undertake to define his doctrines with such luminous precision, and self-evident simplicity, as to preclude diversity of conception, and erroneousness of interpretation, to faculties various and weak as ours. He, therefore, advised his spiritual children to think humbly of that knowledge which at best is imperfect, and which "will be done away;" and even to postpone the higher graces of faith and hope, to that last, best fruit of the Spirit, charity. Be it the office of the ministers and member of our venerable establishment, to lead the van of that holy and heavenly host, on whose banner is read, "on earth peace, good-will to man," the weapons of whose warfare are not carnal, but spiritual. We have nothing to fear from the rivalry of any religious sect in these kingdoms. The ampleness of our endowments; the high rank and higher character of our dignitaries; the piety and learning of our ministers and people, leave us nothing to apprehend from human competition. But let us not forget that all these external advantages avail us nothing, except we have "the God of Jacob for our defender, and our trust be in the Lord our God." In every conflict, religious ones more especially, "the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but to him who contends in the genuine armour of God, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and his feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace."

Vain is our wealth, vain our learning, vainer still our rank and influence in the state, if these gifts are not tempered and sanctified by humility, moderation, and charity. Exterior distinctions in every religious establishment, if not held in subordination to the Almighty's will, and used in subservience to his glory, are worse than vain. They corrupt, and they destroy. But why this severity of reproach? Why this bitterness of recrimination among Christian sects? Why this haste to pass judgment and do execution on our fellows, and anticipate the doom of Him who judgeth righteous judgment? While we are tearing and trampling each other, do we forget that the day is fast approaching, when every "man's work shall be made manifest, and the fire shall try it, and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour?" Hushed, then, will be the voice of the disputant and the clamour of the factious, and the shout of the triumphant, and the lament of the vanquished. Their voices only will be heard breathing the accents of praise, and hymning the gratulations of mutual joy (to whatever religious community they belonged,) who have laid their work on the "one sure foundation of Jesus Christ;" and who have taken "heed to build thereupon not wood or hay or stubble," the rank growth of factious zeal, and uncharitable knowledge, which the fire shall in a moment consume; but upon that foundation of their faith, have "laid gold and silver and precious stones," the solid, brilliant, imperishable productions of piety and charity; for they shall pass through the furnace with undiminished substance, and unsullied brightness, and shall shine as stars for ever in the presence of the Lord, and the firmament of his glory.

Vain is our wealth, vain our learning, vain our strength, vain our power, vain our influence in the state, if these gifts are not tempered and regulated by humility, moderation, and charity. Extortion, avarice, in every religious establishment, if not held in subjection to the Almighty's will, and used in subordination to his glory, are worse than vain. They corrupt, and they destroy. But why this severity of reproof? Why this diligence of reformation among Christians? Why this care to press judgment and do execution on our fellow-men? Why do we contend and struggle each with each, to prevent the ruin of him who judiciously judges? We shall be made manifest, and the fire shall try it, and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour? Hark! that will be the voice of the disputant, and the clamour of the faction, and the shout of the triumphant, and the lament of the vanquished. Their voices only will be heard breathing the accents of praise, and hymning the exaltation of their Lord, to whatever religious community they belong, who have laid their work on the "foundations of Jesus Christ," and who have taken "heed to build thereupon not wood or hay or stubble," the rank growth of faction, zeal, and charitable knowledge, which the fire shall in a moment consume; but upon that foundation of their Lord, have "laid gold and silver and precious stones," the solid, brilliant, imperishable productions of piety and charity; for they shall be through the furnace with undiminished substance, and unshuffled brightness, and shall shine as stars for ever in the presence of the Lord, and the firmament of his glory.

Houses of the Holy Spirit