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For William missing!

of Lincoln Inn from his

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MARIAN MARIAN

SKETCH OFTHE HISTORY

Two Acts of the Irish Parliament, to prequent the further growth of popery.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY
ARTICLES OF LIMERICK.

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OF THE

HISTORY

OF

Two Acts of the Irish Parliament, of the 2d and 8th of Queen Anne, to prevent the further growth of popery:

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LETTER

TOA

MEMBER

OFTHE

HOUSE OF COMMONS IN IRELAND.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ARTICLES OF LIMERICK.

---- Hinc ille Lacryme!

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LETTER

Lairen Lait Erman Die Lie, Try

MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

in IRELAND.

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SIR, " - T I H B F F

Pour late conference on the Popery Laws, particularly on those of the 2d and 8th of Queen Anne, to prevent the further growth of Popery in Ireland, you seemed displeased, that I did not subscribe to your opinion, "That these laws were not only "just and equitable in themselves, but also, "so necessary a barrier to the protestant religion, that were they to be relaxed "or weakened in the smallest degree, Popery,

"thousand pounds should be offered for apprehending im, in case he landed in any part of reland."

Eutthere seems to be something burlesque, in bringing the reformation into the above address

tempt. In their address to the king that year, there are the following remark the words: "It is with the utmost "concern we find, that this country has been fo unfortunity nate as to give birth to James Butler, late duke of Ormond, a person who in despite of his allegiance, and "they obligations of repeated carbs, has been one of the "chief authors and sometimes of the wicked, and unnatural red rebellion now begun in Great Britain." Com. Jour. vol. IV f. 21.

"The Catholics of Ireland," fays a late ingenious writer on this occasion, " were left to the merciless zeal of the "duke of Ormand, who, regar less of public faith, and the articles of the capitulation of Limerick, formed, " and had enseted a body of penal flatutes-through which "there runs such a vein of ingenious cruelty, that they seem " to be diclated by some prator of Dioclesian or Spanish in-" quilitor, rother than by a British nobleman-The duke "thought, perhaps, to attone for immoralities, by en-'f tailing milery on a considerable part of the Irish na-"nation. In his expedition on the coast of Spain, his fol-" diers committed many outrages, and profauntions of what was thought facied by the inhabitants-Yet, after the " bill of attainder had passed against him, he sled for protection to that country, where he had connived at the "facrilegious excesses of his army; and afterwards retired ic to A ignon, a territory belonging to the first prelate of " that church, which he had treated with fo much cruelty." Confider, on the Penal Laws against R. Catholics.

address of thanks to his Grace, for having obtained a penal law against the exercise of the popish religion. All the world knows that the reformation took its rife from freedom of enquiry, and the right of private judgment: and that the penalties inflicted by the church of Rome, on all who differ from her in doctrine, or discipline, was one of the principal motives of our quitting her communion; and shall we pretend to propagate, or support the reformed religion, by means that are inconfishent with those, which confessedly gave birth to the reformation itself? Is it right in us to inflict pains and penalties on papifts, for difference of opinion in religious matters, while we upbraid and condemn them, for having formerly inflicted them upon us, on the fame account? must we give up a fundamental principle of the proteftant religion, and adopt a popish one, for the defence and propagation of the proteftant religion? and yet, Sir, such glaring absurdity and contradiction will necessarily follow from our enacting, or executing penal laws, against the exercise of the popish religion.

But to come to the particular laws in question, so far am I from thinking them just, or equitable in any respect, that I shall endeavour to demonstrate to you, first, that they were consciously framed in violation of the public faith, and against natural right; and secondly, that instead of bringing honour, or support, to our established religion, they have a manifest tendency to weaken, and disgrace it, by disfolving entirely those moral, and religious ties, which christians of all denominations have hitherto believed to be indispensably binding on the consciences of men.*

For this purpose, give me leave, Sir, to remind you, that by the first of the Civil Articles of Limerick (which, upon the surrender of that city, were freely, and solemnly entered into, in the year 1691, with

^{*}That great and eminent lawyer, lord Camden, not long fince, took occasion, in the House of Lords, to declare publickly, that these laws "were a heap of monstrous ab- furdities and vile oppression; subversive of the moral duties between man and man; and a profanation of whatever is held most facied in religion."

with general Ginckle, commander in chief of their majesties K. William and Q. Mary's forces in Ireland, in conjunction with the then lords justices; and afterwards confirmed by the *King and Queen) "It " was stipulated, and agreed, that the Ros " man Catholicks of that kingdom should enjoy " fuch privileges in the exercise of their re-"ligion, as were confiftent with the laws of "it (then in being) or as they did enjoy in "the reign of † King Charles II. and that "their M jesties, as soon as their affairs " would permit them to fummon a parlia-"ment there, would endeavour to procure " the faid Roman catholicks fuch further fe-" curity in that particular, as might preferve

† In the reign of Charles M. by the laws then in force all the papilts of Ireland had the same liberty, that any of their fellow-subjects had, to purchase any manors, lands, tenemets, hereditaments, leases of lives, or for years, or

" any other thing of profit whatfoever."

^{*} In their Majesties confirmation of these articles are the following words: "And as to such parts thereof, for which "an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, "and shall give our royal affent to any bill or bills, that "shall be passed by our two houses of parliament for that purpose."

"them from any disturbance on account of their religion." And by the eleventh of the same articles, "the lords justices; and general Ginckle did undertake to use their utmost endeavours, that these articles should be ratisfied, and confirmed in parliament."

This surrender, Sir, of Limerick, and the other garrisons possessed by the Irish for King James, happened at a most far vourable conjuncture for King William; who was then engaged in a war with France; * a sleet, sent by Lewis XIV: to the relief of Limerick, having arrived in Dingle-bay a day or two after the articles were signed; which, had it got safe up to the town a day or two before, would have protracted the Irish war, to the great disappointment, and obstruction of K. William's foreign designs. (f) "This sleet consisted,

^{*} Harris's life of K. William, f. 353.. "But a few days before the furrender of the town, they were encouraged by new intelligence of twenty ships of war speedily to arrive (from France) under the command of Monsieur Chateau Renault." Leland Hist. of Ireld. vol. 3d. p. 610.

⁽f.) Harris' life of K. William.

"fifted, as appears by the minutes of a letter from the lords justices to the king, of eighteen ships of war, six sire-ships, and twen- ty great vessels of burthen; and brought on board between 8 and 10,000 arms, 200 officers, and 3000 men." I mention these particulars, to shew you, of how great importance this capitulation was, at that juncture, to those who afterwards thought it necessary, for the advancement of the protestant religion, to make a public, and permanent breach, by a law, in the first principal article of it.

But the infringement of these articles, on the part of government, commenced very early after they were signed; and it was afterwards repeated, from time to time, in such a manner, as prepared the minds of the people to receive with less surprize, the total violation of them by the acts to prevent the further growth of popery, which were even then in contemplation.

For although by the first military article, "it was agreed, that all persons, of what quality soever, that were willing

" to leave the kingdom, should have free " liberty to go into any country beyond the " feas (England and Scotland excepted) " with their families;" yet, it is confessed that the lords justices, and general Ginckle, endeavoured to render this article of as little force as possible, "for, as "great numbers of the Irish officers and " foldiers had refolved to enter into the. " fervice of France, and to carry their fa-" milies with them, Ginckle would not fuffer their wives and children to be " shipped off with the men; not doubting "but that by detaining the former, he " would have prevented many of the lat-"ter from going into that service." (g) This I say, was, confessedly, an infraction of that article.

It appears by a letter of the lords justices of the 19th of November 1691, not quite two months after the figning of the articles, "that their lordships had received complaints from all parts of Ireland, of the

⁽g) Harris' life of K. William.

"the * ill treatment of the Irish who had
"fubmitted, had their majesties protection,
"or were included in articles; and that
"they were so extremely terrified with ap"prehensions of the continuance of that
"usage, that some thousands of them, who
"had quitted the Irish army, and went
"home, with a resolution not to go for
"France, were then come back again and
"prest earnestly to go thither, rather than
"stay in Ireland, where, contrary to the
"publick faith, (add these justices) as well
"as law, and justice, they were robbed of
"their substance, and abused in their per"sons."

The following curious anecdote concerning these articles will probably throw some light

About this time, "the justices of peace, sheriss, and o"ther magistrates, presuming on their power in the country,
had, by colour of their authority, in an illegal and arbi"trary manner, dispossessed several of their majesty's subjects
"not only of their goods and chattles, but of their lands
and tenements, to the great dissurbance of the peace of
the kingdom, subversion of the law, and reproach of their
"majesty's government. The lords justices, therefore, commanded such practices to be forborn. Harris. Ib. f. 357.

light on the cause of this early infringement of them. King William, as I have before observed, was at this time engaged in a war with France; but, (b) " while his "troops were divided, by means of the " Irish war, he could not proceed, with "the defired fuccefs, in Flanders; and "therefore, to put a speedy end to that " war, he fent instructions to the lords "justices to issue a declaration, assuring "the Irish of much more favourable conditi-" ons, than they afterwards obtained by " the articles of Limerick, the justices " formed these instructions into a procla-" mation, afterwards styled the fecret pro-" clamation, because though printed, it " was never published, for their lordships "finding Limerick reduced to the condi-"tion of capitulating, smothered the pro-" clamation; and haftened to the camp, "that they might hold the Irish to as bard " terms, as the king's affairs would per-" mit. This they effected, and although " (adds my (i) author) they deferved the "thankful acknowledgments of every pro-" testant

⁽b) Id. ib. f. 372. (i) Ib. ib.

" testant in the kingdom; yet a party soon " fprung up that inveighed loudly against "the articles. The désigning men of this party quarreled with them, only because "their expectations were disappointed of " raising large fortunes out of the forsei-"tures; but they eafily drew a majority of " the protestants to their side. They thought "the Irith entitled to no articles, but what "would expose them to the severest events " of war. They cenfured the lords juf-"tices, and the general, as if the king " and kingdom were betrayed, insisting that "the articles ought not to be observed. This er party-war was foon declared from the "pulpit. (k) Doctor Dopping, bishop of "Meath, preaching before the justices in "Christ-church, the funday after they "had returned from the camp, argued, "that the peace ought not to be observed " with a people so * perfidious. To obviate

(k) Id. ib.

* This ill opinion of Irish papists was, probably, taken from those scandalous libels (then industriously published and propagated) on the principles, and actions of such of these people as had been concerned in any of the different insurrections

" ate this notion, Doctor Moreton, bishop
of Kildare, the following sunday, shewed the obligation of keeping the public faith.
This matter became so much the subject
of discourse, that it was necessary to setthe people's opinions on the controverted
'' points;

infurrections anterior to, or coincident with, the late revolution; and all the penal laws, fince enacted against the exercise of their religion, and the security of their property, feem to have proceeded from the same cause; but, besides that the Irish papists of this day, are not, certainly, accountable for the principles, or actions, of their predeceffors; that the experience of almost a century has proved them to be good subjects: and that those libels, in which they are traduced, have been clearly shewn to contain nothing else, but groß misrepresentations, or misconstructions, of facts, the mean but natural, effects of party-zeal and malevolence (see Historic. and Critic. Review of the civil wars of Ireland) yet some of the most grievous of these penal laws are still, daily enforced against them. Whereas it is confessed, that both the principles, and actions of those protestants, who call themselves anabaptists, were, originally, rebellious, fanguinary, and utterly subversive of all order, and fociety (see Dr. Robertson's life of Charles V. p 348. &c.) yet, on account of their present peaceable hehaviour, and dispositions, they are justly indulged in the full protecttion of the laws of their country, with respect to both their civil, and religious rights; and can it be confonant to either the wisdom, or equity, of government, to treat so very disferently, two classes of dutiful subjects, for no other reason, but because one of them is called popish, and the other prorestant.

"points; and to that end, Dean Singe, "preached in the same church, keep peace" with all men, if it be possible; and mo"derated so "judiciously, that no more "was heard of the dispute from the pul"pit; but in parliament and council, the difference subsisted, until the English act of resumption quieted the disputants; "who then saw they lost nothing by the "articles."

Thus, Sir, you fee, not only of what importance this furrender of Limerick, and the other garrifons, was to King William, at that period; but also, what doctrine was preached from the pulpit, and what opinions were maintained in the council, and parliament, with respect to the obligation of public faith, when engaged to Roman

^{* &}quot;By afferting" (says my author) "that the papifts "were not to be trusted, but that the articles were to be performed." Ib. A strange way of moderating this! one of the contrasting parties is not to be trusted, and yet the other is obliged to perform. If prejudice had not blinded the Preacher, he would have seen that such obligations are always mutual, and equally binding on both parties, or not binding on either.

Roman Catholics. And that the majority of Protestants, in the ensuing Councils, and Parliaments, adhered to Bithop Dopping's persidious doctrine, "that the articles of the "Peace ought not to be observed with them," will evidently appear from the constant tenour of their subsequent proceedings against these people; a brief specimen of which I am now going to lay before you.

It is confessed, that so early as (1) "the " year 1693, Lord Capel, one of the Lords " Justices, proceeded as far as it was in his " power, to Infringe the articles of Lime-"rick." In 1695, the same Lord Capel, being Deputy, was held the second Session of the first Irish Parliament, in this Reign. If the Roman Catholics of Ireland expected, at this Juncture, the performance of the King's folemn promise, to procure them fuch further fecurity from Parliament, as should preserve them from any future disturbance, on account of their Religion (and furely their right to expect it was unqueftionable) they were, indeed miserably disappointed. appointed. For, instead of performing that promise, his Majesty, on the contrary, suffered such acts and * Resolutions to be passed in that Parliament, as gave them infinite Disturbance, on account of their Religion. But these (m) " were only preparatory steps to the several acts, then in agitation, to prevent the further growth of Popery." Among

- (m) Id. Ib.

* December 1st, 1697. "Resolved, that part of the Act 2d Eliz. Chap. 2d. which obliges every person, not having a lawful or reasonable excuse to be absent, to resort every Sunday to Church, and there abide during the time of common prayer, preaching, and other fervice of God be there ministered, under pain of forfeiting for every neglect, twelve-pence, ought to be put in execution." Comm. Jour. vol. 2d. f. 984. An additional, and much more grevious, penalty, which delinquents incurred by this Act were the cenfures of the Church. " And for the execution thereof (fays the act itself) the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords Temporal, and the Commons in the present Parliament affembled, do in God's name, earnestly, require all Archbithops, Bishops, and other ordinaries, that they shall endeavou themselves to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution thereof may be had throughout their Dioceses, and charges, as they will answer before God for such evils, and plagues, wherewith almighty God may juftly punish his people for neglecting this good and wholefome Law. See Com. Jour. vol. 2d. f. 983.

thong many other severe Laws, then enacted against Catholics, on account of their Religion, his Majesty gave his Royal assent to that illiberal act to restrain foreign Education, by which it was provided, that, " if any subjects of Ireland should after that Session of Parliament, go, or send, any child, or person, to be educated in any Popish University, College or School; or in any private family, or if such Child should, by any Popish person, be instructed in the popish Religion; or, if any subjects of Ireland should send money, or other things, towards the maintenance of fuch child, or other perfon, already fent, or to be fent; every fuch offender, being thereof convicted, should be for ever disabled to sue, or prosecute, any Action, Bill, Plaint, or Information, in law, or equity: be incapable of receiving any legacy, or deed of gift; or being Guardian, Administrator, or Executor, to any person. And besides, that they should forfeit all their Estates, both Real and Personal during their Lives." *

Now

^{*} I have not been able, fays Mr. Langrishe, in my researches into Holy writ, to meet with that particular passage of the scriptures;

Now, Sir, when you confider, not only the general feverity of this act, but also, that

fcriptures, which gives us an authority to propagate the faith, by a perversion of morals, nor shall I presume to determine how far it was ever justifiable, for the sake of ceremonial uniformity, "to build a Gode of Religious laws, upon the ruin of every moral virtue, and obligation; to sport with the most facred feelings; to violate the fondest presuppose from the human mind; to seduce even silial duty; to tempt the son to become an Interested and base informer against the piety of his father; and to break the bonds of all family affection and sidelity." Speech in the House of Commons 1772, in a debate for enabling Papists to take building Leases.

The chief, if not only objection to the repeal of these Popery Laws, is that it would give the Papists power and influence. "But suppose, says the same Mr. Langrishe, some " real and substantial influence were to follow from thence; " let it be observed, that the same cause which produces this " influence, does provide against the ill effects of it, for what "danger can refult from conferring a degree of power on " any man, if in the very fame act, and very fame propor-"tion, you involve his interests, and affections in the public " prefervation - Let the Roman Catholics, while they live " in this country (Ireland) which is the Country of their " Ancestors, have the ordinary incitements to Industry, and "give them a just and permanent fecurity in their property, "which will be the fruit of their industry; and if after all " our care, the jealous precantions of the Legislature should " to far fail, as that any Influence should follow in consequence of fuch fecurity, it is an influence, which, for their " own fakes, they will employ in the preservation of a " Country,

that the words "in any private family; or " by any popish person," contained in it, may be construed to imply, that even Roman Catholic parents refiding for a time in a popish country, and instructing their children there, in the principles of their religion, are liable, upon their return, to the penalties of it, you must certainly confess, that, if they suffered no disturbance from the bare apprehension, to say nothing of the execution, of this act (which, in that, and the succeeding reign, was frequent, and strict) they were, for patience, and refignation, some of the best, and most exemplary christians, then in the known world.

It

[&]quot;Country, which they will then be taught to confider as "their own" — for, "we may rest assured from our knowledge of human nature, from the experience of every nation in the world, that the essential Interests, not the Speculative opinions, of men, will be their ultimate concern; and that the wishes, and assections, the hearts and the word of every man, will be directed to the defence of that country, which assords him justice, trans
quility, and protection."

It is really shameful to see, what mean, * malicious, and frivolous complaints against papists, were received, under the notion of grievances, by that parliament. (n) "A f petition of one Edward Sprag, and f others, in behalf of themselves and other " protestant porters, in and about the city " of Dublin, complaining that one Dar-"by Ryan, a papist, who dealt in coals, employed porters of his own perfuation, ff having been received and read, it was " ordered to be referred to the examination, se and confideration of the Committee of "Grievances, and that they should report "their opinion therein to the house." It is observable, that the complaint of the petition was not, that these protestant coal porters were not employed by Ryan, but that the popish coal-porters were.

And yet, Sir, the very fame commons, that shewed such remarkable deference to this

^{*} November 12th 1696. "Resolved nem. con. that no papist be protected by any member of this House, as his menial servant." Com. Jour. vol. 2d. f. 828.

⁽n) Com. Journal vol. 2d. f. 699.

this trifling petition of the protestant coalporters of Dublin, refused to do common justice, in a matter of the last consequence, to that of feveral of the most respectable Roman Catholic gentry of Ireland. For, upon a bill's being brought into the house, very improperly entitled "an act for the " confirmation of the articles of Lime-"rick," (a) a petition of Robert Cusack, gentleman, Captain Francis Seagrave, and Captain Maurice Eustace, in behalf of themselves, and others comprized under the articles of Limerick, setting forth, that in the faid bill there were feveral clauses, that would frustrate several parts of the faid articles, and deprive the petitioners of the benefit of the fame; and, if passed, would turn to the ruin of some, and prejudice of all persons, entitled to the benefit of faid articles; and praying to be heard by council to the faid matters, having been presented and read, it was unanimoully resolved, that said petition should be rejected. * Tin

(0) Ib. f. 932.

Although the 6th military article of Limerick expressly
provides,

In the same fession, (p) "it was refolved, nemine contradicente, that the excluding of papifts from having votes for the electing of members to ferve in parliament was necessary to be made into a * Law," nothing, certainly, but fuch a law was wanting, to complete the flavery of these people, beyond all possibility of redemption. And yet thefe, and feveral other proceedings of the like enflaving tendency, were permitted and countenanced by a prince, the boasted restorer of liberty to these kingdoms, whose public faith, and honour, were folemnly engaged, to preferve their former priviledges entire, and to endeavour to obtain, from Parlia-

ment,

(p) Ib. f. 978.

provides, "that no person whatsoever shall be molested for " any waste, or trespass, by him committed during the late " war;" yet on pretence that the bridge of Lanesborough was broken down by the papifts under K. James, in that war, a "Bill was ordered into the House of Commons. 66 October 1703, for charging the estates of papists, restor-" ed by the articles of Limerick, with the expence of re-66 building it." Com. Jour. vol. 3d. f. 87.

* Yet afterwards in the session of 1709, in a debate on a disputed election, some members insisted, that papilts had a right to vote in such cases. See Com. Jour. vol. 3d. f. 659.

[26]

ment, further Security for them, in the article of religion, which was what alone rendered them obnoxious to government.

I know you will tell me, in vindication of your admired hero King William, that no general good has been ever wrought, without the con-comitance of some evil; done to particulars; that in politics, as in war, deceit may be fometims lawful: that as K. William's fole defign in coming into these kingdoms was to rescue us out of the iaws of those two formidable monsters, popery and flavery, then ready to devour us (which he has effectually done) gratitude for our deliverance ought to make us overlook, and forget, whatever might appear to the eye of bigotry, not firially justifiable, in the execution of it. To which I answer, not only that it is not clear, that that Prince's fole defign in coming into these kingdoms, was to rescue us from the two formidable monsters you mention; but also that it is highly probable, after he had fully attained his principal end in coming, that he privately engaged to expose pose us to that supposed danger, by promising to re-establish the abdicated family on the throne of Great Britain, after his own decease. Of the grounds of this probability you will be able to judge, by the following secret transaction, which has been but lately brought to light.

(a) " In the treaty of peace at Ryswick, " as King William trufted not his three " plenipotentiaries with his agreement with " France, mankind justly concluded, that "a fecret of the last importance had been "for fome time depending between the "two kings; time has at length unravel-" led the mystery. Lewis, unwilling to de-" fert James, proposed, that the Prince of "Wales, the Pretender, should succeed to " the crown of England, after the death of " William. The King, with little bestation, "agreed to the request: he even folemnly en-" gaged to procure the repeal of the AEt of " fettlement: and to declare by another act, "the Prince of Wales his successor to the "throne: those (adds my author) who E. " afcribe

⁽a) Macpherson's History of England.

"afcribe all the actions of William to public spirit, will find some difficulty in
reconciling this transaction to their elevated opinion of his character. In this
one concession to France, he yielded up
all his professions to England; and by an
act of indifferetion, or through indifference, deserted the principles to which
he owed the throne."

It would be irksome to recite the many* other instances of the breach of these articles, which we find recorded in the Journals of that parliament. I shall therefore, only mention one remarkable passage, which immediately preceded the passing of this "just,

^{*} Though by the 9th civil article of Limerick, the oath to be tendered to Roman Catholics, to entitle them to all the privileges, and benefits of these articles, was the oath of fidelity or allegiance to their Majesties, and no other; yet it was "resolved, nem. con. in November 1697, that "some further oath, than what was required by law, resuming the Papal authority in this kingdom, is necessary for the peace, and quiet thereof." Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 979, and indeed, what a variety of other captious oaths has been since devised, to ensure and corrupt the confciences of Papists, for the only purpose of propagating and maintaining a religion, which is said to owe its very being to the freedom, and integrity of conscience!

"just, and equitable" law, (as you are pleased to call it) to prevent the further growth of Popery.

The Roman Catholic citizens of Limerick thought themselves particularly * fecured by their articles from any future molestation, on account of their religion, but, besides what they had already suffered, in common with the rest of their countrymen of the same persuasion, they are now compelled to abandon their dwellings and fettlements there, on that fingle account, for, (b) "upon a petition of the mayor, sheriffs, " and Protestant aldermen of that city com-" plaining" (like the protestant coal-porters of Dublin before-mentioned) "that "they were greatly damaged in their trade, "and calling, by the great numbers of pa-" pifts refiding there, and praying to be

(b) Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 84.

^{*} By the 2d civil article, "the inhabitants, or refidents "of Limerick, — of what profession, trade, or calling foever they be, shall, and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles the II.

"relieved therein; a clause was ordered to be inserted in the act to prevent the sur"ther Growth of Popery, that every person of the Popish Religion, then inhabiting within the said city, or its suburbs, should give in sufficient bail, or security, before the chief magistrate of the said city, that they would bear themselves faithfully towards her Majesty; or, in default of giving such security, should depart out of the said city, and suburbs." *

Now,

* The act itself sets forth, "that if any person or persons " of the Popish Religion, other than such trading mer-66 chants, not exceeding twenty in each of the faid towns " (Limerick and Galway) as shall be licensed by the chief Governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being, 66 shall prefume to live, dwell, or inhabit, or take any " house or tenement i., the city of Limerick or town of "Galway, or the faturbs of either-he, or they, shall for-" feit all his or their go 's and chattles, and fuffer impri-" forment for the space of one whole year." Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 133. Sir Theobald Buttler, in his pleading against this bill before the House of Commons, in 1703, obterves, "that the Roman Catholic citizens of Limerick were " prohibited by it from living or staying there, even such st as were under the articles, and by virtue thereof, had " ever fince lived there, without giving fuch fecurity, as " neither these articles, nor any law heretofore in force, do " require,

Now, Sir, besides the difficulty of their getting fuch fecurity, as, at that period of jealoufy and distrust, would be allowed fufficient by the chief magistrate, who was himself the principal petitioner against them: even those few Popish inhabitants, whose fecurity was unexceptionable, and who, consequently, could not be hindred to continue in their habitations, were yet, foon after, put under a necessity of abandoning them, of their own accord: unless it can be supposed, that trading people can live contentedly, or with any fort of convenience, in a place, where they are forced to remain separate from their wives, children, and fervants; for that fuch was to be the fituation of those few licensed papists (not more than twenty were fuffered to be licensed) is manifest from hence, that, "in (a) March 1704, a petition from the "Roman Catholic inhabitants of Line-"rick, praying that bail might be taken " for their wives, children, and fervants, " as inhabitants thereof, having been pre-" fented

[&]quot;require, except seamen, fisher-men, and day labourers, "who did not pay above forty shillings a year, rent."

(a) Ib. f. 231.

"fented to the house, and read, it was "ordered to be rejected."

It is worthy of particular notice, that about the time of passing this act to prevent the further growth of popery, several members of the House of Commons, as if ashamed of having been any way concerned in that transaction, refigned their feats; defiring that writs might be issued to chuse other members in their room. And this humour of refigning became fo general among them, that it was (b) (at last) " unanimously resolved, that it might be " made the standing order of the house, that " no new writs for electing members of " parliament, in the place of members ex-" cufing themselves from the service of the " house, do issue at the desire of such mem-" bers, notwithflanding any former prece-"dent to the contrary." *

Upon

* The second Act to prevent the further Growth of Popery,

⁽h) Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 296. It had been before refolved, that the excusing of members at their own request, from the fervice of the House, and thereupon issuing out new writs to elect other members, to serve in their places, was a of dangerous consequence, and tended to the subversion of the constitution of parliament."

Upon the return of this bill to prevent the further Growth of Popery, from England, (a) "Nicholas Lord Kingsland, Col." John Brown, Col. Burke, Col. Robert "Nugent, Major Allen, Capt. Arthur" French, with other Roman Catholics of Ireland, and perfons comprised in the "articles of Limerick and Galway, petitioned to be heard by council against "it: which was granted."

This returned bill had a clause inserted in England, which gave great offence to the whole body of dissenters in Ireland: many of whom, then in the House of Commons, were persons of considerable power and influence; for this reason, it was expected, that it would have been totally laid aside; and the rather, because the diffenters had before received some difgust, by a resolution of a committee in October 29th, 1703, (b) "that the pen-"fion of 12001. per ann. granted to the presbyterian

pery, was under debate in the House of Commons, from the 10th of May 1709, to the 18th of June following. See Com. Jour. from f. 575, to f. 641.

⁽a) lb. f. 173. (b) Com Jour. vol. I.I. f. 76.

" presbyterian ministers in Ulster, was an "unnecessary branch of the establishment."

The differences, in their petition to the Commons, on occasion of the above-mentioned clause, complained, "that, to "their great surprise and disappointment," they found a clause inserted in the Act "to prevent the further growth of Popery, "which had not its rise in that honoura-"ble house, whereby they were disabled from executing any public trust, for the fervice of her majesty, the protestant religion, or their country, unless contra-"ry to their consciences, they should receive the Lord's Supper, according to the "rites and usages of the established "church."*

This clause has fince been called the sacramental test, then first imposed on the dissenters of Ireland, whose zeal against Popery was so credulously blind, that upon a promise of having it repealed on the first opportunity,

^{*} Presbyterian loyalty sub finem, notwithstanding their having since made many strenuous efforts for its repeal.

Nec lex est justior ulla, quam necis artissces arte perire sua.

opportunity, they readily concurred with the rest in passing (together with the clauses again Popery) that mortifying one against themselves; which as a just judgment for such concurrence, has remained in full force against them ever since.*

On the 23d of February 1703, pursuant to leave given by the Commons, Sir Theobald Buttler, Councellor Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice (the two former in their gowns, as council for the petitioners in general, and the last without a gown, as only petitioner in his private capacity) appeared at the bar of the House of Commons. Sir Theobald Butler, the first, and principal speaker on this occasion, demonstrated,

^{*} This clause, instead of being repealed, was afterwards frequently put in strict execution during Queen Anne's reign. October 29th 1707, resolved, that by an act to prevent the further Growth of Popery, the burgesses of Belsass are obliged to subscribe the declaration, and receive the factorization, according to the usage of the church of Ireland.' Resolved, that the burgesship of the said burgesses of Belsass, who had not subscribed the declaration, and received the sacrament pursuant to the said act, were by such neglect, become vacant.' Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 546.

strated, in a long and pathetic speech, that almost every clause in the Act then before them, relating to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, was a direct infringement of one or other of the articles of Limerick, which he at the same time held in his hand, "ar-"ticles," added he, "folemnly engaged "to them, as the public faith of the na-"tion-that all the Irish then in arms " against the government, had submitted "thereunto, and furrendered the city of " Limerick, and all other garrifons in their " possession; when they were in a condition " to have held out, till they might have " been relieved, by the succours then coming " out of France: that they had taken fuch " oaths to the King and Queen, as by the " same articles, they were obliged to take: "that their submission was upon such "terms, as ought to be then, and at all "times, made good to them; and that "therefore, to break those articles, would " be the greatest injustice for any one peo-" ple in the whole world to inflict upon "ano-

⁽a) Ib. f. 279. (b) Account of the debates on the Popery Laws.

"another, being contrary to laws both of God and *man: that the case of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. was a fear"ful example of the breach of public faith; which, above a hundred years after, brought nothing less than a three years famine on the land, and stayed not untill the lives of all Saul's family attoned for it. That even among the heathens, and most barbarous nations all the world over, the public faith was always held facred and binding; and that, surely, it would find no less regard, in that as-

"The

* Of the law of gavel kind, (enacted by the 18th clause of this bill) Sir Theobald Butler in his pleadings says, it is a law in itself, fo monstrous, that I dare say this is the first time it was ever heard of in the world"——" for furely, adds he, it is a strange law, which contrary to the laws of all nations, thus confounds all settlements, how ancient soever, or otherwise warrantable by all the laws hitherto in force, in this, or any other kingdom." Informers are an infanous and odious set of people, and in fact, the lish Popery laws, and the construction put

"in fact, the hish Popery laws, and the construction put upon them by the Irish lawyers and courts of justice, are a confused heap of oppression and nonsense, and have very much contributed to corrupt the morals of the people of that country." Lord Chanceller Camden, in the House

of Lords, February 9th 1775.

The same, and other arguments, against the passing of this bill, were suffered to be pleaded at the bar of the House of Lords; but were equally difregarded by both Houses: the petitioners were told, (a) " that, if they were to be deprived of the "benefits of the articles of Limerick, it " would be their own faults, fince by com-" forming to the established religion, they "would be entitled to these, and many "other benefits: and that, therefore, they "ought not to blame any but themselves, " that the passing of that bill was needful " for the security of the kingdom; and that " there was nothing in the articles of Lime-" rick, that should hinder them to pass it."

The former part of this answer, Sir, was, you see, downright mockery, and a public insult on national faith; and, by the latter, a maxim seems to have been adopted, which tends to destroy all trust and considence among men, viz. that the most solemn engagement between parties may be violated or set aside, by either of them.

them, upon a feigned or groundless apprehension of danger from the other, by keeping it. I call the apprehension of danger, in this case, seigned or groundless, because I think, I may challenge the ablest, and most zealous sticklers for these laws, to produce even one instance of such misconduct of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, from the year 1601, when the articles of Limerick were concluded, to the year 1704, when the first of these laws was passed, as could occasion in the government any real or grounded apprehension of danger or disturbance from them. That no such instance could be then produced, appears from hence, that one of the principal objections to their conduct was, * "their not having " congratulated

^{*} Ib. Through this whole reign great numbers of Roman Catholics quitted the kingdom, on account of the severe execution of the Popery Laws; and such as were willing to return were not permitted, without license obtained on the hardest terms. In 1713, "ordered to prepare an address "to her majesty, to desire her, that she will be pleased not "to grant licenses to Papists to return into this kingdom." Com. Jour. vol. III. It was even dangerous for them to attempt, or endeavour to hear what passed in the House of Commons concerning themselves; for in the same year, an order was passed, "that the serjeant at arms should take "into custody all Papists that were or should presume to "come into the galleries." Ib. f. 976.

"by a dutiful address, on her accession to "the throne, as her Protestant subjects had "done;" which as it may be reasonably accounted for, from their depressed, perfecuted, and desponding condition at that juncture; so, had they actually addressed her Majesty on that occasion, in the most loyal and affectionate manner, most probable it is, that their very accusers would have considered and represented it, as the mere effect of adulation and hypocrisy, if not of insolence and presumption in them.

Persons, who are conscious of having often, and openly, broken faith with others, have reason to dread, that others will not be scrupulously exact in keeping faith with them. It was, perhaps, from such consciousness, that the government of Ireland, during all Queen Anne's reign, were incessantly hampering the Roman Catholics with oaths, imprisonments, and sorfeitures, without any other visible cause, but that of their * Religion. But the behaviour of these people

^{*} What pitiful occasions were then taken, to perfecute the persons of Roman Catholics from every trisling act, or circumstance

people was always found so blameless, that it fometimes made their very perfecutors ashamed of their severity. In the year 1708, on the bare rumor of an intended Invafion of Scotland by the pretender, no fewer than (b) " forty one Roman Catholic Noble-"men and Gentlemen were imprisoned in "the Castle of Dublin." (c) And when thev

circumstance, of their Religion. appears from the following paffage among many others. There is, it feems, a place of Pilgrimage with them, in the county of Meath, called St. John's well, which is frequented every summer, mostly by infirm men, women, and children, in hopes of being cured of their several disorders, by performing certains acts of devotion, and penance there. This the Irish Commons thought an important object of consideration, and of national concern; and accordingly passed a vote, that these fickly devotees " were affembled there, to the great hazard, " and danger of the public peace, and fafety of the king-" dom." In consequence of which, fines, imprisonment, and whipping, were made the penalties of "fuch dange-"rous, and tumultuous, assemblies." A penance, much more severe, than those poor people probaly intended to inflict on themselves; and from which, they could hardly obtain any other cure of their diforders but that universal one death; which in those times of religious rancour, frequently happened, by the extreme rigor of their punishment. Com. Jour. vol. IV.

(b) Com. Jour. vol. IV. f. 371. (c) Ib.

they were afterwards fet at Liberty, † ("be"cause they had acted nothing against the
"Government,") the state was so sensible
of the wrong done them, by their long,
and irksome consinement, ‡" that it re"mitted their sees, though they amounted
"to eight bundred and odd pounds."

Soon after the first act to prevent the further growth of popery was passed, the commons entered into fuch wild, and intemperate refolutions concerning the execution of it, and of other penal statutes, which it revives, and confirms, as shew them to have been as little directed by common sense, as they were by common humanity. In March 1704 (d) " they refolved, unani-" moufly, that all Magistrates, and other " perfons what seever, who neglected, or o-"mitted, to put them in due execution, " were betrayers of the Liberties of the King-"dom." In June 1705, (e) "that the fay-"ing, or hearing, of Mass, by persons who had

[†] Ib. ‡ Ib. (d) Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 289. (e) Ib. 319.

66 had not taken the oath of abjuration, " tended to advance the interest of the pre-"tender;" And, (f)"that fuch judges, and "Magistrates, as willfully neglected to " make diligent enquiry into and discover, " fuch wicked practices, ought to be looked "upon as enemies to her Majesty's Govern-" ment." And lest the Judges at least, if not the other Magistrates, should be somewhat ashamed of executing this new office of enquiring into, and discovering, these wicked practices of saying and hearing mass, on account of that infamy, which is commonly annexed to the trade of Priest-Catchers, discoverers, and informers, these commons had before taken care, "to refolve unani-" moufly, that the profecuting, and informing "against Papists, was an * Honourable " fervice

(f) Ib. 289.

* The scheme of the original framers of these popish Laws, (and of the present advocates for their continuance) was, and is, by their severity, to banish the popish natives out of the Kingdom, and introduce foreign protestants, in their room. This experiment was tried in the year 1709, for, at the request of the Lords and others of the council.

of fervice to the Government." Such was the good faith, good fense, and avowed honour, of these bigotted times.

How very different from this, Sir, has been the state and condition of the protestants in Germany, ever fince the famous Treaty of Munster in 1648; which was concluded with them by the Emperor Ferdinand, on a like stipulation for Liberty of religious worship; and guarantied by their most Christian, and Catholic Majesties, and o-

ther

et eight hundred and twenty one protestant palatine families were then brought over to Ireland; and the sum of twenty four thousand, eight hundred, and fifty pounds, five shilfings and fixpence, appointed for their maintenance, out of the revenue; on a resolution of the Commons," that 6. it would much contribute to the security of the Kingdom, of if the faid protestant palatines were encouraged, and settled "therein." But the error of that policy was foon after discovered; for the Lords, in their address to the Queen, " in 1711, thankfully observe, "that her Majesty's early " care had even prevented their own endeavours, to free the conation from that load of debt, which the bringing over " numbers of useless, and indigent, Palatines had brought " upon them." It is remarkable, that only four out of this great number of protestant palatines enlisted in her Majesty's army; fuch was the fecurity, which the Kingdom received from them! fee Com. Jour. vol. III. f. 879. at this time great numbers of Roman Catholics had been driven out of Ireland by the severity of these Laws.

ther Roman Catholic Princes, and states in Italy, and Germany. (g) "By this treaty, "all their immunities, lands, territories, and " dignities, together with the absolutely-" free, and uncontrouled exercise of their "Religion: as also powers to bear Offices, "and enjoy not only Church-Livings, but "Bishopricks. and Archbishopricks, were "granted, and for ever fecured to thefe " protestants: notwithstanding the Pope's "Nuncio, then present at Munster, openly " protested against it; and the Pope him-"felf, Innocent X. foon after issued a Bull " declaring its Nullity, but this declarati-" on from the Pope (adds my Author) fig-" nified no more than one from Prester John "would have done. The Emperor, and " Princes of Germany gloriously stood to "their Treaty; and took care to fee the " fame solemnly + ratified, and executed, " notwithstanding

(g) See Sir Peter Pet. Happy state of England. pref.

^{† &}quot;From hence" (adds Sir Peter Pet) "It appears, how "unstudied those men are in the great Book of the world, who think that popula Princes will not go on in the course "of

"notwithstanding this declaration of its "nullity. They knew the Pope's nuncio "would seon protest, and the Pope him- felf declare, against the Peace; and there- fore, had in terms agreed therein, "that "no canons, or decrees of Councils, or con- cordates

of their Politics, though the Pope should seem in earnest, " or in jest to stop them." Ib. Let me add, that although it be notorious that papal decrees and bulls, touching temporal matters, have been often overlooked, or rejected, by Roman Catholic Princes, and States, as in the prefent instance; yet there are some protestance, who merely through hatred of the religion and perfons of Roman Catholics, not content with these People's abjuring all civil power, and jurisdiction of Popes, in these Kingdoms; insist also upon their abjuring the Pope's spiritual power; which is in no respect whatever concerned in temporal, or political affairs: at the fame time that they affume a superior spiritual power to themselves, in what they call their christian Liberty of interpreting the word of God (which is not controulable by any earthly authority) in their own fenfe, in matters relative to tivil as well as religious government, which is likely to prove much more dangerous, than any (piritual authority of the Pope, to protestant Kingdoms and flates; it being evident from History, that the preposterous exercise of that power, has principally occasioned all the rebellions, that have arisen in Europe ever fince the Reformation. For fections, confusions, and rebellion, are the natural confiquences of fuch false notions of christian Liberty: which Mr. Adams, in his celebrated oration at Philadelphia, in August 1776, thus artfully'

"in any future time, be allowed against any article of it." And accordingly, Sir, it has been, ever fince, religiously obferved, in every particular: and, in all probability, will continue to be so.

Thus, instead of the Pope's annulling, by his bull, the Munster peace with effect, and

artfully enforces, to his American fellow Rebels, as an argument on which the lawfulness of their insurrection is principally founded. " Our forefathers, fays he, threw off the yoke " of Popery in Religion; for you is referred the honour of " levelling the papery of Politics. They opened the Bible es to all, and maintained the capacity of every man to judge " for himself in Religion. Are we sufficient for the comce prehension of the sublimest spiritual truths, and unequal 16 to material and temporal ones? Heaven hath trusted us " with the management of things for eternity, and man de-"nies us ability to judge of the prefent, or to know from our " feelings and experience what will make us happy"-"you " can discern, say they, objects distint and remote, but can-"not perceive those within your grasp" - "let us have "the destribution of present goods, and cut out, and ma-"nage as you please the interest of futurity" - "This "day, I trust, the reign of Political Protestantism will com-" mence. We have explored the Temple of Royalty, and " found that the Tool we have bowed down to has eyes " which see not, ears that hear not our prayers, and a " heart like the neither mill-flone."

and thereby fixing on the papifls the odious, imputed doctrine "of not keeping "faith with protestants," you see that doctrine itself was annulled in this instance, by the popish princes of France, Spain, and Germany, and I will venture to add, that it is now actually reversed, and may be fairly retorted on their accusers, for the violation of the articles of Limerick.

Need I inform you, Sir, that these laws, under the specious pretence of preventing the growth of Popery, have, in reality, more effectually, prevented the growth of every thing, that is either useful or ornamental, to Ireland; that, instead of promoting true religion, and its genuine effects, private and public virtue, they have given birth to more byposrify; and under that dangerous disguile, to more of every other species of moral evil, and turpitude, than was before known in this, or any other part of the Christian world-that, by these laws, great rewards are, occasionally, held forth to that vile and detefted race of men, discoverers and informers; who being thus

thus legally countenanced, and encouraged, plunder, indifcriminately, parents, brethren, kinsmen, and friends; in despight of all the ties of blood, of affection, and considence; in breach of the divine laws, and of all former human laws, enacted in that, or any other kingdom, for the security of property, since the creation of the world.*

You

* The only plaufible reason I ever heard for making and continuing these laws, is their tendency to bring the Papists of Ireland to a conformity in religion and loyalty with Protestants; and to weaken and impoverish such of them as had forfeited at the revolution, to fo great a degree, that neither they nor their posterity should be ever after capable of giving us any disturbance, in either our civil or religious concerns. As for the first part of this reason, it is notorious, that hypocrify and difaffection to both our religion and government are the first, and natural effects of such forced conversions; and should even converts, thus made, become at length real Protestants, and good subjects. "Is " evil to be done, that good may arise therefrom," in this one instance, when both reason and religion forbid it in every other ?- As for the second part, the enacting such predatory laws against Papists, without some overt-act, or proof of their intention at least, even at that juncture, to diffulb the government, (which is not even pretended) was by no means justifiable. An enemy might compare such proceeding

You have feen, Sir, that one of the principal causes assigned for enacting these laws against Roman Catholics, was their not having addressed Queen Anne, on her accession to the throne: that cause, frivolous as it then was, cannot, now, be affigned for their continuance. These people, Sir, have often fince, and with much better reason, expressed their heart-felt gratitude for the lenity shewn them by that Queen's illustrious successors, the present Royal Family, in humble and dutiful addresses, which have been graciously received. But even these addresses have been maliciously, because consciously, misrepresented. "The professions of loyalty, "and even folemn oaths of Papifts (fay "their enemies) to Protestant governors, " are infincere and infidious. They are "licenced to make them, but with no " other view, than to propagate their fu-" perstition, and supplant the true reli-"gion; and when these purposes can be

proceeding to the policy of an highway-man, in putting those he had robbed to death, least, if suffered to live, they might afterwards discover, and prosecute him for the robbery.

"ved by acting counter to them, they have dispensations and absolutions at a call."*

Thus do these doughty advocates for persecution pretend to more wisdom and solicitude for the public safety, than the Legislature itself: which, in proposing the usual oaths to these people, have hitherto imagined, that they were providing for the security of government, and attaching them to it, by the strongest ties that can possibly bind the consciences of men. Whereas, it seems, that by receiving them on such terms, into any degree of trust and considence, they were giving government's greatest enemies the best opportunity they

* So ridiculously jealous and fearful were the framers of the Ass to prevent the further growth of Popery, of these papal dispensations and absolutions, that they obliged the very Quakers to declare against them, "and solemnly to profess and testify they made that declaration with any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or hope of its being hereafter granted, and without believing that the Pope could absolve them from that declaration." Comfour,

could have defired, for undermining and betraying it.

But can you, Sir, really believe, that men born with the same feelings, appetites, and passions, as ourselves; and conscious too, that they could have obtained dispensations and absolutions, at a call, for conforming to the established worship, would have voluntarily suffered, during these seventy years past, what all the world knows the Roman Catholics of Ireland have suffered, on account of their non-conformity, in that space of time? I will not believe you capable of thinking such nonsense.

The straining of conscience for worldly advantages, to make it conform outwardly to modes of religious worship, which it inwardly condemns, is a practice unheard of among Roman Catholics; occasional conformity, Sir, a principle avowed by some of their most violent accusers, is utterly renounced by them; and they have ever declared themselves ready to abjure, in the most solemn manner, all power on earth, spiritual

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fpiritual and temporal, supposed to be capable of dispensing with them, in that respect.*

Thefe

* But of all the evil tenets imputed to Roman Catholics, as peculiar and essential to their religion, the spirit of persecution feems most to be dreaded, and is most considently insisted upon; but how can such a spirit be deemed peculiar to Roman Catholics, when it is notorious, that their very accufers perfecute both them, and one another, whenever they have the power and opportunity of doing it? that it is far from being effential to their religion, appears from hence, that their ablest and most orthodox divines, and in particular, their last Pope, Clement XIV. (who furely must be supposed to have known the essentials of his religion) condemns it as unchristian, and inhuman. "The great " misfortune in this case is," says that eminently good and learned Prelate, " that some people confound religion with "her ministers, and make her responsible for their faults; it never was religion, but false zeal pretending to imitate "her, that seized fire and sword, to compel heretics to ab-" jure their errors, and Jews to become Christians. were formerly (he contesses) in the bosom of the church " false zealots, who contended for things not interesting to "the faith; of whom (adds he) Ecclefiaftical Hillory fur-" nishes many exemples, sufficient to make us tremble; for " what is more dreadful, than to see good men fall viclims " to a zeal displeasing in the sight of God, and condemned "by the church, as equally hurtful to religion, and the " rights of fociety ? the practice of Jesus Christ, (who during his refidence on earth, bore patiently with the Sadu-" cees

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These truths are now at length generally known; and they have been of late, so far publickly

ce cees and Samaritins, the Infidels, and Schifmatics of " those times) obliges us to support our brethren, of whater ever communion they be, to live peaceably with them, " and not to torment them on account of any fyltem of " belief they have adopted. If we forceibly enlift men " into the church, we shall only make them prevarieators, and hypocrites. The power of the church is purely spiri-" tual; and this is fo true, that the first Christians suffered " themselves to be betchered, rather than rebel against the " edicts of the (Heathen) Emperors: and our bleffed Re-" deemer himfelf, when he prayed for his executioners, " taught us how his cause is to be avenged. Had the mi-" nilters of the gospel been always careful to follow that divine model, the enemies of Christianity had not been able " to bring against it the unjust reproach of being a perfe-" cutor. The church always difavowed those impetuous " men, who, flirred up by andifcreet zeal, treat those who " go aftray, with afperity; and its most holy bishops, in " all times, folicited the pardon of apostates, defiring only " their conversion. Men, therefore, ought not to impute " to the church those excesses, of which history has preserved " the memory, and which are repugnant to the maxims of " the go fel." Ganganelli Lett. v. iv. fee particularly his Discourse on the Spirit of the Church, and on Religion. Poffim.

I know Voltaire, that noted scoffer at religion and godliness, has written expressly against the authenticity and genuineness of these letters; but, besides, that the futility of his objections has already been clearly shown, by the editor himself, at the end of the fourth volume; is it at all credible,

publickly acknowledged, as to have received a kind of fanction from your legiflature. A majority of humane and enlightened members in both houses of your Parliament, having been themselves witnesses of the dutiful behaviour of the body of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, under many painful trials: and conscious, that their long perseverance in such behaviour was the best proof of the integrity of that principle, which has hitherto withheld them from facrificing conscience, and honour to any temporal interest (since rather than violate either by hypocritical professions,) they have, all their lives, patiently fuffered in that particular). These truly patriotic members, I fay, influenced by fuch motives, have caused an * oath to be framed (the

ble, that Gangmelli's fuccessor, the present Pope, or his inquisitorial court, which is ever exceedingly vigilant, and jealous on much less important occasions of this kind, would have hitherto suffered such an imposture to remain uncensured, especially, if these letters contained any doctrine repugnant to the essential tenets of the Romish religion?

* In the following words, I A. B do take almighty God, and his only fon Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, to witness,

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(the most certain proof surely, that postfibly can be required, or given by men, of the

ness, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to our most gracious Sovereign Lord, George the third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power, against all conspiracies, and attempts whatfoever, that shall be made against his perfon, crown and dignity; and will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty and his heirs, all treasons, and traitorous conspiracies, which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend, to the utmost of my power, the fuccession of the crown in his majesty's family, against any person or persons whatsoever; hereby utterly renouncing, and abjuring any obedience or allegiance, to the person taking upon himself the stile and title of Prince of Wales, in the life-time of his father; and who, fince his death, is faid to have affumed the ftyle and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles the third; and to any other person claiming, or pretending a right to the crown of these realms. And I do swear, that I do renounce and detest, as unchristian and impious to believe. that it is lawful to murder, or destroy any person or persons whatfoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian, and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any authority whatfoever may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatsoever; and I promife, that I will not hold, maintain or abet any fuch opinion,

the fincerity of their professions) which without clashing, in the least, with their religious tenets, sufficiently ensures their civil duty, and allegiance.

As the conciliating spirit of the framers of that oath manifestly appears in the preamble to it, I shall take the liberty to ininfert

nion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declarations; and I do declare, that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or pre-eminence, directly, or indirectly, within this realm; and I do folemnly, in the presence of Almighty God, and of his only fon Jesus Christ, my Redeemer, profess, testify and declare, that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words of this oath, without any evalion, equivocation, or mental refervation whatever; and without any dispensation already granted by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatfoever; and without thinking that I am, or can be, acquitted before God or man; or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any other person or persons, or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with, or anull the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning.

So help me GOD.

fert it here, for your ferious and dispassions ate revisal.

"Whereas, many of his majesty's sub-" jects in this kingdom are defirous to tef-"tify their loyalty and allegiance to his " Majesty, and their abhorrence of certain " doctrines imputed to them; and to remove " jealousies, which hereby have for a length " of time, subfisted between them, and " others his Majesty's loyal subjects; but "upon account of their religious tenets, " are by the laws now in being, prevented "from giving public affurances of fuch "allegiance, and their real principles, good "will and affection towards their fellow-" fubjects; in order therefore, to give fuch " persons an opportunity of testifying their " allegiance to his Majesty, and good will to-" wards the present constitution of this king-" dom, and to promote peace and industry " among the inhabitants thereof, be it " enacted, &c.

This test, so well calculated to answer all the necessary purposes of civil duty and allegiance,

allegiance, has, I am affured, been voluntarily and chearfully taken by great and respectable numbers of the Roman Catholic clergy, nobility, gentry, and people in different parts of that kingdom; whose example, I doubt not, will be soon followed by those few * overscrupulous perfons,

* These persons, however, are not more scrupulous in this respect, than several members of purliament, sirmly attached to the present constitution in church and state, seemed to be, who made the like objection to some part of the wording of this test, while it was under debate.

Mr. Hercules Langrishe, in his excellent speech in parliament in 1772, on a bill then introduced (but afterwards rejected) to enable Papists to take building leases, says among other things relative to the Popery Laws, "Let us confider that the time is long fince past, in which the 46 recovery of an establishment required oppression for its " support; or the weakness of government wished to divide so in order to subdue. The time is come, in which you " must offer the Roman Catholics one of these two alterna-"tives; you must either suffer them to enjoy the rights of citizens and subjects, or do them the justice to banish " them from the country. Do not think of flattering them " by the 'supiness of laws, which may at any time be re-" vived against them; and do not expect their gratitude " because you are not rash enough to enforce, what you were unjust enough to enast against them. Every solid ar-" gument (I wish I could say every ideal prejudice too) is I now removed, which might in former times have been " pleaded

fons, who feem as yet to hefitate at fome part of the wording, but not at the fub-france, or real purport of it.

It

"pleaded against them——let us not then continue for ever to maintain a system of laws—which are tempered in the very bigottry of that religion, which they affect to reform—which are too severe to be executed, and therefore do not bring security—which, before they can operate, must first corrupt, which never can be useful, because they are not just. Let us not be so monstrous as to suppose, we have a right, for ever to prescribe three fourths of the community."

While the advocates for the continuance of the Popery laws in a free nation, and under a limited monarchy, vindicate this breach of the public faith, how inconsistently do they censure, as perfidious, the revocation of the edict of Nants, by that absolute monarch Lewis XIV. whose will was a law, which the French Protestants knew they were at all times bound, by the constitution of their country, implicitly to obey? Of this uncertainty of the French King's edicts, that eminent Protestant writer, Grotius, was fully fensible, when on that occasion he faid, " that he earnestly "wished such edicts might be always religiously observed. 66 but that he would have the Protestants of France to "know, that they were not to be confidered by them as " treaties or engagements (fœdera) but merely as declara-" tions of that monarch's will and pleasure, made for pu-" blic utility, and revocable by him, when ever the welfare 66 of the kingdom seemed to require it." Discuss. Rivetian, apologetic. au. 1645, page 21.

It is therefore, Sir, reasonably to be hoped, that by some favourable change or relaxation of these severe laws; government will make a feafonable acquisition of the hearts and hands of more than a million of zealous and able subjects: now not only an useless, but a wasteful burthen to the public; and, by fuch just and humane condescention, will prevent all future reproach on your legislature, of countenancing the breach of public faith, of stripping men of their property, for not parting with their integrity, fining and imprisoning them for consciencious dissent from fettled forms of worship, or for opinions merely speculative in matters of religion; and in short, of making your protestant courts of justice and equity resemble, in these respects, that hated tribunal a Popish inquisition.

LONDON.

I am, Sir, &c.

P. S. A word or two more, and I have done. It has been always declared, by the advocates for the continuance of the Popery Laws, that they were at first enacted, and ever fince kept in force, not on account of the innoxious speculative tenets of Papists; but merely as a security and defence of government, against their dangerous practical principles. But fince these imputed practical principles are now folemnly and explicity abjured; and contrary practical principles as folemnly and explicitly avowed by them, in the present test (which has been proposed by the legislature itself, as amply fufficient for these purposes) it evidently follows, that the Popery Laws can, now, have no other object, but the innoxious speculative tenets of Papists, which it is confessed, can afford no just cause, or even colourable pretence, for that perfecution, and diffress, which these laws, by executing themselves, must always, and necessarily, bring upon them-On the other hand, what warm returns of gratitude, for the mitigation of these laws, may not be expected from a people, whom

whom their unprovoked severities, for more than seventy years past, have not caused to deviate from any one duty to the government that inflicts them? notwithstanding two dangerous * rebellions have been raifed during that period, in favour of a Popish pretender to the crown of these kingdoms; from whose success, they might have reasonably promised themselves some relaxation, if not an entire abrogation of them. And all the reward I am told, they expect for this fignal perseverance in duty and allegiance, is to be allowed to partake of that common justice and christian liberty, which even the sectaries among you, and they not the best of subjects neither, are permitted to enjoy by the laws of your country, viz-"a legal toleration to profess, and openly "acknowledge, upon every occasion, the " religion of their consciences, without "fuffering thereby, any loss or prejudice, "either in their persons or fortunes." And furely, Sir, that reward cannot in reason be longer withheld from them; for, befides

^{*} In the year 1715, and 1745.

fides what has been already mentioned, how inconfistent must it appear, if the same government, which conscious of the obligation of public faith, and heedless of the clamours of ill designing men, has granted to the Papists of Canada (though remote in their situation, and aliens by birth) the full benefit of their late articles for such toleration, should still continue to deprive those of Ireland (who are its natural-born subjects, residing in the bosom of the empire, and under its immediate in spection) of those advantages, to which they are equally entitled, by the like solemn engagements. Farewell.

London, Sept. 20th, 1777.

THE

THE

CIVIL AND MILITARY

ARTICLES

OF

LIMERICK,

EXACTLY PRINTED EROM THE

LETTERS PATENTS:

WHEREIN

They are ratified and exemplified by their MAJESTIES, under the GREAT SEAL of ENGLAND.

Property of the state of the st

CIVIL AND MILITARY ARTICLES

OF

LIMERICK:

ILLIAM and Mary, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Whereas certain Articles, bearing Date the third Day of October last past, Made and Agreed on between Our Justices of Our Kingdom of Ireland, and Our General of Our Forces there on the one Part; and feveral Officers there, Commanding within the City of Limerick in Our faid Kingdom, on the other Part. Whereby Our faid Justices and General did undertake that We should ratify those Articles, within the Space of eight Months, or fooner; and use their utmost Endeavours that the same should be Ratified and Confirmed in Parliament. The Tenour of which said Articles, is as follows, 7:12:

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ARTICLES

Agreed upon the third Day of October, One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety One,

Between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Conningfly, Esq; Lords Justices of Ireland; and his Excellency the Baron De Ginckle, Lieutenant General, and Commander in Chief of the English Army; on the one Part.

And the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Gallmoy, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cufack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown; on the other Part:

In the behalf of the Irisk Inhabitants in the City and County of Limerick, the Counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligo, and Mayo.

In Consideration of the Surrender of the City
of Limerick, and other Agreements made
between

between the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the Governor of the City of Limerick, and the Generals of the With Army, bearing Date with these Presents, for the Surrender of the said City, and Submission of the said Army: It is agreed, That

ART. I. HE Roman-Catholichs of this Kingdom shall enjoy such Privileges in the Exercise of their Religion, as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the Reign of King Charles the H. And their Majesties, as soon as their Affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman-Catholicks such surther Security in that Particular, as may preserve them from any Disturbance upon the Account of their said Religion.

ART. II. All the inhabitants or Residents of Limerick, or any other Garrison now in the Possession of the Irigh, and all Officers and Soldiers, now in Arms, under

any Commission of King James, or those authorized by him, to grant the same in the feveral Counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the Commissioned Officers in their Majesties Quarters, that belong to the Irish Regiments, now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of War, or have taken protection, and who shall return and fubmit to their Majesties obedience; and their and every of their Heirs, shall hold, poffess and enjoy, all and every their Estates of Free-hold, and inheritance: and all the Rights, Titles and Interests, Privileges and Immunities, which they, and every, or any of them held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the Reign of King Charles II. or at any time fince, by the Laws and Statutes that were in Force in the faid Reign of King Charles II. and shall be put in possession, by order of the Government, of fuch of them as are in the King's Hands, or the Hands of his Tenants, without being put to any fuit or trouble therein; and all fuch Estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears

of Crown-rents, Quit-rents, and other publick charges, incurred and become due fince Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date hereof: And all Persons comprehended in this Article, shall have, hold, and enjoy all their Goods and Chattels, real and personal, to them, or any of them belonging, and remaning either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatfoever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them: And all and every the faid persons, of what Profession, Trade, or Calling foever they be, shall and may use, exercise and practife their feveral and respective Professions, Trades and Callings, as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the Reign of King Charles II. Provided, that nothing in this Article contained, be construed to extend to, or restore any forfeiting person now out of the Kingdom, except what are hereafter comprized: Provided also, That no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this Article, that shall neglect or refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance, made by act of Parliament

in England, in the first year of the Reign of their present Majesties, when thereunto required.

Merchants of the City of Limerick, or of any other Garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any Town or Place in the Counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the Seas, that have not bore arms since their Majesties declaration in February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner, as if they were present; provided, such Merchants, and reputed Merchants, do repair into this Kingdom within the space of eight months after the date hereos.

ART. IV. The following Officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount-Leinster, now belonging to the Regiments in the aforesaid Garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the Seas, and sent thither upon affairs

of their respective Regiments, or the Army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article; provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their Majesties Government, and take the above mentioned oath.

ART. V. That all and fingular, the said Persons comprized in the second and third articles, shall have a general pardon of all Attainders, Outlawries, Treasons, Misprissons of Treason, Premunires, Felonies, Trespasses, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors what soeyer, by them, or any of them, committed since the beginning of the Reign of King James II. and if any of them are attainted by Parliament, the Lords Justices, and General, will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed Gratis, all but writing-clerks Fees.

ART. VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violences on both parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing

bringing all forts of private actions, the animofities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the publick difturbances last: for the quieting and fettling therefore of this Kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the neccessary consequence of the contrary, no Person or Persons whatsoever, comprized in the foregoing articles, shall be fued, molefted; or impleaded at the fuit of any party or parties what soever, for any trespasses by them committed, or for any Arms, Horses, Money; Goods, Chattels, Merchandizes; or Provisions whatsoever, by them seized or taken, during the time of the war. no Person or Persons whatsoever, in the fecond or third articles comprized, shall be fued, impleaded, or made accountable for the Rents or mean Rates of any Lands, Tenements, or Houses, by him or them received, or enjoyed in this Kingdom, fince the beginning of the present war, to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass, by him or them committed in any fuch Lands, Tenements, or Houses: and and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual, and reciprocal, on both sides.

ART. VII. Every Nobleman and Gentleman comprized in the faid fecond and third articles, shall have liberty to ride with a Sword, and case of Pistols, if they think sit; and keep a Gun in their Houses, for the defence of the same, or for Fowling.

ART. VIII. The inhabitants and refidents in the city of Limerick, and other Garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their Goods, Chattels, and Provisons, out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the Houses or Lodgings they now have, for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

ART. IX. The oath to be administred to such Roman-Catholicks as submit to their Majesties Government, shall be the oath abovesaid, and no other.

ART. X. No Person or Persons, who shall at any time hereafter break these articles,

ticles, or any of them, shall thereby make, or cause any other person or persons, to for-feit or lose the benefit of the same.

ART. XI. The lords justices * and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above mentioned articles, shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage, for the space of eight months, next ensuing the date hereof.

ART. XII. The lords justices and general do undertake, that their majesties will ratify these articles, within the space of eight months, or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours, that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

ART. XIII. Lastly, And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants, by judgments of record; which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel,

^{*} These lords justices were then lords of the regency in Ireland, as there was no Lord Lieutenant there.

Tyrconnel, and Lord Lucan, took away the effects the said John Brown had to anfwer the faid debts, and promised to clear the faid John Brown of the faid debts; which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army: for freeing the faid Lord Lucan of his faid engagement, passed on their public account, for payment of the faid Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the faid John Brown, and for fatisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan, and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, that the faid lords justices, and the faid baron de Ginckle, shall intercede with the king and parliament, to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics, by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with, and equally liable to the payment of fo-much of the faid debts, as the faid Lord Lucan, upon stating accompts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the faid Brown amount unto; which accompt is to be stated, and the balance certified by the Lord

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Lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof:

For the true performance hereof, we have hereunto fet our hands,

Prefent, Scravemore. H. Maccay. T. Talmafp. Char. Porter. Tho. Coning fly. Bar. De Ginckle.

hath been fince, in pursuance of the said articles, surrendered unto us, note know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare, that we do for us, our heirs and successors, as far as in us lies, ratisfic and confirm the same, and every clause, matter and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give

our royal affent to any bill or bills, that shall be passed by our two Houses of Parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the faid articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the faid articles, the words following, viz. and all such as are under their protection in the said counties, should be inserted, and be part of the faid articles: which words having been cafually omitted by the writer, the omission was not discovered till after the faid articles were figned, but was taken notice of before the fecond town was furrendered: and that our faid justices and general, or one of them, did promise that the faid clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draught thereof: our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the faid omitted words, viz. [And all such as are under their protection in the said counties Hereby for us, our heirs and fuccessors. ordaining and declaring, that all and every person person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof, in fuch and the same manner, as if the faid words had been inferted in their proper place, in the faid fecond article; any omission, defect, or mistake in the faid fecond article, in any wife notwithflanding. Frovided always, and our will and pleafure is, that these our letters patents shall be enrolled in our court of Chancery, in our faid kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing. In witness, &c. Witness our seal at Westmin/ler, the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis & reginæ Gulielmi & Marix quarto per breve de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem premissor. predict. Ad requisitionem attornat. general. domini regis & dominæ reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ. duximus exemplificand. per presentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Testibus nibis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis, annoq. regni eorum quarto. BRIDGES.

Examinat. S. Keck In Cancel. Lacon Wm. Childe Magiftros.

The Oath of Fidelity or Allegiance required by the second Article of this Treaty,

I. A. B. do sincerely Promise and Swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

So Help me God.









