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THE
PROBABILITY, CAUSES, AND
CONSEQUENCES
OF AN
UNION
BETWEEN
GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND,
DISCUSSED:
WITH STRICTURES ON AN
ANONYMOUS PAMPHLET,
IN FAVOUR OF THE MEASURE,
SUPPOSED TO BE WRITTEN BY A GENTLEMAN
HIGH IN OFFICE.

BY THE REV. DENNIS TAAFFE,

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY J. HILL, 51, ABBEY-STREET. 1798.

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THE
PROBABILITY, CAUSES, AND
CONSEQUENCES
OF AN
UNION, &c.

AMIDST the disgrace and ruin brought upon us by the late unfortunate events; by the intolerant pride and avarice of short-sighted monopoly on one hand, holding in its greedy grasp the exclusive management of a mutilated constitution, as an engine of exclusive dominion and spoil; and the intemperate zeal and ambition of those who sought reform, and through reform looked for equal freedom, union, national government, and the general prosperity of all, without distinction of sect; attainable, as they supposed, through the medium of a virtuous independent legislature, representing the entire nation. Amidst the general mourning and desolation that sadden our plains, the cries of destitute widows and orphans, the bleeding recollection of the most horrible cruelties and atrocious crimes, plunder, massacre, torture, fanaticism, and all the furies recorded in fable or history; amid the grief, terror, and anxiety that benumb the

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heart, and palsy the intellectual powers; the dependency of the good, the dreadful licence of the wicked; the heart-burnings and deadly animosity that rankle in the breasts of men smarting from recent injuries, and breathing nothing but revenge, even to extermination; while all freedom of enquiry, whether by speech or writing, is treated as treason, and struck dumb by the terrors of martial law and military execution; it may be deemed rash to come forward with any political opinion, at a period so inauspicious to truth and justice. It may be deemed an hopeless task to awaken the public mind to national concerns.

Amid the general disinclination that assumes the appearance of apathy, I for one am ready to acknowledge, that I do not despise existence, destitute as it is of most those circumstances that render it desirable, and beguile the burthen of life. The alluring prospects that fascinate youthful ambition, the gay, the charming delusions that give an interest to the most trivial objects of desire, that enliven the spirits, and fire the fancy, on our entrance in the career of human affairs, are fled indeed. I can no longer cherish life for the sake of any selfish plan of individual happiness; one strong motive survives, the desire of promoting the happiness of my kind, and of doing something useful in my day. Have I performed my*task? or is my death likely to prove more beneficial to mankind, than my further continuance in existence? I trust, in that case, the trying hour shall find me cheerfully resigned to the stroke. I was not made to cringe and fawn to ruffian power, for the wretched purpose of obtaining a permit to live at the expence of truth, and the duty I owe my countr and mau-

kind; and most of all, to tyrants and their accomplices, for surely none stand so much in need of the wholesome admonitions of truth, as the deluded victims of passion and injustice, who hate her most.

It is a duty incumbent on us to minister to the wants of our fellow-creatures, most especially their moral wants. When the word Tyrant is mentioned, some persons are apt to confine its meaning exclusively to the abuse of established authority. That however is a gross mistake. Coercion exercised on others by any force, in the place of argument or persuasion, comes properly under that denomination. The pike of the insurgent may be as much in the service of tyranny, as the bayonet of the mercenary. Force in any shape is a very improper instrument of conviction; it may put a temporary restraint on the external man, but the hostile mind still remains. Every purpose that is honest will be best promoted by amicable discussion, from whose mild beams no men or measures can shrink, without pleading guilty by the very fact.

Away with the rage and folly of faction, its criminal excesses, its brutal unmanly triumphs in the disgrace and ruin of our country. Had the men of blood a particle of intellect; did any thing humane, or civilized, or patriotic enter into their composition, they would bewail, with tears of blood, the calamities they have inflicted on themselves, as well as on their supposed enemies, and the undefinable evils they have prepared for our common posterity. They have acted in the very manner their worst enemies could wish. What spectacle would the enemy of Ireland wish to be-

bo'd that he has not seen? Irishmen divided into hostile factions, tearing the bowels of their country, cutting each other's throats, and firing each other's habitations! Whoever stimulates them to mutual strife and ruin, must expect to make them both a prey; their divisions will facilitate such an enterprize, and they will speedily reap the fruits of their wickedness and folly, in the loss of that constitution which they preconized and abused; and in the irrevocable doom of provincial servitude, one party invite a French invasion, the other invite a British invasion. The latter have succeeded, and will no doubt keep what they have conquered. It were a silly dream to imagine that British arms effected the conquest of Ireland for the benefit of Orange-men; that blood was shed, and English treasure wasted, out of pure good will for Irish protestants.

The British cabinet laughs at our party distinctions; while it openly professes to cherish that party which promotes its views, it can see no other merit in it than its subserviency. 'Tis not as Irishmen, surely, that they can flatter themselves to possess the partial favour of Englishmen. On what occasion then? As protestants. Oh! silly bigots! How little do you comprehend the expanded views of the illuminated minister. He can league himself just as cordially with emigrant papist priests, with popish Austria, and inquisitorial bigot Spain, to advance his own schemes; he would league himself with the Turk, Jew, Pagan, or even the devil himself, for the same end.

When all Ireland was catholic, expedients were found to create and keep alive a British faction. was If it all protestant now, some new contrivance

would not be wanting, some paltry ridiculous distinction, to answer the purpose of dividing the people, and forming a faction sold to foreign interest, and hostile to the soil. Or suppose the protestants formed the great majority of Irishmen, and felt it their greatest interest to support the independence and prosperity of the country; and that the catholic minority were as eager to become the tools of British supremacy as the protestant now is, they would meet with the same kind of favour, encouragement, and reward, as the misnamed ascendancy now receives; they would, like the present pot-walloping dogs, be permitted to lick the crumbs that fell from the table of British supremacy.

Irishmen, you have sealed your own doom. The moment you appealed to foreign powers, and invoked the interposition of foreign force in your domestic disputes, you have proclaimed your inability to govern yourselves; you have renounced your independence, your autonomia or self-legislation, so dearly purchased. You became the vassal of that power which has *protected* you against each other, and thus you verify the old proverb, "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Numberless are the instances on record of this truth; Poland and Ireland stand last on the list. Ascendancy or Orange, whichever name you like best, your unwearied efforts shall be crowned with their merited reward. The blessings you refused to share, and which by sharing you would encrease an hundred fold, are about to elude your selfish gripe. Your little pride, with your little delegated tyranny, and division of spoil, are at the last gasp, for an UNION with Britain now occupies the attention of the British cabinet!

This measure has long been in contemplation, Now that we are on the eve of seeing it realized, we stand amazed! affect to look on the report as unworthy of belief, and scarcely allow ourselves to discuss the probability or consequences of such an event. This conduct is stupid. We should prepare ourselves for the approaching crisis, and make up our minds as to the conduct we should hold; whether to approve or condemn, to support or oppose the measure.

To that end I beg leave to offer what has occurred to me on the subject, stating the arguments on each side of the question with as much impartiality as I am capable of. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall divide the subject under the following heads:

- 1st. Is the union of legislatures practicable or probable at this day?
- 2d. Is it likely to prove beneficial to this country or otherwise?

The first proposition naturally resolves itself into the two following:

- 1st. Has the British minister the means of accomplishing it?
- 2d. Does it appear desirable in his eyes?

As to the first question of the second division, it is easily solved. His ability to accomplish it is indisputable. With large English armies in the heart of our country, and more ready to follow in case of need, yet he finds his surest resource in our own divisions! Such is the miserable state to which these fatal feuds have reduced us, that we can oppose no effectual resistance to any measure, however inimical to our prosperity. It remains then to examine, whether the measure in question shall appear a good one. Mr. Pitt would not hesitate to

answer in the affirmative. Let us sketch the reasons he would probably urge in defence of it.

“ In her present situation Ireland cannot be suffered to remain. What is she at the present hour? A mere burthen on us; instead of contributing her contingent towards this most expensive and just war in support of established governments, she drains us of men and money; her distractions alarm and agitate us; they depress our funds, and encourage the hopes of our vigilant enemy, by presenting him with a vulnerable part, in which the empire may be assailed with success. The reputation of our government has suffered in the eyes of Europe, by reason of the atrocities perpetrated there in its name. My conscience acquits me of any participation in the foul deeds. If I call on our party there for support, I do not invite them to be brutal. I commanded no rapes, or robberies, or tortures, nor burning of houses, nor massacres of unconvicted felons. If I ordered them to subdue and suppress, I did not require of them to exterminate, and that with the most horrible circumstances of diabolical cruelty and base-hearted villainy. I issued no orders to assassinate every one they met, whether innocent or guilty, if not possessed of the private signals of Orangism.

“ This mass of evil, physical and moral, that affect so essentially the honour and prosperity of the empire, might, for the present, be consigned to oblivion, and your present system of Irish government be endured, did not the well founded apprehension of the future recurrence of similar disorders forbid it. [He is supposed here discussing the question with the self-appointed Irish agents.] If the past furnish any criterion to judge of the future,

[or]

we have no great prospect of deriving benefit from the present terms of our connection. What is your history since the first establishment of it, but a gazette of the wars, massacres, and devastations occasioned by encroachment on the one hand, and resistance on the other? Whatever be the causes of this misfortune, they have operated hitherto unceasingly. The causes must be sought for either in the natural and incurable depravity of the Irish, or in the unfavourable circumstances in which they were placed. Incredible as it must seem to a reflecting and dispassionate judge, many have been the utterers of the former alternative; absurd, almost blasphemous calumny, equally disgraceful to the heart that would conceive, and the head that could give utterance. Were that the case, they must be left to themselves or exterminated!

“ But no. Human nature is every where much alike; susceptible of every impression, good or ill; of almost any degree of refinement or barbarity, virtue or vice. Civilization has made the tour of the world, and nations have had their vicissitudes, of civilization and science, of ignorance and barbarity. Our ancestors, the painted Britons, were on a level with the Pagans of the present day; while Egypt, Chaldea, Greece, &c. possessed arts and sciences. Now that Britain excels in all these accomplishments, what are the descendants of the above mentioned renowned nations? Even Ireland has had her period of learning and civilization! in a word, mankind are what the civil and religious institutions of the world have made them; together with influence of soil, climate, and geographical position.

“ Having thus, as I think, cleared the Irish

character from the malevolent aspersions even of many Irish writers, over-zealous to defend ruling measures at the expence of national character, I am free to fix the entire blame of those calamities that consume you and injure us, on the defects in your political system. You must have an ascendancy, as the price of supporting our supremacy. And what is that ascendancy? A monopoly of all power, honour, public offices, and the emoluments flowing from thence; the power of ruling and taxing the nation at pleasure, and the produce of the whole public revenue, levied upon the people at large, distributed in the shape of salaries and pensions among yourselves and partizans.

“ Really your vaunted loyalty to the connexion is purchased at an enormous price; it is a mercenary and miserable thing. It is time to consider, whether the services you have performed deserve to be requited in this prodigal manner. You may boast indeed of being the most able architects of discontent and confusion in the king’s dominions. The tyrannical and insulting manner in which you treated the just claims of the Irish, after their expectations were raised on the seemingly strong ground of royal bounty, and their evident expediency and justice spread general discontent, the violent measures of coercion and oppression to which you resorted, contrary to all law and right, in order to smother complaint, and stifle the communication of opinion, encreased the ferment. A banditti of exterminators long paraded through the North in the most public manner, to the terror and dismay of his majesty’s peaceable subjects, exercising with entire impunity every species of cruelty and rapine on the defenceless catholics of Ul-

ster; all applications to the Castle for redress or protection were fruitless; and this mischief was tolerated for years, to the utter ruin of thousands, and therefore not absurdly supposed to have the secret support and countenance of g——.

“ The catholic peasantry of Ireland finding no protection in the laws of the land, combined in their own defence, and thus two hostile associations overspread the kingdom; hence the facility with which republican principles have been propagated. Long might united Irishmen preach republicanism in vain to a nation deeply prepossessed with prejudices of the most inveterate kind, in favour of monarchy and hierarchy in their most despotic shape, if insult and persecution had not prepared their minds for innovation; if Jacobins harangued and wrote, it was g—— procured for them a partial and favourable audience. Thus republicanism, from being confined to a few speculative men, through the crimes of a—— became the political creed of the nation.

“ The secret committee pretends to have done wonders, by relating the technical forms of the organization, and a sketch of the proceedings, with songs and symbols, &c. All this was matter of course, expected by those who laid the foundation thereof. They modestly forgot how much the union was indebted to their own labours for its formation and extension. A discerning public will not suffer their modesty to detract from their just praise; it sees with regret, that the compilation is incomplete, until the history of two or three preceding sessions of parliament, the exploits of Orange, and other military and civil agents are added by way of preface.

“ Ascendancy prepared disasters for Ireland, and brought the empire into a situation full of danger and difficulty; and this return they make for the liberal concessions of England, which made their parliament nominally independent, but in reality only increased the wages of the party, by bringing home, as they term it, all the great offices of state, and creating a vast and novel patronage. Your pretensions to retain this system, at a time its incompetency has been proved to the world, are no less absurd than unjust; it is absurd to pretend to legislative independence, while you depend on our treasure and armies for your very existence. It is unjust you should enjoy the increased emoluments and honours flowing from that independence which you do not deserve, because you cannot maintain them.

“ True, you have not been as yet overthrown; but how would ye have fared if left to yourselves? It would be better policy, not to have provoked the conflict. What language do you hold at present? You tell the Commons of Great Britain, you must support us with your money and men, and yet you must not pretend to direct our councils; we must enjoy legislative independence. What kind of an Irish bull! independent dependance! As well might the senator pretend to independence, who lives by the price of his votes. When the claim of independence was first urged, we understood its merits; it was backed by a PATRIOT army of unbought and free citizens, who secured internal tranquillity more by the respect and gratitude their patriotism inspired, than by the application of the bayonet. Your country was then strong in the union of its inhabitants, happy at home, and

respected abroad ; secure against invasion. Your government, while pursuing the career of patriotism, appeared every way equal to its functions ; it did not come whining to us for support, and complaining of the sedition and treason of the people. With reversed fortune, it becomes you to alter your language, and lower your pretensions. You tell the people of Ireland support a constitution, from a participation of whose rights and benefits you are excluded ; support the monopoly which crushes, degrades you, and makes you aliens on your native soil ; support that which makes contempt, slavery, and beggary your inheritance ; support that which brands you as unworthy to share the benefits of civilized society ; and which, by stripping you of every degree of political consequence, gives you as many tyrants as there are members of the privileged cast.

“ This is the hydra of great and petty tyrants, that claims your loyalty to its foul usurpations, and deprives you of all sort of influence that might secure you from oppression, and make it the interest of men in, or aspiring to power, to treat you individually or collectively with respect. Men in a free constitution are secure from oppression, thro’ the interest their fellow-citizens are likely to feel for their concerns, and this sympathy must result from some common interest, as the community of rights ; common rights producing a common disposition to support those rights, or favour conferrable by the exercise of such rights, as voting, pleading, &c. Thus in a well regulated system of freedom there is a chain of mutual dependance from top to bottom, that connects all the parts by the ties of mutual interest, and prevents the least from

being treated with neglect, or oppressed by the greatest; the king is obliged to court the commons, those in their turn are obliged to court the people. If any freeman of the latter description is injured, he has the sympathy of his own order, and the ambition and desire of popularity prevalent among the higher to protect him. But the unfortunates who suffer civil excommunication from the pale of these privileges, are subject to insult and oppression from all quarters; they are the helots, doomed to toil, torture, or death, at the pleasure of their task-masters. It is not merely by comparison with the happier lot of their neighbour, that they must feel their slavery embittered, it is really aggravated by additional, and very substantial hardships, over and above what are incident to the subjects of an absolute monarchy. Under an absolute and enlightened monarch, the aristocracy is not allowed to crush the laborious classes to such a degree, as would preclude them from the necessities and comforts of life. Whatever advantage may fall to the lot of the industrious, is open alike to all. But with you every non-freeman feels himself pressed by an aristocracy, or privileged cast of his own trade and profession; and from some professions, or at least their higher honours, he is entirely excluded.

“ There is a gradation of aristocracies branching from the throne to the forty-shilling freeholder, squeezing him like the folds of the hydra, and crushing him to the earth. If masters there must be, as Homer says, better have one than many :

Οὐκ ἀγαθὴ πολυκοιρανία εἰς κοίρανος ἕστιν,

With all these wrongs weighing them down, while you conceded a little, and left them room to hope for more in time, they supported you cheerfully; then you called for free trade and independence, and you got it. England reaped this advantage from your union, as some compensation for them concessions, that she was not obliged to protect you either by sea or land; but on the contrary, received considerable aid from Ireland both in men and money. What on the other hand is the fruit of your present system, as impolitic as it is inhuman? Your weakness compels you to lean on England for support, and thus you contribute to paralyze her efforts, engaged as she is in a most arduous struggle. Your haughty and insulting denunciation of eternal opposition to just claims, provoked general discontent, conveyed in language opprobrious and unmannerly; your measures of coercive violence, and organized banditti of exterminators and plunderers, fanned the flame into a civil war.

“ Can it appear wonderful, if men thus goaded beyond the bounds of human bearing, should retaliate and commit excesses? They had not the nature or feelings of man if they did not. Under its present circumstances, you cannot guarantee the tranquillity of your injured country for a single twelvemonth, nor your own existence as a government, without powerful support from hence. During some future, if not the present French war, you are liable to be overthrown, and by your overthrow to bring great calamity on us all. Your system is burthensome for the present, replete with mischief and disgrace, and pregnant with the seeds of future destruction. Two other modes remain to be tried, a reform or an union.

“ Since my entrance into office, I had always strong objections to reform, because I began to view things in a new light; but more than ever since the French revolution. I now think that a reform would only give the republicans a purchase, that would enable them to overthrow the constitution. So much for reform in general. As to a reform in Ireland, it would be attended with the further inconvenience of leading to the separation of the two countries. Perhaps alarming as such an event might seem to some people, it would be better for England than your present condition. Some politicians are wont to frighten themselves with the consequences of Irish independence; they dread much from the commercial rivalry of that favoured country, possessing the full command of its natural resources, and having expatiated on the fertility of her soil, the goodness of her climate, her numerous bays, harbours, and rivers, her mines, population, cheapness of labour and provisions; they ask, how could England support the competition? These are the idle fears of shallow or interested men. Her wealth and luxury would put an end to relative cheapness, and make her the better market for our commodities.

“ Our rivals the French are, in time of peace, our best customers, precisely because they are, after Britain, the wealthiest nation in Europe. Even a connexion of reciprocal interest would cement the sister islands, in a manner more beneficial to both than the present. Ireland would then feel herself interested to preserve England from being over-run by the arms of France, on the principles of self-preservation, and the efforts of a people become wealthy and powerful, and acting on a

conviction of justice and necessity would be more formidable. The union of nations connected by the strong ties of mutual interest has proved lasting and beneficial to both parties.

“ But let us, for the present, dismiss these views of the subject, and consider the only remaining alternative, viz. an incorporation with Great Britain, and weigh the probable consequences. At a moment when the great states of Europe are already overgrown in power and territory, it is not for Great Britain to sit down supinely, and suffer the dismemberment of her empire; 'tis rather her policy to incorporate more intimately the circumjacent, and, as it were, the domestic members thereof, by drawing closer the ties that unite them; this will enable her to protect distant settlements, and invigorate public credit, by giving additional securities to the public creditor. It will occasion an influx of wealth into England by the concurrence of rich proprietors, who will resort hither in crowds from your side the water, as the great mart of ambition, elegance, business, and pleasure. Finally, it will form an additional barrier against the dangerous spirit of innovation, by throwing an hundred additional members into both houses, entirely devoted to the minister of the day, which will enable me to apply the redundancy of influence not wanted for the service of the current year, to the formation of a sinking fund of patronage, towards purchasing the remaining Jacobinical parts of the constitution. Ireland, subject to military government, will become a convenient barrack to awe the spirit of Jacobinism in this country, in case it attempts any thing; for these reasons, both government and people will cheerfully accept the union.

“ As for the consequences likely to result to Ireland from the measure, that you must acknowledge is matter of very secondary consideration, since that conquered country ought, in all reason, exist solely for our benefit. Let her enjoy her religious quarrels, the sanguinary rage of her factions. What more would she have? Does she not possess Orangemen, and defenders, and rebels, and loyalists, protestants, papists, presbyterians, swadlers, &c. &c. Are not all these indulged in the comfortable satisfaction of cutting each other's throats for the love of God, and the virgin Mary, and her sister Biddy, or for church or king, as they like best? How unreasonable to grumble after such concessions! with her hands full of such salutary works, your people can never feel the want of employment. The superabundant hands that may be spared from the martial and honourable sport of murder, man-hunting, and ravishing, may attend the flocks that fatten for the English market. We shall have no objection to fill the ranks of our fleets and armies with them. I do not prohibit our manufacturers and capitalists from settling among you, if they chuse to trust their lives and fortunes among the wild Irish. Your farmers shall have to deal only with agents, stewards, and middlemen, instead of the proprietors, which must redound very much to their satisfaction, as they have long experienced the lenity of the former description of masters.”

Here ended the consoling logic of Thaumoturgus. To which John Paddy, speaker, replied in the following manner:

“ And is it thus you reward your faithful servants, the loyal ascendancy or orangemen? Is it for this we risked our lives and fortunes, and in fact shed

our blood and squandered our properties? For you, ungrateful England, we have oppressed our country, deluged it with the blood of its inhabitants, overrun it with fire and sword for your interest, and to gratify your hereditary hatred to the Irish name and nation, we have rekindled the decaying spirit of bigotry. Wherefore have we armed neighbour against neighbour, friend against friend, relative against relative, with rage unparalleled, and put arms into their hands to assassinate, and burn, every plebeian uninitiated; to ravish their wives and daughters, burn their houses, &c. Wherefore have we ransacked the English language for epithets of reproach and contumely, to rouse an irritable people to excesses, and when they did not answer the wished-for purpose, did we not resort to acts of legislative despotism, which proving inadequate, we adopted the decisive measure, by ordering military execution on the people? Oh! ungrateful John Bull! have we not always acted as your faithful garrison, retaining Ireland in your chains for your profit, enabling you to deprive it of trade, manufactures, and national government; to turn it into a draw farm for the supply of your navy and your markets; to drain it of men and money at your good pleasure? Have we not faithfully and assiduously co-operated with you, in devising such laws as might reduce them to a state of poverty, barbarity and ignorance, by depriving them of the means of industry, and rendering its acquisitions insecure, by closing against them the avenues of education, of preferment and wealth? Could you contrive more effectually to accomplish this, than by the suppression of printing and instruction in the national language? well knowing that before a whole peo-

ple can master a strange idiom, and renounce their vernacular tongue, many generations must pass away, during which interval, the want of books and instruction must reduce them to complete ignorance. For the same laudable end, we suppressed their colleges, and made it penal for them to study abroad. Further, lest by any clandestine means they should labour to reach the prohibited fruit of knowledge, we strengthened our forementioned provisions, with incapacitating statutes, disqualifying for the exercise of the professions, in which learning and ability are displayed to advantage; thus cutting off every motive that can stimulate industry, or conduct men to eminence in the career of literature and science.

“Do we deserve no credit for those ingenious methods of barbarizing mankind, unparalleled in the annals of the world? All this we have achieved for your sake, that you might the more easily retain them in bondage, fleece and oppress them with impunity; for you know that knowledge is power, and ignorance is impotence. If Ireland be this day your foot-stool (to use a scripture phrase) your piss-pot, or whatever else you chuse to make it; if you may safely treat its inhabitants as the vilest of slaves, whip them like dogs, shoot, or hang, or bastile, or condemn them to the gallies, agreeably to your good pleasure, to our labours you stand indebted for this eminent gratification!

“Oh! were that despised people enlightened and united, nor you, nor any power on earth could tread them down on their native soil with impunity. Without us, and our forefathers of glorious memory, their commerce would vie with your own. I appeal to your own writers on commerce for the

truth of this assertion. Her fleets and armies would make her formidable; witness her natural advantages of every kind. She would now, as formerly, be foremost in science. Arduous indeed was the task of extirpating literature entirely from among them, for the very lowest and poorest of the wretches have a strange hankering after learning, not to be found among the same description any where else; and, what is scarce less alarming, they have a singular capacity too for scientific pursuit. To pick up a little learning, there is no hardship to which they will not submit, nakedness, hunger, and toil.

“ Is Ireland this day a prey to bigot fury, fan-guinary politics, and religious faction? It is ascendancy challenges the men of lighting up the torch of discord. After having prepared the elements of confusion and civil strife, by an elaborate well connected system of persecuting statutes and oppression, religious bigotry, the sure and ready instrument of civil disunion, would ere now, have been extinguished, but for the fostering care of intolerance, which plied it constantly with its proper food, ignorance and hatred. Persecution sours the mind, provokes resentment and violent aversion to the opinions and persons of the persecutors, and disqualifies it for dispassionate enquiry. Opinions pretended to be enforced in that unwarrantable manner, have no chance of a fair hearing, or impartial examination, while ignorance renders the investigation nearly impossible; the sufferers are prompted naturally enough to reject the instruction that comes accompanied with malice and oppression, because the interest of truth and virtue cannot inspire the injustice which they condemn.

“ Thus placed in the hostile relation of Tyrant

and Slave, of persecutor and persecuted, one side claiming a monopoly of the good things of this world in favour of their state religion ; the other arrogating to themselves the exclusive enjoyment of the kingdom come, as the reward of their present misery. A coalition durable as sincere between parties thus inflamed against one another, by the conflict of intolerance, and the conflict of interests, is not to be apprehended. For these and nameless other services, you now propose to requite us, by robbing us of our expected rewards, just as we were proceeding to entail on ourselves and posterity the offices, honours, and emoluments of church and state, to the exclusion of such even of the favoured sect as had opposed our measures, at any time, through the monopoly of parliamentary representation. What becomes of your honour and plighted faith, never to forsake us while we supported you ? Alas ! the Punic faith is revived once more ! What ! take from us that constitution, provided by the wisdom of our ancestors, for the accommodation of you and us, at the expence of the wild Irish ! ah ! if you feel no concern for the dismay and despair that would attend the disappointment of so many mercenaries, claiming the rewards justly due to their exertions against their country, in behalf of your supremacy, in hopes of finding their private account therein ; at least ponder on the mischiefs that may result to yourself and to Britain, from so rash and ungrateful a proceeding, your staunch and zealous blood hounds, may be driven by resentment, into an alliance with patriot rebels ; for, let me tell you, Sir, oh sure I need not inform you, that the men of our phalanx, however they may degrade themselves by cruelty and

treachery, they will not passively bear to be despoiled of the wages of prostitution and barbarity. Great crimes are seldom committed without great prospects of advantage. Men do not submit to lasting infamy for nothing. Traitors to their country, informers, spies, butchers of their fellow-citizens, ravishers of female honour, &c. stifle remorse, which the feelings of nature awaken even in them, by the powerful allurements of pleasure and gain. Minister to their passions and their vices; they will worship you in return; there is no crime so abominable they will not deliberately plunge into; command them to scalp or devour the corpses of those they murdered, to erect pyramids of skulls, &c. you shall be surprized at the alacrity of their obedience, provided the reward lag not behind. There have been instances of their biting the palpitating hearts of the slain, and exclaiming while they devoured the cannibal repast, *No food so sweet as the heart of a rebel.*

“ But should they be cheated of their hire, none so untractable or vindictive; spite would make them patriots; Ireland would become free, and alas! soon rival the prosperity of opulent Carthage; you would never again find in that country any party so entirely adapted for instruments of your crushing and dividing policy; accustomed to tamper with conscience, which they sacrifice at the shrine of ambition and lucre, they are proof against its admonitions. They have learned, in the corrupting traffic of boroughs, corporations, parliament and law, to leave the pedantic rules of morality, to guide low grovelling mortals unversed in state affairs.

“ There are, indeed, others of more rigid prin-

ciples, good protestants, staunch loyalists, ripe enough for any mischief, for the *love of God*, and the good of their souls. These may be retained at a trifling expence. But for the others, the designing and selfish partizans, who are not to be stimulated by empty sounds, but calculate the profits of their crimes——(Here a gentleman present at the debate interposed)—“ Come, come, Mr. Irishman, no independence, no republics; king, king, for ever; king is needful thing; king is God’s vicar, Lord’s anointed; anointed, do you see; bishop pour oil upon his head; Irish wicked; very wicked; what! what! have no king! compose, imagine king’s death! force and arms! foolish Irish! Irish without king! no bishop! no soul goes to heaven! he, he! no grass grow, no corn; he! no meat or drink! all lost; every thing dear, he! English people very good; fine, fine people; keep the kings upon the thrones; pay the great taxes; every guinea to the last, for the king, that make them all live; must hang the Irish! hang ’em up! he, he! English fight for king; pay for king: pray for king; sing God save king; love king in their hearts; worship king. Americans good boys again; fight for king. What! what! lose Ireland! no, no, must not lose Ireland; there we have fine fat cows, great big cows; and clever bulls, Irish bulls! he, he! what say you, Pitt?

Hereupon the vizier addressing himself to the ascendancy chief, “ You, and your friends, and whoever else cannot safely be treated with neglect, shall be provided for; as for the rabble of your party, we may safely leave them to the management of their clergy, who will work them up to our purposes, by plying their ante-popish zeal with

caustic doses of controversial invective." The bargain struck; the cabinet broke up; and poor Ireland is lost for ever!

It is then the duped ascendancy bigots, will have cause to lament their fatal mistake, when they suffered themselves to be hallooed like blood-hounds, to worry their fellow-citizens, and crush the patriot spirit, for the gratification and benefit of their designing leaders, who now dispose of them like so many head of cattle. In the articles of compensation for bartering away irrecoverably the rights and prosperity of the country, they are forgotten, and left to share its ruin and poverty, since they would not its greatness and independence.

Orangemen, take a prospective view of the blessings you have prepared for yourselves and your children. The proprietary of the kingdom gone to reside in England, to attend the business in parliament, the court, &c. All who aspire to the career of ambition and honour, or the pleasures of elegant and rational society, or the amusement of a great court and capital; emigration will become the tone; and it will be quite unfashionable, odious, to reside in Ireland; enough to give a fine bred lady the vapours. The vulgar provincialism of Irish airs, accent, &c. &c. will be avoided like the plague; to escape the slightest taint, or even suspicion of it become an important concern; a permanent residence in London or Bath will be the indispensable with every squire and squire's who can afford it.

On the other hand, a beggared, deserted province can have no inducements to retain the opulent, and such as cannot afford the expence of that fashionable country, will send their children thi-

ther for education, or rather send their wives thi-
 ther to be delivered, that their offspring may avoid
 the disgrace of being born here, and educated
 quite free from any Irish impressions; untainted
 with the candour, affability, and hospitality that
 distinguished that degenerate people; but trained
 up in the genteelst prejudices against every thing
 Irish, he will be early taught to treat the country
 of his fathers with injustice and contempt. Thus
 almost the whole rental of the kingdom will be
 spent in foreign parts, to enrich pampered Eng-
 land; trade and the arts, deprived of their custo-
 mers, must follow; the capital will fall into ruin;
 agriculture will dwindle, &c. Population must waste
 away, and resign the soil to bullocks and sheep.
 The vast sums laid out in improving the capital,
 and its vicinity, in the construction of canals, quays,
 bridges, roads, the melioration of harbours, ri-
 vers; in the encouragement of agriculture, arts,
 fisheries; in the endowment of colleges, schools,
 hospitals, &c. is all lost! expended in vain! all
 will become next to useless. The halls of the uni-
 versity and the four courts will be silent; the bud-
 ding gems of science and genius will droop and
 die, and the future state of Dublin may be com-
 pared to the ruin of Babylon, as predicted by Isa-
 iah. " At Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the
 " beauty of the Chaldee excellency, shall be as
 " when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah;
 " it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be
 " dwelt in from generation to generation; but wild
 " beasts of the desert shall lie there, and there
 " houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls
 " shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there,
 " and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in

“ their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, &c.”

An expectation will be raised, that English capital and manufactures will find their way hither, enticed by the cheapness of provision and labour.

Very improbable indeed. There are far more powerful inducements to retain them at the other side; the vicinity of the great emporium of the world; the fountain of credit, trade, &c. &c. The mutual dependance and subserviency of all the arts and manufactures, each ministering to and borrowing from each, or necessary instruments, or useful hints, or ready circulation, &c. &c.

The manufacturer derives immense advantages from the co-operation of all the parts that form the complex and stupendous fabric of English trade, capital and credit, which a man of known probity and ability may command almost to any amount; abundance of expert hands, and ingenious heads, the utensils, machinery, processes, &c. employed in high perfection, expeditious, cheap, and every day receiving new improvements; the habit of industry, sobriety and punctuality, prevalent among the laborious description; the general spirit of enterprize and commercial speculation, that turns every thing to account: these advantages more than counterbalance the difference in the price of labour and provision, and enable the London or Birmingham manufacturer to undersell the German or Russian. Any branch exiled into Ireland, would suffer more by its separation from the living body, and vital circulation, and harmonious co-operation of all the co-members, the coefficient parts that constitute the integral frame of a flourishing commerce, than the

trifling difference in the price of provision could possibly compensate.

Great indeed must be the local temptations that could prevail on that calculating description, to renounce the vantage ground of their position. What would provincial Ireland have to offer? An impoverished ragged population, with manners and habits not over-propitious to the commercial pursuits; obnoxious to the worst prejudices of Englishmen; a country however fertile, drained by the tributary rents of a host of absentees, and crushed by a full participation of English debts, and taxes, increased with her increasing inability to pay them; no home market; none of the co-operating trades, &c. &c. In the teeth of such discouragements, will English manufacturers come to reside among a people whom they have been taught to hate and despise from their infancy, and whom, when they are very liberal, they call *semibarbarous*; *destitute of industry, punctuality, and even honesty*, *Credat qui velit non ego*. You will, Irishmen, gain an inundation of taxes, and tax-gatherers. No more.

A P P E N D I X.

IT appeared eligible to delay publication, in order to notice an anonymous production in favour of Union, which common fame ascribes to the pen of a Gentleman high in office. The matter and manner are such as bespeak the well bred scholar; and the quarter from which it has issued, leaves no doubt of the project being far advanced, and authorizes us to consider said performance as the best defence the measure would admit, beside the *ultima ratio regum*, or the logic of canon law.

The Reader will find most of the arguments that bear directly on the subject anticipated in the foregoing pages. Admirable to think, that odious detestable thing called *Union*, is suddenly purified from all its unnatural foulness, by the regenerating breath of the English statesman. The union of Irishmen for Irish and national purposes, is loaded

with every opprobrious epithet that language of imagination could suggest; but the union of the same people with Britons, for the purpose of entailing everlasting thralldom on their country to the latest posterity, has, by that very circumstance, received the expiatory *absolvo te* of the cabinet, glittering in all the grace and gloss of its new birth. It is the very Panaceum for all our complaints. Spillsbury's drops contain not more virtues.

Happy Ireland! did you feel the honour and felicity relerred for you, in the close embraces of your friendly, humane, candid, liberal neighbour, John Bull! One blessing this writer ensures to you in his name, as the first fruit of your closer connexion; hear his own words: *There would be no danger of Ireland growing too powerful hereafter. Granted.* From the temptations of power and wealth we would be saved, by the kind provident care of our new masters. But then our *barbarous poor*, unpolished people would be refined, &c. by our intimacy with the elegant, agreeable, social, highly polished English! ! ! What strange tales we are destined to hear! Learn good breeding and politeness from the churlish, growling, and selfish race of Englishmen!

If it be a characteristic of good manners to treat all neighbouring nations with rude insolence, and foul mouthed contumely, there we might learn; we have had abundant specimens of those humane and polite English tutors, the ancient and modern Britons, Midlothians, Dunbartons, &c. &c. Their lessons will not be soon forgotten, for they have been written in our blood, by fire and sword, and all the rage of lust, and plunder, and military execution. May God preserve us hereafter from such

teachers of civilization, as Englishmen have invariably proved themselves here. To civilize the *wild Irish* meant, in their language, to plunder and exterminate them. In the polite accomplishments of boxing, swearing, gluttony, rudeness, unfeeling avarice, &c. they stand unrivalled. Take a specimen of their elegant conversation and stile: *Nay, damn my eyes. God damn my eyes, face and nose. I'll be damned if. God damn my bloody eyes, &c. &c. &c.* Such are the flowers which cocknified Irishmen may borrow to adorn our isle!

However, did England surpass the courtly complaisance of Italy, or the gay urbanity of polished France, that were no reason why we should surrender our national independence. We may borrow improvements from our neighbours, without becoming their servants. How would England relish the proposal of being made a province to France, on the frivolous pretext of the superior politeness of the latter?

We are told of the advantage of sending our children beyond the channel for education. If that be any mighty privilege, we may enjoy it without that fatal measure; it would, in that case, grow to an alarming nuisance, as stated in the foregoing pages. Trinity College might certainly abide the competition, as far as it depended on solid and extensive learning, &c. But the seat of power and legislation, the source of honours and preferments, the splendid theatre of ambition, eloquence, &c. fashionable society, amusements, &c. would draw most of our opulent families thither, and fix the education of youth of distinction exclusively there. The hundred frivolities to which the varying fashion of the hour annexes the importance of first rate

accomplishments, so indispensable for a young man, *du bel air*, would procure English education a decided preference; beside the convenience of living near their relatives, of forming and cultivating early connexions with the English youth of distinction, of hearing the great models of parliamentary and legal eloquence, &c. &c.

Then indeed might Oxford and Cambridge stile the University of Dublin *Our Silent Sister*. Well but we are to have Irishmen in the British cabinet, and of course the policy of the empire is to receive a direction favourable to this country. The author means Englishmen possessed of Irish estates. Such there are already, without procuring any material benefit for us. Families domesticated and resident in England from generation to generation, can be denominated Irishmen in no other sense than the above. There is one grand consolation still behind; the English are exceeding wealthy. So great is the redundancy of capital in that happy land, that they are at a loss for objects of speculation, in the whole wide range of universal commerce and war. Therefore, as they have more money than they know how to dispose of, they will charitably employ part in draining our bogs, and reclaiming our mountains. Good-natured souls! Like the *psurer* in Horace, they would scheme plans of rural improvement in December, and fly with their bags to 'Change-alley in January.

See the reasons previously adduced, to prove that English capital would not flow so copiously upon us as some would persuade. In fact the commercial enterprize of England will speculate on our raw materials, as heretofore; but they will have no additional inducements to form settlements, or

establish manufactures among us. For the same reasons they will be as ready to speculate on the produce of France, Spain, or Turkey, &c. Commercial avarice knows no principle of preference but self-interest.

To the arguments contained in the first part I would add, that a luxurious elegance prevails more and more in manufactures, calling forth the aid of Science and the fine arts; of chymistry, botany, painting, design, &c. A delicate attention to the nascent variations in fashion is necessary to their success; on which account the vicinity of the court and capital is a weighty consideration.

When Paddy got a free trade, it was confidently affirmed, that English capitals would be vested in manufactures here. These fond expectations proved delusive, as no doubt, in the present instance, they will, if people are silly enough to reckon on them. Is it likely that increase of taxes, of price of labour, &c. will add to the inducements of establishing? Here we touch on the grand benefit we may certainly expect to reap from the projected union: a bountiful dividend of the *moderate* taxes and debt of England; our full proportion of no less a sum than *five hundred million!* which, for aught we can see, may increase to a thousand millions before the conclusion of this necessary war, if public credit can last so long.

The supporter of union tells us, how desirable it would be for a young merchant, to be admitted to a share in the firm of a wealthy extensive trader. It might be so, if the firm were unincumbered, and the terms fair and reciprocal. But if the great trader were incumbered with debts beyond his ability, and the terms were the complete subjection

and dependance of his associate, I for one cannot see the policy of joining his moderate, but comparatively unincumbered estate, to the splendid bankruptcy of his haughty neighbour, on the dishonourable terms of vassalage, and menial servitude to himself and heirs for ever. Were the prospects of lucre less equivocal, still I would not advise the surrender of our independence, our birth-right, for a mess of pottage; but to sling away both honour and interest at a stroke, would be something worse than the Irish blundering bulls we are accused of. Honour cannot be separated from interest, it constitutes the out-works and rampart of every thing dear to the heart. In the language of Junius, "The feathers that adorn the royal bird, support him in his flight; strip him of his plumage, and you fix him to the earth." Once you have surrendered your palladium, with the citadel of your independent legislature, you are at the mercy of every British minister, fit objects for experimental essays in the articles of government, taxation, &c.

The terms of the connexion may be new modelled, as it may suit the caprice or convenience of your masters, without your consent. It may be said we have a strong pledge in the good faith of Englishmen: Let the violated treaty of Limerick stand the perpetual, but not solitary record of their *good faith*; let the commercial restraints, and other usurpations against the terms of our connexion answer.

On surrendering our staple, the woollen and other branches, they promised us a monopoly of the linen manufactures. How have they kept terms dictated by themselves? By encouraging this branch both in England and Scotland; by pur-

chasing immense quantities of Russian and German linens, &c. Nay, the very act of incorporating Ireland would amount to a breach of the public faith with Scotland, by destroying the proportional weight of its representatives in the legislature. Let keen-eyed Scotland look to that point.

A further advantage we are promised from the union, tranquillity and security of property. This seems plausible enough. It is taken for granted, that the factions here will be quiet when they have nothing to scramble for; when every object of ambition and emulation is removed far away. This is assuming the prophetic tone. Who can tell us what the consequence would be of public discontent repining at lost independence? We have seen two rebellions in Scotland since the union took place, which should compensate the loss of independence with perpetual tranquillity.

Prithee, is it from the rioters of Westminster, or Lord Gordon's protestant mob, the Irish are to imbibe the meek spirit of subordination to the laws? Most assuredly, England has not taught the nations the lesson of passive obedience and non-resistance; the spirit of independence which she formerly attempted to subdue in America, and now combats in France, is her own legitimate offspring; to their credit be it remembered, the English of yore would neither crouch to kings nor priests, regarding all such public officers, by whatever name decorated, as public servants, responsible for their ministry, and liable to be cashiered for misconduct, as they frequently were. So much for the spirit of meek obedience we are, it seems, to learn from a closer connexion with that mettlesome people. Here follows what the writer thinks a dexterous ar-

gument. In consequence of the union Ireland must rise to the level of English opulence, or England must sink to the level of Irish poverty; ergo, Ireland must become as rich as England. I deny the consequence. The disproportion between the two countries may happen to be increased, not diminished by the measure. Wales has not risen to the level of England, nor Jamaica, nor Barbadoes, nor the Isle of Man; and Old Sarum is a good deal behind London, notwithstanding the statistick levelling power of legislative unity.

Having exhausted his rhetoric on topics applicable to us as a nation, the writer descends to those minor interests that divide our factions; religious or political. On these particulars he dwells with the fervor and complacency natural to a man eager to carry his point; and conscious of the strong ground on which he stands, he addresses party feelings with a considerable degree of dexterity, well knowing that on their operation he must ultimately rely for the success of his scheme.

Sorry am I to confess, that on this ground he is a formidable opponent; not from the intrinsic evidence or force of his reasoning, but from the infatuation and unhappy temper of the times; disclaiming the inhuman motive of reviving and inflaming the recent animosities of party, yet he contrives to touch on all the subjects of strife that have divided and laid waste this unhappy country. I felt humbled when I perused that crafty appeal to those passions that disgrace, and must, if not checked, extinguish us as a nation. The people are degraded indeed, to whom such language and reasoning are applied; with the view of inducing them to abdicate their independence, and part

with the precious dear-bought privilege of legislating for, and taxing themselves; they are supposed the most infatuated bigots that ever disgraced the earth, incapable of bearing with each other, mutually bent on each other's destruction, and therefore incompetent to the functions of legislation, indeed unworthy of enjoying the least particle of freedom.

In the first part of this pamphlet, the causes that perpetuate the hostility of sects have been, I trust, elucidated to the satisfaction of any candid enquirer. It appeared that not difference of religion, but opposition to interest, immortalizes bigotry. That any general description of men, selected as objects of civil disfranchisement, penalties, and persecution, and marked out as objects of hatred and scorn, whether on account of any peculiarity of tenets, religious or political, or any distinguishing features, whether of colour, stature, &c, would by that very circumstance be embodied into an hostile cast, and the reaction of bigotry, direct and reflected, would preserve the seeds of hatred, until the cause be removed. Black men, and white men, and red men will answer the purposes of the old tyrannic policy, *divide & impera*, as well as religion. England and France, almost every state in Europe, have been at some period or another the theatres of religious factions; they have all in their turns been convulsed by the sanguinary fury of contending bigotry. This truly evil and irreligious spirit has either vanished, or been quelled in other countries; why may we not be permitted to hope for our own, the radical cause of all the mischief? The ascendancy of priests over the civil power has declined, and is declining; the extinction of both is retarded

among us solely by the arts of Britain. Oh! ill-natured selfish Britain! how long will you distract us by your base intrigues? How long will your unworthy policy arm sect against sect, friend against friend, neighbour against neighbour, in unnatural parricidal warfare? Will you never cease bribing one party with a pittance of the common spoil, to hold in shameful subjugation and ruinous restraint the other and more numerous portion?

The abettor of union asks, Why may not Britain, if she chuses, adopt the catholic instead of the protestant, as the instrument of her supremacy over Ireland? A very fair question. Pity he has not thought proper to solve it. It will not be advanced by any one in the least conversant with ministry, their opinions, or motives of conduct, that their religious prejudices determine the preference. No. They have associated with popish priests, emigrant and non-emigrant, with the pope and Turk, and would as cordially with his Satanic majesty, if he displayed *vigour* and *decision* in favour of the common cause. What then has entitled protestants to the disgraceful partiality of British policy, and qualified them to be the undoers of the land of their birth? I answer, the single circumstance of their being the minority; were they the majority, they would feel as a nation; for the honour and independence of their country, no paltry dividend of the spoils of an impoverished and enslaved country would prevail on them to sacrifice their rights, and forego their far more ample, honourable, and safe portion of the natural wealth and prosperity, which the bounteous nature of the soil, and its happy situation almost forces on them, in spite of the unwearied exertions of counteraction; they would

not miscalculate so egregiously as not to know, that the half of a pound is better than the whole of a shilling; and that a shilling honestly earned, is better than a pound obtained unjustly.

The artificial power of government, supported by the power of numbers, would command respect, and make it unsafe to attempt upon their dignity or interest. This explains why numbers and power, property and no property, must be opposed to each other. The selfish monopolizing nation is jealous of our natural advantages; she dreads our rising prosperity and greatness; the natural resources she cannot extinguish, she labours to render them useless to us, and that unworthy purpose she can accomplish only through our divisions.

Alas! cruel England! take away your nonsensical ascendancy, your unjust monopolies, your vile machinations; leave us to the cool and sober reflection of our judgments; then we shall have equal rights, equal laws, a common interest, and a common country. Those distinctions that are preserved, only because they furnish pretexts and objects of injustice, will gradually melt away, and be dissolved by the breath of reason and philanthropy; then Christianity will not be disgraced by the horrid excesses of its votaries; excesses that argue more against it than a thousand syllogisms; no good tree bringeth forth bad fruit, &c. Why should England dread the prosperity of Ireland? Would she not benefit more from its wealth than from its poverty? Is not her commercial intercourse productive in the ratio of the opulence of her customers? But she would apprehend rivalry, on collision of interest. Be just and fear not. Who thinketh no evil, suspecteth none. Rivalry within

the bounds of justice, is salutary to nations and individuals; why dread hostile collision? Has not Ireland a similar interest with Great Britain, to preserve the balance of power, and oppose the lawless aggrandizement of any given power? Her conduct might surely be trusted to the impulses of interest, duty, and good sense. Why not command the services of Irishmen through their feelings, their gratitude, their sense of propriety and honour? My countrymen, I trust, are not destitute of these exalted feelings, nor disqualified to listen to their nobler suggestions. The line of true policy is before you; it lies in the straight path of honesty, not in the windings of state treachery. Ministers however are too cunning to pursue the safe path of integrity; they must display vast ingenuity in governing by dexterous trick and subtle management; or indulge their despotic humours, by resorting to the clumsy and mischievous instrument of coercion. They love to govern by crooked means, and too much (let them not deceive themselves) sound policy can never be separated from strict honesty.

By the eternal decree of sovereign righteousness, iniquity never fails to defeat itself, and sooner or later reaps in disgrace and ruin what it has sown in malice and deceit. By the same adorable power it is ordained, that the instruments and objects of crime become, in their turn, and in due season, the instruments of punishment. He has read history to very little purpose, who has not seen these eternal truths displayed in the story of the nations, whose records have been transmitted to posterity.

But to return to our union. He has recourse to the state bugbears, about the insecurity of profes-

tant property lay and clerical, should the catholics succeed in their demands. His arguments amount to this. Nine-tenth of the property is in the hands of the protestants; the catholics are more numerous, therefore if the house of commons were thrown open to them, they would there have the majority, and —what and?—Will you guess, courteous reader? Why they will proceed immediately to strip themselves of their own property, for the great majority of such catholics as could pretend to the honour of a seat, derive from them very protestants, either by lease or purchase, their titles to their actual possessions. In favour of whom would they make this unprecedented sacrifice? Where is the rightful heir? Fion Mac Cuil, or Goll Mac Morna O'Nial, or Mac Cuirnay? We should enquire into the titles of the Milesians themselves; ancient as they were, the island was occupied before them. In all conscience, we should ascend to the preadamites! It is shameful to obtrude such exploded nonsense on the patience of the public. When the catholics formed the majority in as well as out of parliament, they attempted no such thing. When they had it very much in their power, and confiscations were recent, enormous, and in many instances flagitious robberies; the rightful owners were in great part then living; yet no intreaties on their part, no, not the tears, and ruin, and despair of so many respectable families of their communion, destroyed by Strafford of infamous memory, could induce them to oppose the royal authority, though so prostituted to their ruin; fearing from the republican temper of Britain, the constitution might be destroyed by their endeavours for redress; they perished in support

of the British constitution, as the Vendéans have done in our day, in support of their king. Is it probable those who did not avail themselves of their superior opulence, numbers, and majority in the legislature, to contest the recent titles to forfeited estates, that the same, I say, with nothing in their favour but numbers, should revive chimerical nonentities, to the unHINGING their own securities? But still farther, it is utterly impossible they can have a majority, nor even any thing approaching to an equal number in the legislature, unless it can be supposed, that one hundredth part of the national property can have more influence than the remaining ninety nine.

It is asserted by men of undoubted weight, that universal suffrage would not free us from undue influence at elections. In these transactions men are guided by their temporal, not spiritual interests. Farmers would generally vote for their landlords, and artizans for their employers, without minding their catechisms. I know of no shopkeeper who would bate a farthing in the price of his goods, in consideration of his customers religion. The less party distinctions are noticed by law and policy, the less will men be influenced by them in their dealings with each other. It is notorious, that the republicans would consider the concessions of the catholic emancipation and reform as the most complete defeat. Rightly judging the present constitution would be strengthened by the coalition of catholic and protestant interests. If they listened to republican doctrines, it was because their demands of incorporation was scouted with disdain, and the refusal accompanied with a denunciation of eternal opposition to future concessions. This proceeding

was not politic, because neither wise nor honest; they should have remembered, that in Pandora's box hope was left at the bottom. Heated by the contest, and by the spirit of the times, despairing of their rights through the constitution, they hearkened to these republican doctrines, which have no very natural alliance with their ecclesiastical institutions. It was not the society in Back-lane, but the society in College-green that gave the rapid impulse to the great majority of Irishmen towards democracy. The measures then rejected would still prove salutary; it is never too late to act rightly. But should it be given up as impracticable, I see no alternative but an union. It is proved that danger to the protestant interest is chimerical.

1st. Because the catholics have not the will, when they had the power, and the claimants were living, and the justice of the claims evident in numerous instances, and the assertion of those claims popular and plausible. They acquiesced in the transfer of property; and now, that all circumstances are reversed, and their power, even with a full participation of rights, but a fraction in the state, who but an idiot would apprehend any danger from their emancipation, with a protestant king and lords, and a majority in the commons, from the necessary influence of property, in the proportion of at least ten to one, and the probability that a catholic aristocracy would make common cause with their protestant colleagues and compeers, in preference to democracy of their own persuasion? If any such principle could survive the restoration of the constitution, as I am certain it could not, I can see no danger in emancipation and reform, but much cause of apprehension, in leaving the people

of Ireland discontented either with or without an union.

As for the danger to the church establishment, it cannot proceed from the catholics, as we have seen, it is only by protestants that it can be overturned. A modification of tithes, which is now held forth as a rider to the union, would, without such a measure satisfy the public on that head, and secure their livings to the clergy. The question, in that case, would rest entirely between the incumbent and the landlord; the interests of agriculture would not be affected; but let them look to the consequences of an union. What must diminish population, and the value of land, cannot add to the value of their livings.

As to the question of establishments, as necessary to the preservation of religion, the history of religion is the best solution. Christianity was propagated independent of secular rewards; it owes nothing to establishments, but abuses that have corrupted it. The dissenters and catholics, have subsisted without state alliance; why not the church of England? It is conferring very little honour on that true religion, to suppose it cannot be preached or believed, unless supported by temporal power, and large bribes to teachers and believers. What a frail banding must it be, not to endure the wholesome climate of equal justice, and impartial enquiry? No, it must be swathed in flannels; nursed by the state, kept very warm and comfortable in the soft lap of luxury; pampered with goodies; still the rickety creature keeps squalling, alarming the family, its life is always in danger. But it would be leaving religion to chance to deprive it of establishment. How long will man be more cun-

ning than his maker? He that framed human nature, knew how to adapt his revelation to its wants and capacities; and trusted to its native beauty, simplicity, internal evidence, and powerful appeals to the best feelings of our nature, for its efficacy and undecaying virtue. Surely this was not throwing it abroad like a destitute orphan, deriving a precarious existence from casualty. A religion of human invention, must depend upon human policy for its short-lived existence. Every plant that my heavenly father hath not planted shall be rooted out. The repeal of the test act is maintained as another inconvenience attendant on reform. Where could be the mighty harm, if parliament had nothing to do with voting creeds, forming test acts, or inflicting penalties on non-conformists? Parliament owns its fallibility in spiritual concerns. Is it not inconsistent with that confession, to assume dominion over men's consciences, and punish them for not believing what may chance to be erroneous? In the science of taxation they may claim precedence of the council of Trent, the pope's conclave, or the convocation; but the art of creed-making, or voting articles of faith, should be relinquished to those whose peculiar profession qualifies them for the office. One might be a good member of parliament, and an honest man, though he should believe an article more or less than thirty nine.

Lastly, he addresses himself to the Irish legislature in terms which, from any other quarter, would be treated as seditious. He reproaches them rather in oblique terms with venality and corruption; with sacrificing the interests of their constitution to those of England; he says they were at least liable to the imputation. That may be true, but that is a

reason for reform, not for abolition. How would the British legislature relish such logic? Must it too be abolished? Undue influence is imputed to it. This seems somewhat Jacobinical; it sounds peculiarly hard and ungracious, as coming from the same quarter whence the seduction and bribe originated; it is imitating the tempter of mankind, who is said to be the accuser of such as he allures into his toils. *The connexion has been tried in various shapes, and has invariably been found inadequate to the purposes of good government. Therefore we should try the effect of an union.* Fine logic! our partnership with Britain has hitherto proved disastrous, therefore we should resign the entire management of our affairs into her hands. A different conclusion might be drawn by the same, viz. and therefore we should break up the partnership, for if we were cheated and robbed while we were co-managers, through the purchased negligence or treachery of our clerks, what chance remains of justice when the sole and exclusive stewardship is vested in our fraudulent partner, without any obligation of rendering an account? Another alternative remains, viz. to amend the terms of the connexion, and employ honest clerks, who will give good security, and render a faithful account of their dealings. A long string of precedents is presented to us at the outset, of some nations who united, and others who separated. That was their concern. They might do so or let it alone, as best suited their fancy. In no instance alleged, were the parties uniting separated by an eternal, and often dangerous barrier, as we are. What most surprizes me in this collection of precedents, is to see French fraternization quoted as a fit precedent to justify the union. From the usual

language of ministers, one should be led to think, that French rapacity furnished topics for reproach, not models for the imitation of our principled statesmen. Their quarrel now appears to be not with the deed, but the agent; yet the French themselves have dealt more liberally with their allies; they left to the Dutch, Helvetic, and Cisalpine republics, their separate existence, legislatures, and directories, &c. Legislators of Ireland, you are called upon to abdicate your stations, on the plea of dishonesty, or incapacity, or both. Will you plead guilty? will you submit? Shame upon you if you despair of refuting the charge, by one honest effort; by removing the causes of complaint; by reforming the system which subjects you to those imputations. The fault lies there rather than in the individuals. Remember that the honour and dearest interests of yourselves and country are now in your hands; beware how you transfer the power over these mighty concerns to foreign hands; you cannot lawfully overturn that constitution, with the temporary administration of which you are solely invested; you cannot vote away the franchise which has created you, nor decree that as a province, you have received as an imperial independent kingdom, no more than the English parliament can vote England an absolute monarchy, or decree an union with France.

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