A

LOYAL SUBJECT's

THOUGHTS, &c.

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# LOYAL SUBJECT's

# THOUGHTS

ON AN

# UNION,

BETWEEN

*GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND.*

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# SOME THOUGHTS, &c.

IT is aſtoniſhing to perceive the avidity with which the United Iriſhmen, and their ſatellites in this kingdom, have ſwallowed down the hint recently thrown out, of a propoſed Union between Great Britain and Ireland; though this ſcheme if carried into effect, would according to my idea, prove the death-warrant for all the villainous deſigns which are now in embryo, or might hereafter as they hope, be brought to maturity. Theſe factious ſanguinary wretches, having been effectually diſappointed in their ambitious republican pro-



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jects, hitherto appear to enjoy a gratification ſo immenſe, that they have not ſufficient command over themſelves to conceal it, in contemplating the more than probable embarraſſments, which adminiſtration may be doomed to contend with, in bringing forward a meaſure of ſuch confeſſed magnitude; and theſe reſtrained, though not compleatly ſuppreſſed, knaves experience the moſt unbounded pleaſure, in concluding that the gentlemen of landed property in this country, muſt neceſſarily give a decided oppoſition to a plan, which is conceived to be pregnant with eſſential injury to them: this induces their malevolent diſpoſition to ſuppoſe, that their preſent weakened party will be conſiderably ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of men whoſe eſtates muſt labour under a large annual burden, in contributing to the exigencies of the State, and upon whom of courſe, they reckon as malecontents, naturally inclined to attach themſelves to the cauſe of freedom, as they treache-

rouſly denominate it, and to reſiſt the ruinous intentions of ſelfiſh rulers; or that at any rate, every wealthy individual among us, who ſets his face againſt the levelling predatory principles which were attempted to be enforced in this Iſland, upon the diabolical model of France, would be now ſeverely and deſervedly puniſhed, for his obſtinacy in contemning the glorious fraternization, which was offered for his acceptance.

Did it occur to me that an avowal of my name could, even probably, ſerve any good purpoſe, I would not heſitate a moment to proclaim it, as no motive of perſonal fear deters me from doing ſo; but I am convinced that ſuch a diſcovery, would not be productive of any uſeful conſequences, even preſuming it to proceed from the greateſt Peer in the kingdom, becauſe people always will and ought to think for themſelves, eſpecially upon points wherein they happen to be themſelves deeply concerned, ſuffice it there-



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fore to remark, that I am an Hibernian by birth and reſidence, that I enjoy a competency, with which I am contented —that I am a warm admirer of our preſent Conſtitution in Church and State— that I unfeignedly wiſh for the welfare of the place of my nativity—that I am a zealous advocate for ſubordination, and earneſtly deſire to ſee the eſtabliſhment of ranks in ſociety perpetuated—that I am inſuperably averſe to the horrors of a revolution, and the unjuſt or violent acquiſition of any thing belonging to a fellow-creature—that I am not a placeman, penſioner, or expectant in any reſpect—that I never ſolicited or received any civil, military or eccleſiaſtical favor from Government—that I will not allow my *loyalty* to be inferior to that of our high-creſted Lord Chancellor himſelf; nor though I have not obtained any reward for attaching me to the happineſs of this country, do I eſteem it a proof of intolerable pride to aſſert, that my *patriotiſm* is more

pure and diſintereſted than that of Henry Grattan, the real deceiver, though falſely denominated Saviour of Ireland, on whom ſuch enormous ſums were profuſely beſtowed—that I ſpurn with indignation, at the alledged idea of my being gratified with the bow of approbation from any man, howſoever elevated his ſtation may be, whoſe principles and conduct my conſcience ſuggeſted to me, that I ſhould treat with abhorrence and contempt, and that as I am not a Candidate for fame or emolument, and deſpiſe the mean arts of adulation, I truſt my remaining *incog*, will remove from me every imputation of being ſwayed by ſervile or mercenary motives.

About forty-five years ago the project of an Union was ſeriouſly debated; nor do I ſee any better reaſon for diſputing about it at this day, than preſented itſelf in every year ſucceſſively ſince that period; for as harpooners, in order to di-

vert the wounded Whale, from making a deſtructive attack upon their boats, are ſaid to fling an empty caſk into the ſea, on which he may vent his fury; may not this object be glanced at, for the purpoſe of ſounding the depth of our profeſſed Loyalty, amidſt the diſtractions which ſtill prevail amongſt us, and at the cloſe of a rebellion almoſt unexampled, in point of baſe ingratitude and exterminating barbarity? Should this notion, nevertheleſs be erroneous, I am clearly of opinion that had the buſineſs under conſideration, been finally adjuſted at the time to which I allude, the commercial proſperity of this nation would have more than equalled that of Scotland, and the conſolidated connexion of the Empire, would have liberated us from numberleſs ſubſequent bones of contention in politics, which ſerved no other end than diſturbing our peace, and detaching us from really uſeful and honourable purſuits. And ſhould the talked-of Union, beupon cool and maturedeliberation, judged

expedient, I would readily ſubmit to ſuch a regulation, though attended with a reduction of my annual income; becauſe I am abundantly convinced that without the interpoſition of the Britiſh Navy, our comparative national imbecility, and inteſtine diviſions, would render us an eaſy prey to France; and then farewell to comfort, affluence and perſonal ſecurity for ever!

A change in circumſtances requires a correſponding alteration in the diſpoſal, and arrangement of affairs. The repeal of our penal laws, may have been literally deemed a meaſure of prudence and juſtice; and yet the original enforcement of them, was thought to be indiſpenſably requiſite for the preſervation of the Proteſtant Religion: the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus Act, may excite alarms in the breaſts of thoſe who find their glorious ſchemes fruſtrated by ſuch a procedure; but methinks every ſincere ſupporter of good order, muſt approve of any ordinance which conduces to the ſuppreſſion

of licentiouſneſs, and the eſtabliſhment of general tranquillity. And they who raiſe ſuch a furious outcry againſt an Union, and affirm it to be a groſs infringement of our Conſtitution, may as reaſonably alledge that what we ought not to do to-day, would be improper for to-morrow alſo: and that the Chalking Act was ſuperfluous, becauſe there were other pre-exiſting laws, againſt riots and violent aſſaults, though making no proviſion for this particular outrage.

Many of us muſt ſtill recollect how Thurot, with a few ſmall frigates under his command, landed a body of French Troops upon this Iſland, and after exciting a ſerious alarm throughout the province of Ulſter at leaſt, would have carried off his plunder, with impunity, had he not been intercepted at ſea by Commodore Elliot, and compelled to ſurrender to the ſuperiority of Britiſh valour. And a few weeks ago, another French ſquadron of lawleſs robbers and plunderers, would in the courſe of half a dozen of hours; have effected a deſcent up-

on this country, and by the assistance of still more savage domestic traitors, have deluged it at this moment in blood, and cut out for us vastly more dreadful work than arguing about an Union, had not their plans of murder and rapine been providentially disconcerted by the critically opportune interference of the brave and active Sir John Warren. These instances serve to demonstrate that, notwithstanding all the noise we make about our boasted-of Independence, we are not capable of defending ourselves from the insults of any surrounding, rapacious enemy. And should Great Britain leave us wholly to ourselves, by withdrawing from us the protection of her irresistible Navy, I shudder at the very thought of the miserable condition in which such an event would involve us.

"Divide and govern," is the maxim adopted by all tyrants who apprehend a suc-

ceſsful or formidable oppoſition to their arbitrary machinations, from a firm coalition againſt them of the different parties upon whom they had evil deſigns. By the arts of intrigue and policy Philip of Macedon firſt obtained the completion of his ambitious views upon the Grecian ſtates; and by jealouſy and civil diſſenſions among themſelves, they afterwards became an eaſy prey to enemies whom they had before effectually baffled by their unanimity. The federal plan reſpectively cemented between the Dutch Provinces, the Swiſs Cantons, and the North American States, clearly exhibits the expediency of a cloſe connexion between them to preſerve their general Independence; and the proximity of Scotland to England, between which the Partition-wall is almoſt ideal, ſatisfactorily proves that Nature intended they ſhould be united under one head, not only as a preventative againſt inteſtine commotions among themſelves, but alſo to advance

their power and conſequence, and to ſecure them the more ſtrongly againſt the hoſtile projects of any enemy that looked upon them with a jealous eye, or ſeriouſly meditated their ſubjugation. Highly applicable to ourſelves is the wiſe leſſon of the father who, on his death-bed, called in his ſons, to whom he delivered a bundle of twigs tied up, deſiring them to break it, which they in vain eſſayed to do, but were able to accompliſh it with eaſe, when the rods were ſingly preſented to them; from which he took an opportunity of inculcating the indiſpenſable duty of fraternal concord to mantain their mutual ſafety. The inhabitants of Ireland, intimately joined to Great Britain, and relying upon Providence for protection, may ſmile with ſuperlative contempt at the menaces of all ſurrounding foes; ſeparated from England they muſt inevitably become the conquered vaſſals of ſome powerful aſſailant, even ſuppoſing our ſiſter kingdom not to be

the attacking nation, but merely to remain neuter, and leave us to our fate. And if we heartily bewail the ſorrows of our bleeding Country, lacerated ſo grievouſly by civil feuds, I cannot conceive a remedy ſo efficacious as an Union, not only to heal our preſent wounds, but alſo to act as an antidote to ward off future onſets from the parts which are now found to be ſo very vulnerable.

It is inſinuated that an Union would prove highly prejudicial to our manufactures, becauſe, when the Engliſh Merchant, burdened with large protecting duties in our favor, is able to underſel us in our own markets, what muſt be the caſe when theſe difficulties are removed? Admitting this objection to be well-founded, yet I am led to imagine that the complaint is to be attributed to our own conduct in a great degree, and that additional induſtry and frugality on our ſide would adminiſter a compleat cure for what we are

diſpoſed to regard as an intolerable evil. Sorry am I to obſerve that we are deſtitute of that integrity in our dealings which characterizes the inhabitants of England in an eminent manner; that unpardonable pride deters us from embarking in ſeveral branches of buſineſs to which they aſſiduouſly apply themſelves; and that we frequently retire from the buſtle of an active life, to ſquander in luxury and diſſipation a fortune which we call conſiderable, but which many of our Britiſh neighbours would reckon no more than a moderate capital for the commencement of trade. Beſides, ſhould we not conſider that in the exportation of Beef, Butter, and various other articles, we reap particular benefit; and that we have an excluſive advantage in our ſtaple manufacture, the Linen Trade, in which we muſt always remain unrivalled: And would it not be a deſirable object for us to ſecure, by means of an Union, the immediate introduction of ſeveral Commodities which we actually

ſtand in need of, or are determined to poſſeſs, but which we are at preſent conſtrained to procure in a circuitous channel, expoſed to much danger by a coaſting ſea paſſage, and at a ſenſibly advanced price.

If I may preſume to ſay any thing relative to the number of Peers and Commoners, who ſhould repreſent this kingdom in the Britiſh Parliament, in conſequence of an Union; I would beg leave to ſuggeſt, that our four Arch-Biſhops, together with the Lord Chancellor, the Chief Juſtices of the King's Bench, and Common Pleas, the chief Baron of Exchequer, and twelve other Lay Lords, ſhould ſit in the Houſe of Peers, either perſonally or by proxy; and that ſixty members from Ireland, ſhould have ſeats in the Houſe of Commons, which we ought to be contented with; as Scotland has not any reaſonable cauſe of being diſſatisfied with a ſmaller number; and with the exception of gentlemen who were attending their duty in Parliament, I would approve of the

exaction of an annual tax, to the amount of five ſhillings to the pound, from every perſon who enjoyed a landed property in Ireland, and yet was an abſentee from it during three months each year. People indeed, actuated by motives of intereſt, may exclaim againſt this, as an arbitrary attack upon the liberty of the ſubject, in not permitting him to reſide wherever he choſe, but ſurely, to ſpeak in the language of Scripture, "where the carcaſe is, there ſhall the Eagles be gathered together;" and in point of ſtrict equity, where the means of living are regularly obtained, there ought they alſo to be expended. However, though I look upon Abſentees, as the idle drones which rob the induſtrious bees of their honey; yet I would readily conſent that one thouſand of them, poſſeſſed of five thouſand pounds annually on an average, ſhould withdraw themſelves altogether from this kingdom, on condition that an equal number of Britiſh manufacturers, with a capital of five millions of pounds, could be prevailed upon to ſettle among us.

I reſide upon a farm, the annual value of which has been trebled at leaſt ſince it came into my hands, by the care and attention beſtowed upon it; and yet many of my neighbours who enjoyed equal advantages with me, and had as great domeſtic claims upon them, have ſuffered their lands to remain in a ſhameful ſtate of negligence, merely through ſloth and idleneſs; for though they pretended to theoretic knowledge, yet they had not reſolution to make experiments which might have richly repaid all their labour and expence. I mention this, not from any oſtentatious principle with regard to myſelf, becauſe my line of conduct was no other than what common prudence dictated, but to expoſe the ſlovenly, lazy carriage of too many among my countrymen, and to ſhew that by their own reprehenſible indolence, with reſpect to tillage, their grounds have been much leſs productive, than they could be rendered by proper management; and that the hardſhips which they may occaſionally

happen to feel by a ſcarcity of proviſions, is to be charged infinitely more to their own ſupine behaviour, without bringing intoxication at all into the account, than the inclemency of the ſeaſons, the barrenneſs of their fields, the ſeverity of landlords, or the exorbitant weight of tithes and taxes, about which they are well inclined to raiſe ſuch an outcry.

It is abſolutely unavoidable, for Ireland to become an appendage either to France or England. Should we be conquered by the former of theſe Nations; the inexpreſſibly wretched condition of the countries they have pillaged and overrun, may ſerve to teach us what we might neceſſarily expect, from a ſucceſsful incurſion of ſuch unprincipled invaders. If however we rely upon them as friends, to aſſiſt us in aſſerting what we call our violated Rights, we lean upon a broken reed, which muſt pierce us to the heart; for even ſuppoſing that ſome of theſe predatory ruffians, ſhould by ſtealth effect a

landing in this country, for the purpoſe of ſeconding the wicked deſigns of the native inſurgents; are we weak enough to think that England, whilſt ſhe rides triumphant on the ocean, would remain an idle ſpectator of ſuch proceedings, and not hurl deſtruction upon our perfidious coadjutors? and would we not ſplit into inveterate parties among ourſelves, become a prey to Britiſh energy, and concord, and ſink into a ſubdued and depopulated province, ſeverely ſcourged with the rod of affliction, which our own rebellious temerity drew down upon us, and juſtly eſteemed undeſerving of lenity or confidence? But I augur better things, and ardently truſt that the demon of folly, intemperance and licentiouſneſs, will not acquire ſo great an aſcendancy over us, as to involve us in ſuch calamitous circumſtances.

It may be whiſpered, than an Union would reduce to the humble ſtandard of country Squires, a conſiderable number of Iriſh Peers, who could not procure ſeats in the Britiſh Parliament. But what has ſuch

a conſideration to do with the aggrandizement of this nation at large? nay, what has it do, with very many of the Noblemen in queſtion, whoſe extreme reliſh for retirement, has hitherto prevented them from perſonally diſcharging the duties of their ſenatorial function? and as for the others, if they can perform the wholeſome taſk of accommodating themſelves to their new ſituation, and ſtudy to demean themſelves towards their fellow-creatures, with the conciliating dignity of gentlemen, they will experience a larger degree of veneration among mankind, than a ſupercilious carriage, or the vain trappings of pageantry can ever ſecure, and which muſt fully compenſate for the imaginary degradation of their ſuperior rank and conſequence.

During the late American war, the Engliſh Eaſt India Company, preſented to his Majeſty four Sail of the Line, carrying 74 Guns each, compleatly equipped for ſea. The tongue of envy will doubtleſs,



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ſtate this to have been a ſelfiſh compliment; but did we, on that occaſion, contribute ſo much as a ſingle frigate? I know it may be replied that our Parliament voted a certain ſum of money in order to furniſh a ſupply of ſailors. Are we, however, to arrogate any credit to ourſelves for a mere matter of neceſſity, and on the adoption of which our own ſafety in a great meaſure depended? And methinks that glory and profit abundantly recompenſed the gallant men who ſerved on board the fleet at this juncture. We have, indeed, a ſort of nominal Court of Admiralty, ſuited to our *Imperial Grandeur*, and freed from the burden of conſtructing or ſuperintending an Iriſh Navy; but did not the Britiſh Fleet protect our commerce, how could we venture to avail ourſelves of our inſular ſituation with any flattering proſpect of advantage?

As I never yet ſpent a moment of my life out of Ireland, nor, moſt probably, ever will, it cannot reaſonably be inſinu-

ated that I wiſh to depreciate the place of my nativity, though I conceive I am excuſable in ſuggeſting that we ought not to arrogate to ourſelves qualifications which experience proves we cannot unqueſtionably lay claim to: becauſe our ſelf-complacency will render us blind to the imperfections which we labor under, and, conſequently, inſenſible to the expediency of a reformation; for why ſhould we endeavour to remove blemiſhes which our foſtering fondneſs will not permit us to behold in a criminal light: The majority of our emigrants to other countries are far from being generally eſteemed; becauſe it is pretty openly urged that their behaviour at home was not commendable, and from thence it is inferred that a change of climate will not effect a deſirable alteration of temper. I am much concerned to obſerve, that we have not incontrovertible pretenſions to honeſty, induſtry, ſobriety and devotion, and muſt not, of courſe, look upon ourſelves to be an Iſland of

Saints, whoſe exemplary lives leave no room for amendment. It muſt not, however be denied that we have many ſtriking inſtances of ſincere, diſintereſted friendſhip to boaſt of; and that compaſſion for objects in diſtreſs has a diſtinguiſhed influence upon us. Hoſpitality and courage are alledged to be our national characteriſtics: But do not our convivial aſſociations very frequently terminate in beſtiality? And even without dwelling too much upon the execrable atrocities which have affixed an indelible odium to the late rebellion in this kingdom, is not our bravery repeatedly marked by raſhneſs, revenge, and wanton ferocity? A cordial and anxious deſire, therefore, for the ſubſtantial happineſs of this iſland, inclines me fondly to expect that an Union with Great Britain will induce many Engliſhmen to ſettle among us, to augment and improve our manufactures; to prompt us to imitate them in their advantageous mode of huſbandry; to meliorate and civilize our

manners; and check that hateful propenſity to pride and inſolence which has ſo long operated againſt our riſing to opulence by a ſedulous and unwearied application to our ſeveral avocations. As by civilization I underſtand a laudable reſpect for piety, honeſty, and morality; God help thoſe depraved ſcholars who, taking the French for their preceptors, would wickedly ſuppoſe me to mean a cringing politeneſs, devoid of ſincerity, and an audacious contempt for every ſolemn inſtitution, human and divine; but though I will not unreſervedly pronounce that we are a nation of untamed monſters, yet I cannot avoid acknowledging that many acts of cruelty have been recently perpetrated among us which would diſgrace the moſt unlettered Negro in the wilds of Africa itſelf.

It may be ſaid that an Union with Great Britain would be fraught with the moſt ruinous conſequences to Dublin in particu-

lar. I readily grant that there may be ſome foundation for ſuch an alarm, but by no means to ſuch an extent as ſelfiſh or prejudiced perſons are induced to repreſent it; nor can it become that dreary wilderneſs which a gloomy imagination may figure to itſelf. The removal of our Parliament will certainly be attended with conſiderable loſs to the citizens of our preſent Metropolis, which they may, notwithſtanding, in a great meaſure remedy by a more economical mode of living, in diſcontinuing their extravagant routs, parting with their expenſive country-houſes, diſmiſſing their coſtly equipages, and repreſſing their diſſipated indulgences; and they will ſtill retain among them the ſeat of a permanent Viceroy, a flouriſhing Univerſity, the Courts of Juſtice, a National Bank, and a General Poſt Office. Beſides, the additional influx of money into this country, which I am without heſitation led to believe would reſult from the adoption of ſuch an eſtabliſhment as we are treating

of, ſhould incline us to overlook the injury ſuſtained by any ſingle place, when contraſted with the benefit accruing to the community at large; and though the coalition which I ſpeak of ſhould even bear hard upon my own little property, yet I know I could ſubmit to ſuch an amputation without murmuring, in conſequence of its contributing in any degree to the good of the State. I ſhall not, by the bye, pretend to affirm that our circumſtances will enable us to pay any of the national debt already contracted by Great Britain, nor do I think that juſtice or generoſity would warrant ſuch a demand; but I hope we will never be found backward in a zealous ſupport of the Britiſh Empire, in proportion to our ability, and that the prudence and equity of Adminiſtration will not attempt to exact more from us.

Could it be made appear, that the laws framed in Great Britain, are leſs perfect and equitable, than thoſe which owe their birth

to Ireland, there might be ſome juſtice in the unwillingneſs we diſplay to relinquiſh our prerogative in this particular; but I think we will not be hardy enough to deny, that our moſt admired Statutes originated in England, and that we ought not to be aſhamed of borrowing from ſo excellent a ſtock. Beſides, how can we pretend to affirm, that an Union will deprive us of the unalienable privilege of Legiſlating for ourſelves, while a number of Iriſh Repreſentatives hold ſeats in the Britiſh Parliament? or what ground of reaſon have we to ſurmiſe, that under ſo glorious a Conſtitution as we enjoy, it could be reckoned good policy in Adminiſtration, to depreſs *any part* of the Empire intentionally, where it is evidently advantageous to promote the welfare of *every part*. Scotland, indeed, at firſt ſtarted many objections againſt a connexion with England, inſtigated thereto, without doubt, by an unjuſtifiable national pride on one hand, and likewiſe, as it would ſeem, from a ruinous infatuation of keeping alive a ranco-

rous quarrel of rivalſhip between the neighbouring countries, which to her had oftentimes produced ſuch woful diſtreſs; but two diſaſtrous rebellions, madly embarked in on the ſcore of ſeparation, brought her to a proper ſenſe of her extreme folly; and her cloſe application to agriculture and commerce, in which ſhe has ſince ſo eminently thriven, has taught her by experience, the beſt ſort of wiſdom, that ſhe has had no cauſe to complain for having incorporated her ſenate into the Engliſh Parliament: and if Scotland which is only ſemi-inſular, has acquired conſpicuous proſperity by Trade, ſince her intimate junction with England, how infinitely ſupreior muſt our advantages be in a ſimilar ſituation, whoſe harbours lie open to every point of the compaſs, and whoſe lands boaſt naturally of a ſoil peculiarly fertile? How ſingularly happy muſt we become, bleſſed as we are with an incomparably wholeſome climate, if by induſtry, frugality and a bold ſpirit of enterprize, we cultivate the opportunities of

abundance and comfort, which Providence has graciouſly vouchſafed to throw in our way? Could our lower ranks of people prudently reſtrain that inconſiſtent paſſion for Politics which has deplorably expoſed them to the influence of diſaffected, ambitious knaves, and devote to diligence in their reſpective occupations, the many precious hours which they unfortunately laviſh upon riot, gambling and drunkenneſs; reſpectability and affluence would reward their virtuous conduct, and the fruition of health and mental ſatisfaction, beſtow a tenfold reliſh upon their worldly enjoyments. But when they buſy themſelves extravagantly in State affairs, which are far beyond the ſphere of comprehenſion, they miſerably pervert the end of their creation, and injure the community in an eſſential manner by their factious and turbulent behaviour, at the ſame time that they wantonly neglect the means of rendering their own circumſtances eaſy and independent.

In a world compoſed of jarring, periſhable materials, we muſt not look for any thing abſolutely permanent. The laws of the Medes and Perſians were vainly repreſented to be *unchangeable*; and yet what is now become of them? Offenſive and defenſive alliances have been ratified between different Nations, which erring mortals have declared to be of *perpetual* force; and yet how ſhort-lived has war, or ſome other circumſtance, rendered their exiſtence? The *everlaſting* commercial treaty between France and England was diſſolved almoſt at the inſtant of its formation, moſt probably never again to be revived. A man by the increaſe or diminution of his fortune, or by the birth or death of friends, may find it requiſite to alter a will, which he had once confirmed as the *invariable* diſtribution of his property. And compacts and agreements between private individuals, and public ſtates, pronounced to be of *eternal* duration, may be frequently abrogated, by numberleſs conſpiring and unforeſeen occurrences,

without any actual, or premeditated infringement upon the rules of ſtrict equity and juſtice. I am not a ſtickler for paſſive obedience, non-reſiſtance, or the divine right of Kings: nor do I plead for a ſtability of government, without any exception, becauſe in doing ſo I would be a ſupporter of deſpotiſm; yet the conduct of the French, in rejecting this odious ſpecies of authority, before they ſubſtituted any other form in its place, has demonſtrated that even arbitrary rule is preferable to anarchy and confuſion, and as we are apt to nauſeate medicines which are of the moſt ſanative quality, and are too credulous in believing the deceitful tales of State Quacks, who preſcribe political noſtrums replete with infallible virtues, as they would inſinuate. How cautious then ought we to be in liſtening to the ſelfiſh repreſentations of ambitious impoſtors, who aſpire to legiſlative power, and who, if advanced to that ſituation, would prove the moſt intolerant tyrants, that ever curſed the miſerable dupes of their treachery?

Should the tempeſt of wrathful clamor be raiſed againſt me, I will not retort, ſo that the hurricane which would rive the ſturdy, reſiſting oak, ſhall paſs innocuous over my head; for, bending like the humble willow beneath the furious ſtorm, I will thereby elude its deſolating rage. Be it remembered, however, that irony, ſcurrility, or invective cannot alter my ſentiments, or convince me that my opinions are erroneous or cenſurable, though my poſitions may not, perhaps, poſſeſs that ſtrength of argument, or facility of expreſſion with which other writers can ſo happily elucidate this truly momentous ſubject. Should I be loaded with unprovoked abuſe, and my little Eſſay accuſed of being frigid and ſuperficial; I ſhall make no other defence than to avow the integrity of my intention in the part which I have ventured to eſpouſe, and in this particular I will not yield to any individual among my opponents or coadjutors. Though the tide of popularity may at pre-

ſent flow violently againſt that ſide of the queſtion which I have embraced, yet it does not neceſſarily follow from thence that I am wrong, unleſs it can be indubitably proved that the majority which diſſents from me muſt be invariably right; and yet we all know and confeſs that men are ſometimes ſo obſtinately wedded to palpable errors, as to be impervious to conviction. I do not build my attachment to the meaſure of an Union upon mere ſpeculation, plauſible hypotheſis, quibbling ſophiſtry, or pecuniary proſpects, but on plain, unadorned matter of fact, analogous deductions, liberal, patriotic principles, and rational calculations with reſpect to future poſſible contingencies, ſo far as my contracted underſtanding enables me to judge; and therefore my miſtakes are the offspring of weak intellects, and not of deliberately impoſing deſign. Brilliant talents, fertility of conception, and animated elegance of diction are not at my command; but I will not readily wave

my pretenſions to that probity of mind which my conſcience tells me that I have never yet forfeited by the commiſſion of any diſhonorable act.

In a word; I am well aſſured that the infernal temper, of our deteſtable, domeſtic foes, will ſtimulate them to ſtrain every faculty of their corrupted minds in diſſeminating ſedition and diſcord throughout this country; in reviving the ſmothered rebellion, by kindling afreſh the embers of diſaffection; and endeavouring to alienate even our regular troops, militia and yeomen, from their ſworn allegiances, by falſehood and miſrepreſentation; but as their abominable plots and conſpiracies have been hitherto detected, and terminated in confuſion to themſelves: ſo I truſt that our valiant ſoldiers will be prompted by the impulſe of honor and duty, to turn a deaf ear to the profeſſions of their meditated deceivers, by reſolutely oppoſing their nefarious machinations; that the good ſenſe of the nation

will not ſuffer itſelf to be miſled by the wicked deſigns of crafty inſiduous miſcreants, who affect a warm attachment for a meaſure which ſo manifeſtly militates againſt their democratic ſchemes; and that we will not be warped by ſullen or petulant prejudice, merely againſt the name of an Union, without duly weighing the importance of the object under conſideration; giving it a fair and candid inveſtigation; and ſeriouſly calculating the dangers and loſſes poſſibly attendant on a rejection of it.

When the wild phrenzy of the times ſubſides, I flatter myſelf I ſhall ſhare the mite of applauſe, in common with my fellow-laborers in this cauſe, for our affectionate addreſſes to our Countrymen on the momentous ſubject of an Union. Let the voice of unbiaſſed reaſon be heard, and by her deciſion alone let us be determined in all our deliberations. Let me not be taxed with the introduction of ex-

traneous matter, until we reflect that the coalition which we are contemplating comprehends a multiplicity of intereſting circumſtances. Should it not bear the aſpect of methodiſtical ſermonizing, I would remark that our paſſage through life is tranſitory, and rugged at the beſt. Is it not, then, inexcuſably imprudent, nay, is it not unfeelingly cruel, in us inconſiſtently to augment the vexations which we cannot avoid, and plant thorns in our narrow path, which muſt inflict anguiſh upon others, as well as ourſelves?

FINIS.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas