

PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY  
AND  
Catholic Emancipation  
RECONCILED  
BY A  
LEGISLATIVE UNION;  
WITH A  
VIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS  
IN 1782,  
RELATIVE TO THE INDEPENDENCE  
OF THE  
Irish Parliament,  
AND THE  
PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND,  
AS  
DEPENDANT ON THE CROWN,  
AND  
CONNECTED WITH THE PARLIAMENT  
OF  
Great Britain.  
WITH AN  
APPENDIX.

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*Altera jam teritur Bellis Civilibus Ætas.*

*Suis et ipsa Roma Viribus ruit.*

*Furoræ Cæcos, an rapit Vis acrior,*

*An Culpa? ———*

HORACE.

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1800.



PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY

AND

Catholic Emancipation

RECONCILED

BY A

LEGISLATIVE UNION;

WITH A

VIEW OF THE TRANSACTIONS

IN 1782.

RELATIVE TO THE INDEPENDENCE

OF THE

IRISH PARLIAMENT,

AND THE

PRESSENT POLITICAL STATE OF IRELAND,

DEPENDANT ON THE CROWN,

CONNECTED WITH PARLIAMENT

OF THE

WITH AN

APPENDIX.

ALBION JAM TOWN, DUBLIN, 1782.

See also the Irish Gazette.

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An (A) 1782.

LONDON:

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1782.



## PROTESTANT ASCENDANCY

AND

## CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

### RECONCILED.

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“*THE relative grandeur of France,*” says the sagacious Montesquieu, “*was, in the reign of Lewis XIV. at its highest pitch, because England and Scotland had not yet formed themselves into ONE UNITED KINGDOM.*”

What would that great man have said, if he had lived to see the present distracted state of Ireland? For, though disaffection prevailed in Scotland to a considerable degree at the period alluded to, yet no rebellion or insurrection had taken place of magnitude to weaken the power or distract the attention of Government, from the continental war in which it was then engaged, and therefore can in no wise be compared with the Irish rebellion of 1798, whether it be considered as to its numbers and extent, its dangerous object and ruinous consequences, much less as to the horrors and bloodshed by which it has been distinguished.



In such a situation, every man must naturally have wished for a remedy to so many evils ; but it required the strongest penetration to seize the object of an Incorporate Union as the only efficient corrective ; and the firmness of a manly mind to propose and pursue the measure ; regardless of the many difficulties, and un-awed by the accumulated dangers that pressed on every side.

To convert anarchy into order, weakness into strength, and separation into union ; is a great and glorious undertaking. It presents every encouragement to the virtue of a *Patriot King*, every inducement to the pride and ambition of an enlightened statesman ; and the accomplishment will be attended with immortal honour to the advisers of the measure ; and, I trust, endless happiness to the British Empire.

The subject of an Incorporate Union with Ireland has been so ably opened by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, with all its bearings on the advantages it offers to the peace, security, and the prosperity of Ireland ; as well as the general object of strength and importance to the empire ; the commercial advantages have been so clearly laid down by Lord Auckland, and the abstract relations of all the parties concerned, stated with such justness and precision by Lord Minto,



Minto, that every thinking and dispassionate man must have made up his mind on the necessity and expedience of this important measure : which, during the discussion, has received additional light from the respectable abilities of Mr. Addington, the practical knowledge of Lord Sheffield, and the learned research of Mr. Douglas.

In this kingdom, the utility of the measure may be said to have been generally recognised ; for it has been not only well received ; but has had the singular fate, that no objections have hitherto been made to it, either in Parliament or through the medium of the press.

In Ireland it has had many powerful supporters, among whom, two young men, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Smith, deserve to be noticed. It has there, too, met with violent opponents ; of whom Mr. Foster and Mr. Grattan, from their character and consequence, may be considered as the chief.

If ever cool examination and dispassionate inquiry were particularly called for, it must be on a question of so vast importance ; where, from the nature of the subject, the mutual interests of two friendly, but high-spirited kingdoms, were to be discussed ; and where every



irritating appeal to the popular topics of national pride and vulgar prejudice, should have been cautiously avoided.

If, on the contrary, we find extensive views narrowed down to local and personal considerations; general expedience retorted by partial convenience; argument answered by declamation, and reason by invective; we must, at least, distrust the cause that has recourse to such instruments of defence.

Abstracted from personal reflections on Mr. Pitt's abilities, intentions, and character; Mr. Foster's opposition turned principally on two points:

First, An appeal to the Settlement of 1782, which he styles *final*; and from thence argues, that it bars and precludes the very possibility of any new arrangement between the two kingdoms; which I mean to make one object of our present inquiry: and, second, A view of the commercial state of Ireland, from which he infers the inexpediency of the measure. This second part has been so ably and fully answered in a well-known pamphlet, entitled, "Observations on that Part of the Speaker's Speech that relates to Trade," that the Speaker stands at this moment in an awkward situation, with



with his veracity committed by an appeal to authentic documents, which he is charged with having misapplied, if not mistated; to which no reply has been made, nor any attempt, as yet, to clear the doubt, or wipe away the imputation.

The first objection, resting on a pretended *final settlement* in 1782, that *now* barred a treaty for Union, though it has been most clearly shown to be irrelevant and unfounded, is become capable of a more satisfactory answer, from Mr. Grattan, who was the principal mover in the transaction alluded to, having lately come forward, and given the key to unravel the mystery in which it had been industriously involved.

My first object then, in this publication, is to give a full and minute account of the transactions in 1782, relative to the legislative independence of Ireland, which will not only place them in a new light, by a recapitulation of facts, but most clearly show that they were all intended to pave the way for *final adjustment*, instead of being opposed as a bar to such a measure. I shall then \* take a short view of

\* Lord Grenville's very able speech on the political situation of Ireland was never published; if it had, the present publication had, probably, been rendered unnecessary.



the political and commercial connexion between the two kingdoms, arising from that independence; in order to enforce the necessity of an Incorporate Union; and shall conclude by an examination of the internal state of Ireland, as divided into Roman Catholic and Protestant interests, with their relative rights, claims, and situation; from which I trust to be able to satisfy the mind of every sensible man of either persuasion, that their particular as well as general interests and advantage, can only be effectually secured by an Union; and that an Union is the only possible and supposable case, by which the Protestant may concede without danger; and the Roman Catholic receive, without hazard to the state, or injury to the Protestants, collectively or individually.

In coming to an exhausted subject, I am sensible of the many disadvantages I have to encounter in addressing myself to the public, who have, in general, made up their minds on the great merits of the question; and shall, therefore, study to be as concise as the subject will admit, and to avoid fatiguing my readers by repetitions, if I fail to give information on a question of such vast magnitude, that it offers almost boundless views to the inquisitive mind. With this view, I shall proceed to

PART



## PART I.

*The Transactions in 1782, respecting the Legislative Independence of the Irish Parliament.*

IN the spring of 1782, Lord North had been driven from the ministry, and succeeded by the Rockingham party; one of whose first objects, as soon as they had taken their seats, was, to call the attention of Parliament to the distractions and discontents of Ireland; for though she had been gratified to her utmost wishes on commercial points, she retained dissatisfaction on constitutional questions; and loudly called for the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5. entitled, “An Act \* for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain,” and which declared it to be the right of the Parliament of Great Britain to bind the kingdom of Ireland by laws made by the British Parliament.

On the 7th of April 1782, Mr. Secretary Fox delivered a Message from the King to the House of Commons, which was as follows:—

7th April  
1782.  
King's Mes-  
sage to Bri-  
tish Parlia-  
ment.

“GEORGE R.

“His Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among

\* See Appendix, No. I.



his loyal subjects of Ireland upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House to take the same into their *most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.* G. R."

A similar Message was delivered to the House of Lords; but for the future I shall only state the proceedings of the one House, except where there is any essential difference.

April 16th,  
1782.  
Same Message sent by the Duke of Portland to the Irish Parliament.

Answer of British Parliament.

On the 14th day of April, the Duke of Portland succeeded Lord Carlisle in the government of Ireland; and on the 16th he sent the same Message *verbatim*, to the two Houses of the Irish Parliament. In England, in answer to the King's Message, a vote of thanks\* had passed, with an assurance that the House would proceed to take the same into their *most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.* In the House of Commons of Ireland a similar motion was made in precisely the same terms; but here the uniformity ended, and in violation of Parliamentary order and form of proceeding, Mr. Grattan moved, That this Address, the duplicate of that voted in England, be *expunged*; and in its stead, moved an Address † to

\* See Appendix, No. II.

† See Appendix, No. V.



His Majesty, stating the discontents and jealousies in Ireland to arise from three points; the first, great, and principal cause to be the claim advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain in the 6th of Geo. I. chap. 5. to legislate for Ireland; the second, the mode of passing laws in Ireland under the law known by the name of Poynings; and the third, a mutiny bill, unlimited in duration.

Answer of  
Irish Parlia-  
ment.

This Address, moved with precipitation, was voted by acclamation; though on the 22d of February, not two months before, a similar Address, as to the first great and principal object, had been moved in the House of Commons of Ireland by Mr. Grattan; and the consideration put off to the 1st of August next, by a majority 137 to 68.

After the informality in the proceeding, and the departure from Parliamentary dignity and order by the hasty decision; instead of the *serious consideration*, recommended by His Majesty, and the example of the British Parliament; the next material point to be observed is, the departure from the *specific object* of the King's Message; *in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms*; and what makes this departure the more remark-



able is, that the object, a *final adjustment* \*, is recognised in the Address of the House of Lords of Ireland, but entirely omitted in the Address of the Commons, moved by Mr. Grattan.

Here, then, we have the most decisive proof that can arise from internal evidence, that the *object* recommended by the King, and approved by the *British Parliament*, was a *final adjustment*, to which the whole was to be subservient and conclusive; and that Mr. Grattan's object was to *avoid a final adjustment*. I can farther add, from knowledge, that the Duke of Portland saw, and disapproved of the mode of proceeding as contrary to the King's Message, and the object of the Ministry; though the impetuosity with which the measure had been voted, without consideration or previous concert, on the motion of Mr. Grattan, precluded consideration, and rendered remonstrance unavailing. These Addresses, being transmitted to His Majesty, were by Mr. Secretary Fox brought down to the House of Commons on the 1st day of May, and laid on the table. On the 17th of May they were taken into the consideration of a Committee of the whole House, from which Mr. Powis reported two Resolutions:

Irish Addresses presented to Parliament May 1.

Taken into consideration May 17.

\* See Appendix, No. IV.

“ 1st,



“ 1st, That the Act of Geo. I. entitled, &c. ought to be repealed\*.” Resolutions  
on ditto.

“ 2d, That it is indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms that the connexion between them should be established, by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent basis.”

In these Resolutions we find a farther confirmation, that the British Cabinet looked still forwards to a *final adjustment*, by *mutual consent*; otherwise, the second Resolution, which declared such a measure *indispensable* to the happiness of both kingdoms, could have no object; for the only point claimed or demanded in the Address of the Irish House of Commons of April 16th, the repeal of the obnoxious Act of Geo. I. was secured by the first Resolution. The reason why no notice is here taken of the two other grievances, Poyning's Law, and the unlimited Mutiny Bill, was, that the Parliament of Ireland, with the King's consent, were competent to undo them; and their remonstrances as to them, nugatory; the redress being *sui juris*. But so far were the British Ministry from considering the repeal of the 6th Geo. I. as a *final adjustment*, that on the report from the Committee on the same day, May 17th, they ordered a Bill

\* See Appendix, No. VI.



Address to  
His Majesty  
on the 2d  
Resolution.

to be brought in to repeal the 6th Geo. I. and then voted an Address \* to His Majesty, " That His Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as His Majesty in his royal wisdom shall think most conducive to the ESTABLISHING, by MUTUAL CONSENT, the CONNEXION BETWEEN THIS KINGDOM AND THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND, ON A SOLID AND PERMANENT BASIS."

King's Message to Irish Parliament, in answer to their Address of April 6, delivered May 28, 1782.

And His Majesty, in his Message † to the House of Commons of Ireland, delivered on the 28th of May by Mr. Fitzpatrick, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, in answer to their Address of April 16, after stating his satisfaction to find the determination of his people of Ireland, to share the fate of, and to stand or fall with the British nation, adds these remarkable words. :

" His Majesty conceives that these principles cannot fail to contribute to the accomplishment of his earnest desire to remove all causes of discontent and jealousy; with that view, His Majesty has recommended this weighty and important subject to the *consideration* of his *Parliaments* of both Kingdoms; trusting that their *united wisdom* will suggest such measures as

\* See Appendix, No. VI. † See Appendix, No. VII.



may terminate in a FINAL ADJUSTMENT, to their mutual satisfaction."

Here it is to be remarked, that the subject of a *final adjustment* is urged in a still more forcible manner than in the first Message delivered from His Majesty by the Duke of Portland, on the 16th of April; though on the day preceding this message, the 27th of May, the Duke of Portland had from the throne signified to Parliament, that their Addresses had been received, and agreed to in every part.

But here ends the business of *final adjustment*; for in the Addresses of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament, in answer to the Duke of Portland's Speech and the King's Message, no notice is taken of His Majesty's recommendation of this weighty and important subject, to the *consideration of the Parliaments of both kingdoms*—though the Resolution of the British Parliament of the 17th of May, that it was *indispensable* to the interests of both kingdoms, &c. had been laid before them: but, instead of a corresponding Resolution, which must have led to a FINAL SETTLEMENT; after thanking His Majesty for the repeal of the 6 Geo. I. and his agreeing to the mode desired of passing bills, and a new Mutiny Act—this singular declaration

Address,  
Commons  
of Ireland  
to the King,  
May 28,  
1782.



tion was substituted, as a *bar to SETTLEMENT* \*. Gratified in these particulars, “ we do assure your Majesty, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony.”

It is here observable, that the limitation, purposely introduced, confines the satisfaction to *constitutional points*—the Parliament of Ireland accepting the repeal of 6 Geo. I. the substance of the first Resolution of the British Parliament of May 17, but avoiding to give any other answer to the great and important object recommended by His Majesty in the second; which is there expressly declared to be, the *establishing, by mutual consent, the connexion between the two kingdoms upon a solid and permanent basis*, which they did by that singular declaration, “ that, gratified in these particulars, *no constitutional questions between the two nations will any longer exist, that can interrupt their harmony.*”

Mr. Grattan's  
Speech.

Mr. Grattan †, in his late speech in the Irish House of Commons (p. 4), expressly admits this to have been the case; his words are: “ The next part of the adjustment was *a resolution* voted by the two British Houses of Parliament, in consequence of the Address of April 16, to

\* See Appendix, No. VIII.

† The Speech (at length) of the Honourable Mr. Grattan.  
Printed by A. Paris, for J. S. Jordan.



His Majesty. There were two resolutions transmitted; first, that the 6th of Geo. I. &c. should be repealed; second, that the connexion between the countries should be placed, by mutual consent, on a solid and permanent foundation." He then states the Address of the two Irish Houses of Parliament upon these two Resolutions; "which Address\*," he says, "does, among other things, accept of the proposition contained in the first Resolution, *and does expressly reject the second*; for it says, that we conceive the Resolution for the unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6 Geo. I. to be a measure of consummate wisdom."

1st Resolution accepted.  
2d Resolution rejected.

Now without stopping to examine the justice of this reason, assigned for the rejection of the second Resolution; or to inquire in what manner the unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6 Geo. I. which they conceived to be a measure of consummate wisdom, could operate as an inducement to *reject*; or be assigned as a reason for *rejecting* the second Resolution, the object of which was, to *establish the connexion between the two kingdoms on a solid and permanent basis*; I am still more at a loss to discover, by what logic this *unqualified, unconditional* repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. can, now,

\* See Appendix, No. VIII.



be converted into a *solemn contract*, a *final settlement*, a *great national arrangement*; when Mr. Grattan has just told us, that the repeal was *unconditional* and *unqualified*; and that the Irish Parliament *rejected* the second Resolution for a *settlement*, and *refused* to *treat*. And yet this Mr. Grattan does not hesitate to do, in a subsequent paragraph, for he thus goes on, p. 5: "I drew that Address, and I introduced those words, expressly, to exclude any *SUBSEQUENT qualifications or limitations* affecting, &c." The Address adds, "Gratified in those particulars, no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist" (which he calls the *clause of finality*). He has here omitted the conclusion of the sentence, *that can disturb their harmony*; for, thus defined, *his finality* has proved of short duration.

But the next paragraph is where Mr. Grattan rests his principal arguments for inferring a final adjustment: I will give his own words.

"The next part was the *measure* adopted by the English Parliament, upon the consideration of *this Address*\*: and in that measure, they accede to that Address entirely and unequivocally; they embrace *our proposition* of unconditional

\* Address of the Irish House of Commons of May 28.  
and



and unequivocal repeal, and they accordingly introduced a bill for that purpose; and thus they closed the FINAL ADJUSTMENT."

Here is Mr. Grattan's own account of this famous FINAL ADJUSTMENT, on which we remark,

First, That he states the measure to have been adopted by the English Parliament, upon the consideration of *this Address* \*; which Address they never saw or had any knowledge of; for, besides that His Majesty, for obvious reasons, did not think proper to lay it before them, the Address was voted on the 28th of May, eleven days after the Resolutions which Mr. Grattan states to have been in consequence of it. And it was an Address of thanks to His Majesty, for this measure of consummate wisdom and justice, which Mr. Grattan, *now*, says the Address produced.

Second, The service of closing this final adjustment is here transferred to the British Parliament; though Mr. Grattan has declared above, that the Address *rejected* their *second Resolution* for a *final adjustment*, and that the Address itself, as drawn by him, expressly excluded *any subsequent qualifications, or limitations, &c.*

\* Of May 28.



It is certainly very unnecessary to say any thing farther to show the absurdity of converting an *unconditional* repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. into a *final adjustment*; particularly, when one of the parties had *rejected* the offer made by the other for coming to a *final adjustment*; and in a manner too, not a little suspicious, after the honourable proceeding of the British Parliament, in the unconditional repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. which they had vainly hoped would produce correspondent sentiments on the part of Ireland. But in this expectation they were disappointed, and they were obliged to accept the general professions of gratitude, affection, and attachment, instead of a *final adjustment*, which had been rejected on the part of Ireland.

Mr. Grattan goes on, p. 6.—“ The next instrument was an Address to His Majesty, to beseech him to appoint a day of public thanksgiving for the accomplishment of these great objects, as well as for his victories. Thus it appears \*, that whatever idea might have been conceived in the second Resolution of the 17th of May 1782, it was totally and entirely aban-

\* How this *does* appear from appointing a thanksgiving, I do not know. It is vain to dive into the mystery of great statesmen. They have modes of conception and expression, peculiar to themselves.



done; the Minister of that time probably intended to make the best bargain he could for England, and therefore conceived it eligible to condition and qualify the acknowledgment of the independency of the Irish Parliament by certain provisions respecting navigation, &c.; but finding that the Irish Parliament would accept of nothing but the unqualified and unconditional repeal, he dropt the fruitless idea."

From this we learn that Mr. Grattan imagined the second Resolution to relate to an agreement on a commercial regulation; which appears the more probable, as I find, that, at the close of the next Session, the Irish House of Commons revived the subject in an Address to the Duke of Rutland, then Lord Lieutenant, in these words;

Second Resolution of British Parliament.

" We are aware of the situation of the empire, and the peculiar circumstances which have *prevented* the *adjustment* of some points *which concern our trade* and manufactures; and we rely upon the readiness of your Grace's liberal and benevolent assistance for the furtherance of such practical measures as deliberate wisdom and generous policy may adapt to our real necessities and general interests."

Returned by Irish Parliament in 1784, May 12.

The House of Commons, by recurring to  
D 2 adjustment



Duke of  
Rutland's  
Answer.

adjustment in 1784, shows that it was not accomplished in 1782. But the Duke of Rutland's Answer to this Address at the opening of the next Session renders it still plainer; for he says, "I am to recommend to your *earnest investigation* those objects of trade and commerce which have not yet received their *final adjustment*."

We have seen that Mr. Grattan had said above, that it was the British Parliament that closed the *final adjustment*, the proposition for which, his Address had rejected. He goes on, p. 7: "I think I have now shown from the records quoted, that the argument of the *Minister* is against the express letter, the evident meaning, and honest sense of this *final settlement*; and I repeat, that *finality* was not only a part of the settlement, but one of its principal objects: *Finality was the principal object of his country, as Legislative Independency was the object of ours*. Ireland wished to seize the moment of her strength, for the establishment of her liberties. The Court of England wished to conclude the operations of that strength, and bound its progress."

Here Mr. Grattan has avowed the truth, and unequivocally declared, that the object of Britain was *final adjustment*, as *legislative independency* was the object of Ireland. That Ireland seized



seized the moment of her strength to snatch her object, while an illiberal distrust made her reject the invitation to a final settlement: the motive assigned to the Court of England, viz. a wish to conclude the operations of Irish strength and bound its progress, because she had passed a Resolution to establish the connexion between the two kingdoms by mutual consent, on a solid and permanent basis; is not only founded in suspicion and injustice; but it accounts for the rejection of this beneficial measure, on principles that reflect no honour on the generosity and good sense of those, for whose conduct it is assigned as the motive.

Mr. Grattan here rejects the *finality* on the part of Ireland, and ascribes it exclusively to the British Minister and the British nation, as he had formerly stated that the British Parliament closed the *final settlement* by the repeal of the 6th Geo. I. \* But unfortunately for Mr. Grattan's memory, even as to the *final adjustment* of the single point, he is not correct; for the British Parliament thought it advisable, early in 1783, to introduce a new Bill † to remove the doubts that had arisen on the repeal of 1782, which he asserts to have been a *final adjustment*. If it was a *final adjustment*, the

Declaratory Act,  
moved  
Jan. 22,  
1783.

\* See Appendix, No. XI. † See Appendix, No. XII.



Act of 1783 was a *final adjustment* of the *final adjustment* of 1782.

I am ashamed to trace such contradictions; but what honest man but must feel indignant at the shallow attempts now made to conjure up the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. into a *final settlement*, when the very proposition for a final settlement had been *rejected*, as Mr. Grattan tells us, by the Irish Parliament, at the time; though repeatedly recommended from the Throne to their serious consideration, as indispensable to the interests and prosperity of both kingdoms; and still more to impute that *final adjustment* to the British Parliament, whose advances to establish it by mutual consent, had been studiously eluded by the Irish Parliament at the instigation of Mr. Grattan himself.

From the moment that this memorable Address passed, on the 28th of May, the final adjustment was dropt in the Parliamentary proceedings; and accordingly, in His Majesty's Answer to this Address \*, the object is omitted, as well as in the Lord Lieutenant's †, where the Duke of Portland expresses, "That he shall think himself fortunate if his administration should

His Majesty's Answer to Irish Address of May 28th. Duke of Portland's Answer to Irish Address of May 28th.

\* See Appendix, No. IX.

† See Appendix, No. XI.



prove *the era of reciprocal and inseparable affection* between Great Britain and Ireland." For since the prospect of a public arrangement was suspended, it was prudent to make the most of the hollow professions substituted in its stead.

Such a line of conduct will appear highly judicious in His Grace, if we advert to the state of the public mind in Ireland at the time; for no sooner had His Grace announced from the Throne the Resolutions of the British Parliament of May 17th, for the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. (the other Resolution was passed over in silence), than a transport of joy pervaded the whole kingdom; public rejoicings, illuminations, votes of thanks and addresses to the Lord Lieutenant came in from every quarter; while copious libations were daily poured out on every festive altar to Henry Grattan, the saviour of his country. Nor was the Parliament less fervent in expressing their satisfaction: an Address for a public thanksgiving; 5000 men from the military establishment were voted for foreign service; 100,000*l.* for the national object of bounties to seamen; and a like sum was proposed, which Government were glad to compromise by 50,000*l.* voted, to buy a house and lands for Mr. Grattan.

It



It will be allowed that this was not the moment to oppose the popular tide, and that nothing remained but to endeavour to direct the public enthusiasm to the useful purposes of attachment to the Crown, and affection to Great Britain. But this fervour was too violent to last; it proved a feverish heat, and not the pulse of health and strength. Mr. Grattan's triumph was of short duration; he found the Treasury Bench was not a bed of roses; elated by popularity, he was unable to endure the sarcastic attacks of his inveterate rival, Mr. Flood, who now successfully played on him the artillery of abuse and declamation which he had formerly practised with such success on the servants of the Crown. Though Mr. Grattan was supported in the Parliament, Mr. Flood had the address to persuade the nation that the *simple repeal* was insufficient; that they had been betrayed, and sold to the Castle by Mr. Grattan; and it was even insinuated that Great Britain had acted insidiously by retaining the claim of right, to be employed on a future occasion, and to be brought forward at a favourable opportunity to impose fresh chains on Ireland.

Discontents  
in Ireland  
renewed.

The *simple repeal*, and its *author*, so lately the idols of public enthusiasm, were loaded with contumely and invective; and resolutions for  
a decla-



a *declaratory law* on the part of Great Britain, Declaratory law.  
 flowed from every quarter of the kingdom.

In vain did Mr. Grattan assert, that nothing more remained to be done; in vain did he, in an Address to the Lord Lieutenant of July 23d, introduce the recapitulation of the several beneficial laws passed that session, which, for the occasion, he ventured to call a *great national arrangement*; the public were not only deaf to his arguments, but loaded him with abuse.

It was during this period that Lord Shelburne, who had now succeeded the Marquis of Rockingham as Minister in England, and General Fitzpatrick in Ireland, declared, Lord Shelburne's Declaration, and General Fitzpatrick's Declaration.

“ That it was not the intention of Ministry to bring forward any thing more on this subject: nor indeed could they, after the rejection of the second Resolution of the British Parliament for a final adjustment; though it appears by the Duke of Portland's Correspondence\*, read by Mr. Pitt in the House of Commons last April, that the Duke never lost sight of the second Resolution, nor omitted an opportunity of showing the then popular leaders the necessity of the measure; and that Lord Shelburne strongly approved, and ardently desired the accomplishment of the object.

\* See Appendix, No. XIII.



Temperate  
conduct of  
Great  
Britain.  
Declaratory  
Act.

2d Resolution,  
basis  
of Incorporated  
Union.

The jealousies and discontents of Ireland, hushed for a short interval, but not removed, now raged with increasing violence; the incipient harmony, whose *electric* irradiations had spread a momentary gleam over the gloomy horizon of Ireland, was once more overcast, and threatened an approaching storm, when the good sense of Great Britain again condescended to avert its explosion by a temperate acquiescence. The declaratory law, moved by Lord Grenville, then Mr. W. Grenville, was passed; and *then*, and not till *then*, did the British Parliament close the adjustment of the first of their own Resolutions of May 17th, 1782, for the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. leaving the second, the establishing the connexion between the two kingdoms on a solid and permanent basis, to be settled hereafter.

On this Resolution has the measure of an Incorporated Union been proposed, which, in as far as it has for its object the establishing the connexion between the two kingdoms on a solid and permanent basis, must be allowed to embrace and fully comprehend the sense and meaning of the Resolution. Whether this be the *mode* that the Minister of the day had in view at the time it was moved, it is perfectly immaterial to inquire; if that mode had been made public, which I believe it never was, it

I

could



could in no wise have carried with it any obligation on the present Minister to adopt it; the Minister who stands charged with the responsibility, has an undoubted right to choose the mode in which he incurs that responsibility; and when he has submitted his mode to discussion, it is open to every objection, alteration, &c. But I think differently of the principle, as it is necessary to show a departure from that principle to justify an opposition to the measure now proposed, on the part of those who moved that Resolution, which was voted *ne-mine contradicente*, and which now stands the recorded sense of Parliament.

I have dwelt on this part longer than I originally intended, but I hope it will not be without its use; Ministers will see from it on what a slippery basis public opinion rests; how evanescent in its duration, how giddy in its decisions. The people, if they were neither misled by misrepresentation, nor agitated by national passions, early prejudices, and local habits, are incapable of forming any rational judgment on great constitutional questions and political arrangements. Was there ever yet an instance of any great improvement in agriculture, of any useful discovery in manufactures or the arts, that, if it deviated from the established routine, did not meet with the



most obstinate and inveterate opposition from the very persons for whose benefit it was intended? What riots and disorders has not the introduction of machinery occasioned among our manufacturers? What national benefits and improvements had not been lost, if popular clamour on these occasions had prevailed over more enlightened ideas? Man is the creature of habit, and the slave to prejudice; and where these are thwarted, time alone can reconcile, and experience convince. What reason has the Minister to expect that county meetings, town halls, or corporation dinners, are competent to decide on the results and bearings of a question of such magnitude as the Union? But, if all the exertions that have been used to influence their predominant passions of national pride, to arouse their deep-rooted prejudices of jealousy of Great Britain, and the English Ministry, have created a far less agitation and ferment than a variety of unimportant objects have frequently produced; he may fairly conclude, that the sense of the Irish nation is not adverse to the measure; though nothing but its actual effects can prove to them the manifold benefits and blessings with which it will be attended.

Recapitulation.

Before I quit this first part of my subject, I shall briefly recapitulate the material circumstances



stances of the transactions relative to the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. in 1782.

First, The King recommended to the serious consideration of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, to inquire into the causes of the jealousies and discontents that then prevailed in Ireland, in order to such a final adjustment, as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

Second, The Parliament of Great Britain, in answer, resolved to take the same into their most serious consideration for the purpose recommended from the Throne.

Third, The Irish Parliament declared, in answer, the great and principal cause of jealousy and discontent to be, the claim of legislating for Ireland, supported by the 6th of Geo. I. ch. 5. of which they demanded the repeal, but entirely passed by the purport of the King's Message, a *final adjustment*, which might give satisfaction to both kingdoms.

Fourth, The British Parliament, having taken the Irish Addresses into consideration, came to two resolutions, May 17: 1. To repeal the 6th of Geo. I.; and, 2. To address His Majesty to take such measures, as he should deem expedient



expedient for establishing the connexion between the two kingdoms on a solid and permanent basis.

Fifth, When these Resolutions were communicated with a Message from His Majesty to the Irish Parliament, they moved an Address, May 28, expressing their satisfaction, but declining the invitation to establish the connexion between the two kingdoms, on a solid and permanent basis.

Sixth, The Parliament of Great Britain repealed the Act 6th of Geo. I. ch. 5.; and the second Resolution for a final settlement remained unaccomplished.

Seventh, This repeal restored to the Parliament of Ireland the powers it possessed before the 6th of Geo. I. It conferred the *sole* power of legislating for Ireland, unconditionally and without restriction, and the Declaratory Law of the next year renounced the *claim of right*, asserted in the 6th of Geo. I. on the part of the British Parliament, to legislate for Ireland.

Eighth, The repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. can in no sense be properly called a *final settlement*, a *final arrangement*, or a *final adjustment*; for, even to the *single* and *specific* object, it was  
not



not *final*; much less can the repeal of a British statute by the British Parliament, the object of which was to give up the right claimed by that Act to legislate for Ireland, impose on the Parliament of that kingdom any *disability*, or *incapacity*, in the exercise of their legislative authority. If the Parliament of Ireland be, now, under any such incapacity, it cannot possibly be so in consequence of this transaction, for that would be asserting it to be still *dependent*, after being declared to be *independent* of the British Parliament; and converting *incapacity* and *independence* into synonymous terms, so that no argument for the incapacity of the Irish Parliament to treat for an Union, can be inferred from the transactions of 1782.

Eighth, Whatever engagement the Parliament of Great Britain is competent to contract for Great Britain, the Parliament of Ireland is equally competent to contract for the kingdom of Ireland. As to legislative powers for their respective kingdoms, they stand on precisely the same footing: I defy any man to point out any real difference; the question of Parliamentary competence stands, of course, on the same footing, in both kingdoms; and being now universally admitted in Great Britain, it must be so in Ireland.

I shall now proceed to

PART



## PART II.

*The present Connexion between Great Britain  
and Ireland, &c. &c. &c.*

View of Ire-  
land.

I HAVE hitherto confined our attention to the statement of the proceedings of the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, in respect to the repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. It will be now very material to give a slight view of the temper of Ireland at the time, with a few circumstances that preceded; in order to enable us to form a more correct judgment of the consequences that have followed that transaction, which will ever stand a memorable æra in the history of Ireland.

Accession  
of His pre-  
sent Majes-  
ty. Spirit of  
improve-  
ment,

checked by  
the Ame-  
rican war.

From the accession of His present Majesty, Ireland had begun to rise into increasing consequence; a spirit of improvement was eagerly exerted, and had made a considerable progress in agriculture, which had before been almost, if not entirely, neglected; great attention had been paid to open roads and construct canals; and industry and manufactures began to show themselves; when the American war unfortunately gave a check to all the infant institutions, and occasioned great distress in a country,



country, where the little capital they had been possessed of, had not yet produced returns to enable them to support the shock.

Together with this spirit of improvement, a spirit of political inquiry and improvement of the constitution had gone abroad; the relative situation of the two kingdoms had been discussed; the impolicy and injustice of the commercial and constitutional restraints, imposed by Great Britain on Ireland, had been reprobated and condemned; a very general dissatisfaction had pervaded the kingdom, when the American war broke out, *rapuitque in fomite flammam*. There had been, at all times, a considerable degree of intercourse between the Cromwellian Dissenters in the North, and the Independents of New England; a common cause now drew the connexion closer, and the success of America was eagerly anticipated, as the favourable moment to give effect to the claims of Ireland. The opportunity was accordingly seized with vigour; the People complained, the Volunteers resolved, the Parliament remonstrated; and Great Britain, taught wisdom by the experience of America, complied with their demands. If the conduct of Great Britain towards Ireland had hitherto been impolitic and indefensible; it must be allowed that, on this occasion, it was generous and liberal;

Consequences.

Discontents.

Commercial and constitutional restraints.

Republicans in the North.

Conduct of Great Britain.



beral; though Ireland ascribed this change of system to the weakness of Great Britain, and her own strength, at the moment; and the extension of her trade in 1778 and 1779, as well as the grant of *free trade* in 1780, were received rather as acts of restitution, than of favour: infomuch that, in 1782, the jealousies and discontents ran higher than ever; and though they were suspended for a short interval by the repeal of the obnoxious Act, they soon burst out with fresh vigour, and raged with increased force; so that when the Declaratory Act, which had been regarded as the cause of the ferment, was actually passed by the British Parliament, they were surprised to find, that it excited no sense of obligation, produced no expression of satisfaction. The public mind had been *fooled to the bent*; the elastic power, that should have restored cordiality and affection to Great Britain, was gone; and diffidence and distrust, the parents of every discordant passion, had usurped their place.

In 1785 these hostile dispositions took the alarm at the appearance of engagement with Great Britain, or a social compact for identity, in public transactions with foreign states; and for the regulation of commerce. In 1789 they stimulated to a line of conduct, different to that of the British Parliament. They have since

sown



sown the seeds of insurrection and rebellion; and they, at this moment, are labouring, with in 1800. undiminished acrimony, to prevent an Union of the two kingdoms; which their baneful operations, and fatal effects, have rendered indispensably necessary; as the only measure capable to eradicate and extinguish them for ever.

This is the great inducement for an Incorporate Union; the necessity for which measure will appear confirmed by every view of the present connexion between the two kingdoms; as well as from the internal state of Ireland itself.

Induce-  
ment to  
Union.

But before I proceed, I must not omit the opportunity of paying my tribute of approbation to the Volunteer Associations of Ireland, who had been at first set on foot and encouraged by the very men who fostered republican principles in the American war; and who have been the apostles of Jacobinism, since the French Revolution. On the former occasion, their projects of insurrection were disappointed by the firmness of the very men, whom they hoped to have made the engines of their desperate views. The Volunteers of Ireland preserved internal peace; by their example and conduct, they introduced order and subordination; they respected and executed the laws, in

Volunteers  
of Ireland.



a manner that has never been seen in Ireland, either before or since: conscious of their own strength, they did not abuse it. If they intimidated the British Minister, they were formidable only to the enemies of their King and their country; vigorous, and sometimes violent in their resolutions, but always temperate in their conduct.

Neither would I impute any criminal intention to those very men, who obstructed a final settlement between the two kingdoms in 1782; for, at the moment that they *talked to* their countrymen of the inseparable interests of the two kingdoms, and professed attachment and affection; it was plain that they were the slaves of the meanest distrust and jealousy, which prevented them from submitting their claims to a final adjustment; even with their own friends. Those whom they trusted as men, they distrusted as Englishmen.

Danger of  
exciting  
the people.

Another reason that might have, in part, contributed to so extraordinary a conduct, may have been, that they were no sooner raised to the Ministry, and enjoyed the confidence of Government, than they found that they had lost the confidence of the people. And, when they afterwards attempted to direct the people, and told them to be satisfied, and to stop demand;



mand; they were treated as traitors and betrayers of their country, they were overborn by the popular torrent, and then found how dangerous it is to excite the people, and how impossible for any man, or set of men, to stop their course, when they have been excited, and put in motion, or to pretend to say, So far shall ye go, and no farther. Let the men, who now excite to resistance, take an useful lesson from the events of 1782, still more, from the more recent fate of the leaders of the French Revolution; twenty-one of whom were, in one morning, sent to the guillotine, for attempting to check the sanguinary ferocity of their former associate Robespierre.

Perhaps, too, the period had not, then, arrived for a permanent arrangement between the two kingdoms; that the overweening conceit and national pride engendered by what was styled a victory achieved over Great Britain, was not a period favourable for treaty. Perhaps it was decreed, by the all-wise Disposer of human events, that popular extravagance should run its natural course to anarchy and confusion; that the *insufficiency* of the boasted measure of *Parliamentary Independence* should be recorded, to all ages, in *indelible characters of blood*; in order to pave the way for the measure of *Union*; by which the wounds of a bleeding country



country may be healed, and peace and order, prosperity and security, be established to succeeding generations,

Irish Independence.

Abuse of the term.

Great inconveniencies have, at all times, arisen from the inaccuracy of language, and the abuse of terms; and I know no instance, where greater mischiefs have flowed from this source, than in the practical constructions given to the term *Irish Independence*; which, in its only just sense, was confined to the independent power of Parliament to legislate for that kingdom; but has, since, been strained, by the cabals of factious and designing men, to every purpose of insubordination, sedition, and insurrection. It has been made a cover for every crime; and a justification of every wild pretension, advanced in defiance of law, to the subversion of the constitution, and the destruction of government.

But, with all these fatal consequences before my eyes, I do not recommend the destruction of the power, as a corrective of the abuse: I do not wish Irish independence to be abolished, but to be *merged* in an Union, from which it would derive additional strength and vigour; and be so blended and incorporated, as to preserve all its healthful and salutary qualities; divested of the poisonous and deleterious shoots, that



that have sprung from its roots, or grown up under its shade.

This naturally leads me back to the present object of inquiry, the political situation of Ireland—first, as dependent on the Crown of England; and, second, as connected with Great Britain.

Present  
state of Ire-  
land.

The kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland stand, as two distinct branches of one empire or state; with separate and independent Parliaments, and the same common King, or Executive Power.

First, as de-  
pendent on  
the Crown  
of Great  
Britain.

Without wandering back to the darker ages of Irish history, under its hundreds of kings and princes, or inquiring whether Henry the Second's title arose from conquest or compact; it is sufficient to say, that the legal right of the English Crown to the dominion of Ireland, now rests on the Act of Annexation in the reign of Henry VIII. In theory, no right can be more simple or more complete. In practice, whenever doubts and disagreements have come to issue, the question has ever been, as it ever must be, decided by an appeal to arms.

By the Act  
of Annexa-  
tion.

Since the year 1782, we behold two kingdoms, with one King or Executive Power; in  
whose



Unity of  
powers

whose hands the Constitution has placed the right of making war and peace; of entering into treaties, and forming alliances with foreign states. The *unity* of government is indispensably necessary to the existence of every state. If there exists in the same state, a power to accept, and another power to reject; there may be a temporary acquiescence on the same subjects; but there can be no *security* for the continuance of this *unity* of action, on which the existence of the state itself depends. There would be an inherent vice in such a constitution which no corrective could reach.

inconsistent  
with  
two Parliaments.

This vice actually exists in the present connexion of Great Britain and Ireland, where two Parliaments, possessed of independent powers, are to judge and decide on the measures of the same Executive Government and the common interests of the State. If we were to admit, what is by no means the case, where a distinct and separate existence must create a difference of local interests, that the great and true interests of these two kingdoms should be always the same; who can pretend to say, that their *separate Parliaments* shall be, on all occasions, actuated by their great and *real* interests? Popular assemblies are subject to a variety of passions capable to occasion a deviation, from a thousand causes; and any one of these may



operate a disagreement, which might ultimately destroy their connexion. If we would preserve the State, this vice must be removed; and there is but one possible mode, in which it can be removed; which is by reducing the *two* deliberative powers into *one*; and thus constituting an *Unity* in the Legislative Power, as in the Executive.

Removed,  
by Union.

If it be alleged that this inconvenience has not yet happened, and that it is not likely to happen; I answer, that the acknowledged weakness and inferiority of Ireland, dependent on Great Britain on all occasions, for protection; and by habit, accustomed to submit to subordination; has hitherto preserved the connexion: and in most cases, secured an unity in the exercise of their different powers. But these causes have either entirely ceased, or are daily losing their force, and changing the course of their operation since the year 1782, and the independence of the Irish Parliament.

The prerogative of the Crown is constitutionally submitted to the control of Parliament; but cannot be under the control of *two different Parliaments*; without contradiction and disunion; except these two Parliaments could always be of the same mind: and who shall pretend to give assurance of their being so? It

Prerogative  
of the  
Crown,



is at least equally probable, that *two free agents* may differ in opinion; and between kingdoms, what must be the consequence? A treaty of peace may be approved in Great Britain, and rejected in Ireland: is Great Britain to conclude a peace, and Ireland to continue at war? or, is the absurdity so manifest, as to compel the advocates for Irish Independence to confess, that, in such a case, the Irish Parliament must, of course, abandon the exercise of their powers, and adopt the proceeding of Great Britain?

I will illustrate this still farther by another supposition, and put the case, that the British Parliament had disapproved the articles of a treaty, submitted to their consideration, and that it should be rejected in consequence. Would the independent Parliament of Ireland expect, that the rejected treaty should be submitted to their consideration? or would they, in such a case, submit to have their decision concluded by the vote of the British Parliament? If the Ministry in 1783 had been desperate enough to appeal from the British Parliament to the Irish Parliament, instead of giving way, the case might actually have occurred, and might have produced very serious consequences.

But



But the case of war will appear infinitely <sup>and war.</sup> stronger, and I will give it in the words of Mr. Foster, who has reduced the effect as low as it could possibly be stated; but still it will be found to involve consequences of the most calamitous kind. "Suppose," says that Gentleman, "the British Parliament to approve a war, and that Ireland should disapprove; the *only* difficulty which this difference of sentiment could create, would be, that the one who disapproved, might withhold its supplies, until good sense should induce it to acquiesce."

So far we must allow that Mr. Foster considers the subject, rather as a financier, than as a statesman. The stopping the supplies would undoubtedly be the first consequence of such disapprobation; but the infallible consequence of withholding the supplies, on such a ground, must be a separation of the two kingdoms, or an armed contest; which must end with the loss of liberty to one of the two, and could not fail of producing the greatest calamities to both.

If, in this present war with France, the Parliament had refused the supplies, would not such a refusal have been viewed, by Great Britain, as an act of hostility? Situated as Ireland is, is it possible for her to preserve a neutrality,



while England is engaged in war? She must have made her option between Great Britain and France. But the consequences of a connexion with France have been so ably delineated by Lord Minto, from page 60 to page 68 of his Speech, that I had much rather refer to it, than injure the cause by a feeble attempt at imitation.

It would be injustice to the Parliament of Ireland, not to acknowledge that her conduct, during the present contest, has been irreproachable; and much freer from violence and inflammatory declamations than for many years before. But may not this have been in a great measure owing, partly to every just cause of complaint being removed, and partly to some of the most violent Members in former Parliaments having, in consequence, withdrawn themselves from this? On a future occasion, might not this case be reversed, and a combination of factious and ambitious innovators influence the Parliament to an opposite conduct?

British Cabinet.

The circumstance of the King of Ireland residing in England, and acting in that capacity under the advice of a British Cabinet, ever has been, and continues to be, more and more every day, a source of jealousy to Ireland; as the Great Seal of Britain, being necessary to legalize the Acts

Great Seal.



Acts of the Irish Parliament, is felt as a mark of inferiority, galling to the pride and pretensions of her now independent condition.

If these circumstances are impatiently submitted to, at the present moment ; will they not operate with increasing force as Ireland advances in wealth, strength, and consequence ? Is it not in the nature of the human mind to aspire to Equality ?

Circum-  
stances  
tending to  
separation.

*Nil actum putans, dum quid superesset agendum.*

Indeed the history of Ireland, for the last thirty-five years, would exhibit but one continued political conflict with Great Britain ; in which concession has incessantly bred new demand ; and, when Great Britain had nothing farther to grant to allay the craving of this insatiate appetite, she herself became the grievance, and Ireland flew to arms to rid herself of British connexion. The individuals who, during this period, have occasionally excited this spirit in the people, have in their turns expressed perfect satisfaction with the liberal conduct of Great Britain ; but they have never been able to stop the current of jealousy and dissatisfaction which they had contributed to raise, and which, imperceptibly but invariably, has been carrying the kingdom of Ireland from British connexion ; and if not counteracted by an Incorporate Union, must, certainly, and  
most



most probably at no very distant period, terminate in total separation.

Second,  
Ireland  
connected  
with the  
British Par-  
liament for  
regulation  
of trade.

These are some of the circumstances, that tend to separation; arising from the *dependence* of *Ireland* on the *Crown* of *England*. I shall now proceed to view her as *connected* in commercial transactions with *Great Britain*; where the necessity of Union will appear still more apparent for the regulation of trade; which is now become a most important object to the kingdom at large; though the right, by which it is held, has never been clearly ascertained; and explanation, on this most important point, has been studiously evaded; as if to reserve it as a fruitful source of jealousy and dissatisfaction for hereafter. Accordingly we find various interpretations have been given, and a variety of pretensions set up; which ever must be the case in unascertained claims. Mr. Foster, by the weight and authority of his name, has greatly contributed to generate, in the minds of his countrymen, erroneous ideas on this important and interesting subject; by every where talking of the *rights* of *Ireland* to a free trade, without any where informing them of the true nature of those *rights*, or from whence derived,

Trade with  
foreign  
states;

The foreign trade of *Ireland* may be divided  
into



into two branches ; the first, that carried on with foreign states, which is held and enjoyed as a member of the British empire, under treaties contracted by the Crown, with these states : and the second with the British colonies, <sup>with colonies.</sup> plantations, and settlements ; held by *grant* from Great Britain, under a variety of laws passed in the Parliament of that kingdom.

It is evident, then, that the *right* of Ireland to this second branch, rests on the nature of the grant ; that the charter is in the records of the British Parliament : and, that Ireland, or the Irish Parliament, can have no power to explain, amend, or extend.

Before 1780, several indulgences had been granted to the trade of Ireland, but in that year the famous Act of the 20th of Geo. III. ch. 10. known by the title of the Grant of *Free Trade*, was passed ; which, after reciting the grant to Ireland, of a full participation in the trade of Great Britain, with British America, and the British settlements in America, or Africa, has the following clause, stating the conditions and terms on which the grant was made, and to be enjoyed :

“ Provided always, and it is hereby further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the importation



portation and exportation allowed by this Act, shall commence from, and as soon, and shall have continuance so long, and in such respective cases only, as the goods, or any of them, which are hereby allowed to be imported from the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Ireland, or to be exported from Ireland into the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, shall be liable, by some Act or Acts of Parliament to be made in the kingdom of Ireland, to *equal duties and drawbacks*, and shall be made subject to the *same securities, regulations, and restrictions*, in all other respects, as the like goods *now are*, or *HEREAFTER may be*, liable and subject to upon being imported from the said colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Great Britain, or exported from thence to such colonies, plantations, or settlements, respectively; in the consideration of which equal duties and drawbacks, &c. &c."

under the  
British Act  
of Parlia-  
ment.

Conduct of  
Irish Par-  
liament.

By this Act, the British Parliament reserved to itself the power of regulation in all time to come; but left to Ireland the choice to follow her regulations; or to give up a share in the trade. But the conduct of the Irish Parliament, even on this memorable occasion, is not a little remarkable: they passed a law, in compliance with the above, enacting the impositions, regulations, and restrictions, required by the



British Act; but without reciting, or recognising, the power reserved by the British Parliament to regulate in future: the preamble being, "Whereas it is deemed reasonable, and for the advancement of trade and encouragement of manufactures, that all goods, &c." Irish Statute, 20th of Geo. III. ch. 4.

I do not say that this was purposely omitted, with a view to create doubt or ambiguity as to the power of legislation; though, as it now stands, it undoubtedly has that effect; but it was, even at the moment of receiving a favour, a signal proof of the jealousy of the Irish Parliament, which refused to acknowledge the superiority of the British Parliament even over their own immediate concerns.

Under this Act, the kingdom of Ireland has an *absolute and unlimited right* to a free trade; but not unconditionally, for it can only be enjoyed, by being made liable, by her own Parliament, to *equal duties and drawbacks*, and *subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, in all other respects*, as the Parliament of Great Britain shall, from time to time, think fit to enact. It is unnecessary to add, that Ireland enjoys this right merely in consequence of this grant, as a member of the British empire; and

Right of  
Ireland to a  
free trade.



would forfeit the right by hostility or separation.

Here then we see, that the British Parliament possesses the exclusive right of regulating an extensive branch of the trade of Ireland. But this is not all. By the power of imposing additional duties, she has an *indirect* power of taxing Ireland also: the taxes, indeed, so raised, must be by her own Parliament; and would be at their disposal: but if not imposed, in consequence of the Act of the British Parliament, the kingdom of Ireland would forfeit the branch or branches of trade, on which they had been laid by the British Parliament; not for ever, but until the Irish Parliament imposed the same duties, and similar regulations, restrictions, &c.

Whoever reflects on the nature of two independent Parliaments, and considers the state in which this great question, involving the most essential interests of the two kingdoms, has been left; with a right of taxation and regulation in the one Parliament; acquiesced in, but not acknowledged by the other; and further takes into the account the jealousy shown by the Irish Parliament, even at the time of receiving the grant; will readily perceive a fertile and alarming source of jealousy and dissatisfaction,



satisfaction, which never can be removed, but by an United Parliament.

But to delay applying a preventive to the mischiefs that may be expected to arise from the present state of this question, would be a very culpable imprudence; or to depend that a very probable event will never happen, because it has not hitherto taken place, is too weak to call for any answer. The experience of ages would, in such a case, be no argument; for it might happen on the next occasion that occurred. In the present question, however, even this semblance of reasoning is wanting; for the Irish Parliament has, on various occasions, differed on matters of common import, with the Parliament of Great Britain; and if no bad consequences have followed, it must be imputed, more to the temper of the one, than the prudence and discretion of the other.

It did happen on the question of the regency, in 1789; when the Irish Parliament exercised its powers in a manner that laid the foundation for very serious discussions with the Parliament of Great Britain. If the temporary indisposition of the King produced, in the first instance, so material a deviation from the proceedings in the British Parliament; and so essential a difference in the powers, with which the regency

Different  
proceedings  
in British  
and Irish  
Parliaments in  
1789,



was to have been invested in the two kingdoms; who will pretend to say, to what greater lengths the difference might have been carried, if the recovery of our gracious Sovereign had not prevented the question from coming to a decision?

in 1782,

A second instance is to be found in the proceedings of 1782, on which occasion we have seen, that the Parliament of Ireland evaded, or, as Mr. Grattan says, rejected a proposition for a final settlement, though recommended by two different messages from the Throne; and a

in 1799.

third will be found in the Address of the Commons to His Majesty, in answer to the speech from the Throne, at the opening of the last Session; in which they not only omitted taking any notice of the most important point of His Majesty's speech, an Union of the two kingdoms, but struck out of their Address the paragraph that related to it.

I will not stop to inquire, if such a conduct was dignified or parliamentary in itself; or dutiful and respectful to the Crown: but it deserves to be most particularly brought forwards to view, as a proof, the most positive and satisfactory, of a great and important fact; to which I now wish to call the attention of my reader; that the powers of the Crown, which is



now the only bond of connexion between the two kingdoms, are too weak to ensure respect to itself, or to preserve a co-operation between the two Parliaments in great emergencies, or important questions ; where the general interests of the empire are equally concerned, and where co-operation is essential to their very existence.

Powers of the Crown, the only bond of connexion, insufficient ;

Our Constitution has wisely encircled the Crown with prerogative, and strengthened it with patronage and influence, in order to render it efficient as a branch of the legislative power, not only to support it in regular contests with the two Houses of Parliament, but against the more irregular and violent assaults of civil commotion and insurrection.

In order that the powers of the Crown may be adequate to these constitutional objects, they must, at all times, be in proportion to the power of the other branches of the Legislature, and to the strength of the people whom it is appointed to govern. It is evident that when the Parliament of Ireland acquired new powers, and an independence which has a natural tendency to separation, the power of the *only remaining bond of connexion* ought, in prudence, to have been made proportionally stronger ; but this has been so far from being the case, that we shall find it has been made proportionally weaker ;



reduced in  
Ireland.

weaker ; for after every thing had been gained for commerce and constitution, and that Parliament had repeatedly declared, that no constitutional question would exist to disturb the harmony ; the Irish Parliament directed its attacks against the Crown itself, as the last bulwark that remained to be destroyed, the last grievance that excited their jealousy and dissatisfaction. Was the intention to weaken the connexion by weakening the only power on which it depended ? or was it the effect of a restless spirit of opposition, hunting for measures to distress Government, and to revive the dying sparks of their expiring popularity ? But above all, to what secret springs and underhand workings shall we ascribe the success obtained over the Crown by a handful of men, who had ceased to be formidable from having lost their consequence with the people ? If the fortress could not have been taken by assault, it could only have been by a voluntary surrender, or by an understanding with the garrison :—if the articles of capitulation secured very great and valuable advantages to the garrison at the expense of the governor, there would at least be a strong presumption of a secret understanding.

Place Bill.

Pension do.

Be this as it may, in the year 1793 a Place Bill was passed, and a Pension Bill, in which His Majesty was made to surrender, during his life, the hereditary revenue settled on the Crown at the



the Restoration, accepting in lieu thereof a Civil List establishment of 145,000*l.*, and a Pension List of 80,000*l.*; but the Act of 1795, introduced under the title of a Responsibility Bill, and which afterwards passed under the title of a Bill for the better Regulation of the Receipts and Issues of His Majesty's Treasury, &c. had for its direct object the transferring the patronage of the Crown from the King's Representative to the servants of the Crown.

Responsibility Bill.

Without entering into a detail of particulars relative to these Acts, it will be universally allowed, that they have a direct tendency to reduce the influence of the Crown; the object indeed for which they were professedly introduced—and that is the only point I have in view, at present, to ascertain.

Their tendency.

The next inconvenience that the Crown lies under, arises from the person of the sovereign being unknown: from his residence in another kingdom, all the support and influence that might otherwise be derived from his personal virtues or amiable qualities are entirely lost; and even the patronage, which is only left as a naked and undisguised engine of government, and therefore always in a degree unpopular, is liable to many additional disadvantages

Crown subject to other inconveniences,



from dele-  
gation,

vantages from the circumstance of a delegated authority, which being only temporary, cannot possibly have the interest of a proprietor in the exercise ; and may naturally be supposed to consult the ease and quiet of its own individual administration, more than the permanent interests of the Crown ; or the accommodation of a successor, who is frequently an object of hatred, of jealousy always.

The consequence of this is, that the most valuable branches of the prerogative of the Crown, and the first honours it has to bestow, are brought into contempt with the people, by an improper choice of the persons on whom they are injudiciously conferred ; and thus a popular clamour and odium are excited against the Crown itself.

from com-  
bination,  
&c.

These inconveniences exist in the very nature of a delegated power, and they have a direct tendency to weaken the influence of the Crown in its operation, as the only bond of connexion between the two kingdoms, even when that power rests entire in the hands of the King's Representative, and is exercised by him ; but if by any accident, or in consequence of arrangement, as under the Responsibility Act ; or of combination among the servants of the Crown, as has frequently happened in the history of



Ireland, the power should be transferred from the hands of the Lord Lieutenant to the servants of the Crown; it would follow of course that the power of the Crown would not only be passive and unable to preserve itself, and maintain the connexion between the two countries; but that it might be converted into an engine to destroy the one and to abolish the other; for, in case of such an event, the greater the power, the more certainly would it produce its own ruin.

The irritable pride of two distinct kingdoms, the touchy jealousy of two independent Parliaments, and the increasing prosperity of the kingdom of Ireland, all tend, by the physical laws of gravitation, to carry her from her connexion with Great Britain, and act as an increasing *centrifugal force*. To counteract this force, the influence of the Crown, or *attractive power*, ought to reside in Great Britain, to which she is to be attracted; but if by any circumstance the *centripetal power* should be added to the *centrifugal*, separation must be the immediate consequence.

Centrifugal  
force, and

centripetal  
power.

In a country, too, situated as Ireland, with a free Constitution and an independent Parliament residing in that country, and the Executive Power in another, the immediate consequence



Struggles  
for power  
and patron-  
age.

quence must be, a constant struggle for power and patronage between Prerogative and Office, between the Crown and the Parliament, between the servants of the Crown in the one kingdom and the servants of the Crown in the other: and accordingly we find the political history of Ireland to consist of little else than accounts of the struggles for power between those contending parties. But what is not a little remarkable is, that the Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland has generally been at the head of such combinations, and considered as the Minister of the country; the Government of which has been more or less tinged by his character; and quiet or turbulent, in proportion as he has been ambitious or otherwise.

Irish Speaker  
the Mi-  
nister of the  
country.

Lords Jus-  
tices.

From the accession of the House of Hanover, for it is unnecessary to go higher, to the year 1767, when Lord Townshend was appointed *resident Lord Lieutenant*, Ireland had been principally governed by Lords Justices; the Lord Lieutenant going over for only a few months every second year, for the meeting of Parliament; and during the whole of that period, except about four years, from 1754 to 1758, the Speaker was invariably one of the Lords Justices of the kingdom.

During



During the reign of George I. the Speaker Speaker Conolly. Conolly enjoyed the confidence of the Crown, without perverting it to the private objects of ambition or interest. He was succeeded in 1730 by Sir Ralph Gore, who dying two years after was succeeded by Henry Boyle, a man of Henry Boyle, Speaker. popular manners, superior abilities, and aspiring mind. The great power he acquired in consequence made him impatient of control, and frequently gave umbrage to his employers, whom he always considered and frequently treated as inferiors; supported by a great majority in the two Houses, he conducted the King's business with facility; and the Lord Lieutenant submitted to his terms, and acquiesced in his power, till the Duke of Dorset and his son and Secretary, Lord G. Sackville, less patient of control, tried to break the power of this overbearing combination, by throwing the patronage into the hands of Primate Stone, an Primate Stone. Englishman, deficient neither in abilities or address, though infinitely inferior in popular arts to his formidable rival. The Speaker prevailed in the struggle\*, which had been carried

\* A surplus had accumulated in the Treasury, which His Majesty had the power of disposing of by his letters to the Lord High Treasurer; but preferred recommending to the House of Commons to apply it for objects of national improvement. The subject of the contest was, whether this should be done by the King's *consent* or *assent*: every



Earl of  
Shannon.

ried on with uncommon violence for several years, and Government were reduced to capitulate. Speaker Boyle was created Earl of Shannon, with a pension of 2000*l.* a year for thirty-one years, and Mr. John Ponsonby was raised to the Chair. A coalition had taken place between the contending parties, and the Primate, Earl of Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, were appointed Lords Justices.

Combina-  
tion on the  
accession  
of His pre-  
sent Ma-  
jesty,

defeated by  
the Earl of  
Kildare.

Things went on quietly until the death of George II. rendered it necessary to call a new Parliament; and the Law of Poynings requiring heads of a bill to be certified by the Privy Council into England, as causes and considerations for calling a Parliament; the effects of combination again showed themselves in stopping the heads of the bill required; until the popular leaders had made their bargain, and come to an agreement with the new Administration: and though the object of the combination was defeated, and the heads of a bill carried in the Privy Council by the spirited conduct of the late Duke of Leinster, then Lord Kildare, Government was not sufficiently strong to risk a contest; though a resolution

man was ready with his plan, and the spoil was, as usual, divided among the victors. This famous scramble produced a thirst for public money, and a spirit of jobbing, that shot their roots deep into the Irish system.

was



was then formed, which was afterwards executed on the death\* of Lord Shannon, to break down the force of this combination by abolishing the office of Lords Justices, and appointing a resident Lord Lieutenant.

Notwithstanding this precaution, the effect of combination has been frequently felt; under the Administration of Lord Buckinghamshire powerfully, though it acted in disguise; at the time of the Regency openly and avowedly, for a number of the servants of the Crown not only, on that occasion, went over to Opposition; but did not blush to secure their continuance in office by a round robin engagement, which gave the law to Government, and obliged the Lord Lieutenant to retire.

If combination against Government has not prevailed more for some years in Ireland, it is to be greatly ascribed to the honourable conduct of the first servant of the Crown in that kingdom, who has been ever faithful to his trust; and to the present Lord Shannon, who, from the time of accepting office, has never made any attempt to regain from the Crown the great and extensive power that his father had so long enjoyed.

Lord Clare.

Lord Shannon.

\* In December 1764.

Without



Without entering into any detail of the present state of parties in Ireland, which is unnecessary, as it might appear invidious, I am persuaded that every man who reflects on the present political situation of that country, will be convinced, that combination is a vice inherent in its very nature, and which cannot fail to disturb, if not to destroy, the connexion between the two kingdoms; except the prerogative and patronage of the Crown can be at all times secured to the Executive Power, in whose hands they can only be safely lodged, for the valuable purposes for which they were originally granted by the constitution; and since experience has shown the inefficacy of all other measures that have been tried to effect this object, it becomes more necessary to adopt an Union, by which alone it can be effectually secured.

Inconvenience to the Crown from religious distinctions.

Another great inconvenience that the Crown is exposed to in the government of Ireland, arises from the peculiar circumstance of the legislative power being lodged in the hands of the religious distinction, who are a minority of the kingdom, to the exclusion of the majority. This circumstance infers a close connexion between Government and the favoured class: it confines the patronage of the Crown to them, and the places of honour or emolument. It accordingly produces heart-burnings and jealousies among the great body of the people, which they



they extend to the Government itself as a party in what they consider a system of partiality and injustice ; while the Government being dependant on the Parliament thus constituted, are narrowed in their intercourse with the people, and obliged frequently to wink at abuses which they want power to correct ; and thus Government is rendered unpopular, and accused of encouraging abuses by those who are ignorant of their real situation.

This certainly is not a moment for reducing the efficient power of the Crown in either kingdom ; but still less in Ireland, where, over and above the duties and offices that the Crown is charged with in this kingdom, it has a much more arduous and important task to perform—*the preservation of the connexion between the two kingdoms, of which it is the only bond* : and all that I have said on this subject must be considered with a reference to this object ; as a failure must prove not only injurious to the Crown itself, but ruinous to both countries.

I have thus, with a weak hand, given a faint sketch of an outline, which it would require infinitely greater abilities than mine, and more time than the circumstances will allow, to fill up in a proper manner. Strongly as I feel impressed with the importance of the subject, if I  
had



had given way to my feelings I should have painted, in much stronger colours, the imminent danger to which the state is exposed from the present connexion between the two kingdoms, and the necessity of an Incorporated Union; a necessity which, unfortunately, does not *now* rest on abstract reasoning; but appeals from theory to facts; from speculation to practice; from the inflammatory speeches on the *independence* of Ireland in the *senate*, to an appeal to *arms*, on the same grounds, in the *field*. The cause of rebellion had been long the favourite theme of Parliamentary declamation; and the unhappy men who were deluded into insurrection, had been taught to consider the *independence of Ireland*, for which they fought, to be their unalienable birthright.

Will those men, who rejected final adjustment in 1782, still persist in keeping a question open for more bloodshed, and all the terrors incident to civil war; or will they now, fatiated with blood, agree to put an end to the contest, and close the account, by uniting the two kingdoms on a solid and permanent basis for ever?

To the Parliaments of both kingdoms does the unhappy mother, bewailing the loss of her darling son, raise her supplicating eyes; to  
 them



them does the helpless orphan stretch his little hands ; to them does a kingdom, torn by civic discord and religious animosities ; stained by crimes, and desolated by fire and sword, look up for relief : while the many thousands of unhappy men who have lost their lives in the arbitration of this *unsettled question*, point to their bleeding wounds, and urge the necessity of a *final adjustment*.

This naturally leads me to



## P A R T III.

*The internal State of Ireland,*

Religious  
distinc-  
tions.

WHICH presents to our view the most jarring and ill-combined system of civil policy, that is, perhaps, to be found in the annals of mankind—a people divided into two religious distinctions struggling for ascendancy; united only in locality, disunited in views and interests.

Establish-  
ment;

reasons for.

In every other country where religious distinction has been made the test of office, the *majority* has constituted the establishment. In Ireland the case is reversed, in favour of the *minority*. The British laws were first introduced into Ireland for the exclusive use of the *British settlers* within the Pale, and after a time extended, as a favour, to the natives. The exercise of the British Constitution, which had likewise been introduced, was naturally confined to the *British settlers*; and while Ireland continued a *colony* of Great Britain, and even after she ceased to be a colony, a *dependant kingdom*, the British settlers had still a right to the exercise of the government, which was upheld and supported by Great Britain. But from the time that the Protestants or British settlers invited the Roman Catholics to join them, to free the kingdom



kingdom from what they called a state of slavery; and declared their Parliament *independent* of Great Britain; it is a consequence that they renounced the privileges which they possessed as *British settlers*.

They claimed an independent Legislature as a *nation*; they now exercise it as a *faction*. If they were right in their claims on Great Britain, they must be wrong in excluding the *majority* of the kingdom from a participation. By renouncing the legislative power of Great Britain they renounced their right to monopoly, and must now abide by the consequences, or come to a new arrangement.

Reversed by  
independence.

For in the present system of monopoly of power and office, of the honours and distinctions of the state, in the hands of the minority of a people, from all which actuating and desirable objects a great majority of them are excluded;—inveterate enmity, deeply-rooted jealousies, and deadly feuds, are the natural and inseparable consequences--the angry and discordant passions are inevitably accumulated, ready to burst into action on every trivial occasion.

Consequences

Such an unnatural state, contrary to the *physical laws* of the world, never did exist, and never can exist, for any length of time; and if

from a view  
of physical  
causes.



Ireland were, in fact, what she vainly pretends to be, *independent*; that is, if she were left by England to uphold the independence she proudly boasts of, she would soon have reason to lament the effects of her vanity and ambition; and to be convinced that she had claimed a power which must prove her destruction; and set up a pretension which destroys itself if left to its natural operation.

Experi-  
ence.

If in the year 1798 Ireland had been left to the exercise of her boasted independence, or if Great Britain were either now, or at any future period, to leave her to settle her contending interests and religious divisions, and to decline interfering in her domestic differences, the contest would, indeed, be of short duration, and must infallibly be terminated by the overthrow of the present establishment in church and state. Protestant Ascendancy, which can only be supported by British connexion, must expect to be thrown aside as an insolent usurpation; and Catholic Emancipation might be expected, by the law of retaliation, founded on the vindictive passions of the human heart, to be transformed into Catholic tyranny, instead of stopping short at Catholic ascendancy.

Superiority  
of numbers.

If any man is weak enough to imagine, that such a civil policy as that of Ireland is at the present



present moment, can subsist of itself, I desire him only to take a pair of scales in his hand, to put one pound in the one scale and three in the other, and satisfy himself that his opinion is contrary to the order of things. If, in the recent struggles, the weight of Great Britain had not been thrown into the scale; Protestant Ascendancy and Irish Independence must have kicked the beam.

Dr. Duigenan, in his *Fair Representation*, p. 164, advances a contrary assertion; he says, "The strength and puissance of Irish Romanists have been put to the trial in their late rebellion. They were vanquished and completely subdued by the Protestant power of the nation, without any assistance from England, in the course of about six weeks."

Contrary  
assertion of  
Dr. Duigenan  
examined.

I am far from a wish to detract from the merits and good conduct of the Protestant power of Ireland, by reminding the Doctor of what is due to the English and Scotch fencibles, whose example, discipline, and services, had no small influence on the good behaviour of the Irish militia; and who by their exertions kept down and smothered the rebellion, particularly in Ulster, and saved the country from ruin.

But



But so far was this from being done without the assistance of England, in another respect, that without the constant supplies of money remitted from that kingdom, there would not have been a shilling in the Irish treasury to pay either Irish or British troops. The credit of Government in that kingdom was so low, that they could raise no supplies but in England, under the sanction of the British Minister, who was at last obliged to raise the Irish loans along with the British ; in which manner he has procured, since 1797, eight millions and a half from this kingdom for the service of Ireland ; though the Doctor now chooses to cancel the obligation by denying any assistance from England. It is true that the Irish nation pay the interest of the different loans that England has furnished for their service : but as I have not yet heard that the Roman Catholics have been exempted from contributing their share ; the Doctor cannot, with any more justice, claim this to the ability of the Protestants opposed to the Roman Catholics, than he can ascribe the quelling of the late rebellion to the Protestant power of the nation without the assistance of England. Now that the Roman Catholics are entirely vanquished, if the Doctor would take the trouble to satisfy Marquis Cornwallis, that the peace of the kingdom could be preserved by the Protestant power of the nation, His Excellency



cellency would, I doubt not, be very much obliged to him.

The counties of Wicklow and Wexford, the seat of the rebellion, may be considered as Protestant: the provinces of Munster and Connaught, where the Roman Catholics prevail, were never engaged in the rebellion: and the Irish militia, of whom three fourths, at the lowest computation, are Roman Catholics, behaved, on all occasions, with loyalty and zeal. General reflections on the Roman Catholics are therefore invidious, and the inferences unfounded.

I am ready to admit that the advantages enjoyed by the Protestants, in being possessed of all the places of power of the state, and farther supported by all the legal and constituted authorities, backed by a military force and the purse of the nation, may, for a time, counteract the superiority of numbers on the side of the Catholics; but without the further co-operation and assistance of Great Britain in the two great points, men and money, all these united advantages could neither secure internal peace, nor maintain the present system, to the exclusion of the Roman Catholics.

But



Power of  
the state de-  
stroyed by  
internal di-  
visions.

But wherever the established system of things cannot be preserved without the concurrence and assistance of a power without the state, Government there becomes, not the well-regulated movement of the combined powers of the state; but a compressive force, exerted to prevent the discordant effect of opposite powers from destroying each other. In a state so constituted, and consisting of two opposite factions counteracting each other, the weight and attention of Government are principally employed to preserve internal peace between the contending parties; by which occupation it is evident that the natural advantages, which ought otherwise to be derived from the united powers of such a state, in a contest with foreign and hostile nations, are greatly diminished; as what can be employed against a common enemy is only the difference between the two internal factions, and the surplus of the force in the hands of Government, that can be spared from preserving peace between them.

If this subject is touched on, the Protestant takes the alarm; he talks loudly of his *right* to an exclusive possession, and he appeals to the Constitution, supported by a variety of laws that are clearly in his favour.

The



The Roman Catholic, with equal warmth, claims his *natural rights*, treats exclusion as injustice; the laws as the grievance; and the length of possession, instead of giving a right from prescription, as the height of the injury. He represents that the Protestants, when considered as a part of Great Britain, first excluded the Catholics from Parliament, and then passed laws in their own favour, and for their own separate benefit, at the expense of the Roman Catholics. By whom is this point to be determined? To what tribunal is the difference to be referred? The Irish Parliament is a party. It is too manifest in what manner all such questions, involving the original rights of great bodies of men, must ever be decided; except a *third power*, with a common interest in the happiness of both the contending parties, can be found, to whose justice the arbitration of their differences may be safely entrusted: to give efficiency to such a tribunal, it is farther necessary, that it should possess the power to enforce its decrees, and carry its decisions into execution.

Natural  
rights deci-  
ded by arms,

or arbitra-  
tion.

It is very plain, that all these advantages would be derived from an *united Parliament*; which would be divested of all partialities, and local interests; which would have a common interest in satisfying the contending parties by doing justice between them, whose first object

United Par-  
liament, a  
proper um-  
pire.



must be to render them both useful to the state; which can only be, by removing and destroying the causes that, at present, occasion their differences, and which would possess power sufficient to carry the arrangement into effect. It is evident that this great object could not be accomplished either by partiality or injustice; and consequently that it is for the advantage of both parties to submit their differences to this mode of arbitration; instead of keeping alive the contest, which has already cost so much blood; and must cost so much more, while the determination lies between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics, before a court which is a party; and whose very formation is the great subject of litigation, and from which there is no appeal but to arms.

Obstacles to  
accommodation:

But such is the jealousy of the two parties, and such the opposition of *Protestant Ascendancy* and *Catholic Emancipation*, that whatever measure has the appearance of being approved by the one, creates distrust in the other; and the great difficulty is, to get them so far to hush their differences, as to listen to any proposition for accommodation: while the advocates for either, exclusively, push their arguments to the extreme; fresh warmth and violence are produced, instead of the temperament that leads to accommodation: while *statute law* and *natural*



*rights* knock their heads together, fresh passions are engendered; and the parties, strong in their respective pretensions, stand at open defiance.

Lord Minto, in his ingenious Speech, had given a beautiful theory of the relative situation of the two parties; with a view to ascertain the policy of the present system of exclusion, and the *natural right*, that a majoritty of any people possessed to a *participation*, at least, in the government of their country.

Lord Minto  
and Dr.  
Duigenan.

Natural  
rights.

Dr. Duigenan, with considerable irritation, takes the alarm at the first inquiry into the nature of the title, and flies, with his monopoly, to the *Statutes* for protection. Lord Minto, after examining the right that a minority had to make laws to exclude the majority, had added, that *prescription* could not sanctify injustice, or cure a title fundamentally wrong. The Doctor runs away with the word *prescription*, as if Lord Minto had stated it to be the only authority, under which the Protestants held and exercised their ascendancy; and quotes a long string of statutes in defence of their powers.

A little consideration would have convinced the Doctor that this waste of labour might have been spared; for Lord Minto had never called in question the existence of these statutes, nor



the right derived under them: his Lordship's inquiry being directed to the *principles*, on which these statutes had been framed, and how far the continuing such restrictive statutes was consistent with justice and good government. The statutes are the point at issue, the cause of complaint: without them the Roman Catholics would have no grievance; and Lord Minto's arguments would be without an object. The misunderstanding arises entirely from the Doctor's applying the word *right* to a totally different object from what Lord Minto had in his view; the Doctor sheltering the right of the Protestant under the statute law; and Lord Minto's inquiry being directed to the natural rights of the Roman Catholics in opposition to those statutes, from their being a majority of the people.

The Doctor, after taking a great deal of pains to reduce the relative numbers of the Roman Catholics, endeavours next to do away the force of the argument in their favour, from their being a majority; by saying, "that a majority of the people is to be estimated, not by the numbers or poll; but by property; inasmuch as property is the foundation of the *representative* system! Of the representative system, it certainly is; for, there, property being a representative of those who live under it, may very properly



perly be admitted as a criterion of numbers : but in disputes for political rights, between great bodies of men, *representation* must give way to *reality* : if they cannot settle their differences in an amicable manner, agreeable to the principles of equity ; the contest must be, ultimately, decided by *numbers* and *physical force*.

So that *this horn* of Lord Minto's dilemma, which the Doctor flattered himself he had destroyed, remains in the same state as he found it.

The Doctor is aware how tremblingly alive the Irish are, if the title to property be touched on ; and, probably to excite their alarm, has given them to understand, that Lord Minto had rested their *right to property*, as well as to *political franchise*, on prescription. He says, " The insinuation, that many Irish Protestants derive the titles of their estates from prescription, is equally groundless." The insinuation, if made, would, certainly, have been groundless : Lord Minto, however, in his Speech (p. 73), does say, " The Catholics of Ireland not only claim a participation in the *civil franchises* enjoyed by their Protestant countrymen ; but they *foster* claims on the *property* of Protestants, the present possession of which they treat as mere usurpation ; and these claims are of no trifling extent."

Title to  
property;

As



As this subject has, on every occasion of Roman Catholic claim, been brought forward to frighten the Protestants from relaxing; by representing the loss of their property as the consequence; I feel sorry that any thing should have fallen from so great an authority as Lord Minto, that could, in any manner, countenance an idea, that the *civil franchises*, and *property*, rested on the same foundation; and that a restoration of the former necessarily involves the latter. On such a point, men's fears are easily alarmed; the touching on the subject will be considered as an intimidation; and the snail does not, more instinctively, shrink within his shell, than the Protestant within his exclusive privileges, the instant that *property* is touched on.

Resump-  
tion impos-  
sible.

This I am convinced is owing to his fears, and not to his reason; for if he would but calmly consider this important subject as it really is, he will find, that it is now totally and absolutely impossible that a *resumption of property should ever be proposed in Ireland, in whatever hands the government of that country may be*; as it will be easy to show that the Roman Catholics are *now* no less interested than the Protestants, in preserving the present establishment of property, as founded on charters or statutes, for the reasons that I shall assign hereafter.

But



But as I have above, on the subject of civil rights, appealed from the *law* to *principle*, on which the law was founded; I may be asked, why others may not do the same in the case of *property*? I answer, that they are in every respect different. Property is the creature of the law, and belongs to an individual, or individuals, exclusively: civil rights are the birthright of the people, or community: property may be alienated and transferred from one hand to another, in a variety of ways, prescribed by law; it may be divided and subdivided through a number of hands: but *civil rights*, though they may be seized by force or suppressed by violence, are a species of mortmain, belonging to the community, that cannot be alienated.

Difference between civil rights and property.

So far for a difference in the theory; but possession will not be quieted with theories: I come then to practice.

The date of the last forfeitures in Ireland is upwards of one hundred years old; and such is the delicate nature of property, that a law was passed in Great Britain, to limit the *nullum tempus* of the King's claim to royal demesnes to sixty years; between man and man forty years give a prescriptive right in England, and twenty in Ireland: the same law is to be found in the jurisprudence of every country in Europe; from which

Irish forfeitures.



which I desire to claim no more, than that the *principle* is universally recognised as a *first principle*; a departure from which would be productive of much greater injury and inconvenience than the observation of it; and that consequently all men are interested in preserving it.

The next consideration derived from the lapse of time is this, that if a law now were to pass, offering to restore the estates forfeited in 1699, to the representatives of the then proprietors, I do not believe that twenty could be found, who could prove their descent in a court of justice; the proprietors fled to the continent, generally entered into foreign service, and few of that profession settle and marry; and the descendants of the few, who may be now alive, would find it next to an impossibility to prove their descent; owing to the destruction of registers and records in France, and other distant causes. If this difficulty were got over, and their title-deeds preserved, it would, in most cases, be impossible to trace the property itself.

I have heard a great deal of maps, kept in foreign colleges, like bugbears to frighten children. I have seen some of them, and I can truly say they are fit for no other place, and seem to have been formed for the fabulous ages  
of



of the Irish history, as all the divisions are, into countries of O'Shaughnessys, O'Briens, O'Connors, &c. &c. without counties, cities, rivers, or mountains.

Doctor Duigenan, in his Appendix on the Comparative Property of Irish Protestants and Roman Catholics, has given a very defective view of that subject; by confining his inquiry to property held *in fee*, without taking into the consideration the various other ways by which a man may, in Ireland, acquire a property in land: for though the Roman Catholics could not purchase lands in Ireland from the year 1703 till 1782, nor lend on mortgage, or take leases for ever, or for lives; yet various modes of evasion had been introduced in practice, for the accommodation of the Roman Catholics; such as long leases for 99 years, and 999 years; and fining down the rent of such leases to a pepper-corn; which in fact transferred the property to the lessee; which species of property came into great request, being easily transferred, and not subject to judgment debts, as fee-simple property; and bonds were, by entering judgment, made *liens* on the estate; so that no bond was passed, in Ireland, without a judgment: insomuch that I believe I may venture to say, that there are very few estates in the kingdom, in which the Roman Catholics

Compara-  
tive state of  
property.



have not a considerable interest, in one or other of the above ways: besides the other modes of acquiring property, by descent, succession, by will, marriage settlement, and by purchase and mortgage, since 1782.

Whoever reflects on the above circumstances, and considers through how many different hands the forfeited property may have passed in the course of an hundred years, will perceive how impossible resumption is become; as the Roman Catholics themselves would be injured by it, and are interested with the Protestants in preserving property on its present footing; for I believe every body will agree, that for every Roman Catholic interested in resumption, there are thousands interested in preserving property under its present settlements.

Usurpation  
of Crom-  
well.

The usurpation of Cromwell did not last ten years; and yet, in that short space, the forfeitures had passed through so many hands, that resumption was found impracticable; and on the Restoration, a law was passed, confirming all the grants of the usurper.

Property  
destroyed  
by anar-  
chy,

While there is a regular established government in Ireland, whether the Protestants have the ascendancy, or the Roman Catholics, property is equally secure: property has nothing  
to



to fear but from anarchy; and those who have the greatest share of property in Ireland, are more immediately interested in preserving order by the most liberal attention to the great body of the people; instead of exasperating them to excess and disorder; first by excluding them from the honours and emoluments of their common country, and then treating them with contempt and abusive language; for this is pouring oil on the fire, and adding insult to injury.

Whenever, on the contrary, the people are provoked by injury, or goaded by insult, to fly to arms; property has every thing to dread from the subversion of government. In the late rebellion, property was in imminent danger; not in consequence of the claims of the Catholics, but from jacobinical principles, calculated to make war on property, as such, without any respect of the persons to whom it belonged.

and jacobinical principles.

If Doctor Duigenan be right in calculating that scarce a twentieth of the landed property of Ireland belongs to Roman Catholics; it is to be regretted that such an unequal distribution exists; it is like a ship with her ballast stowed all to one side. Is it wonderful, if constant confusion should prevail in a country, where two thirds of the people have so little interest in preserving order? Again, if the Doc-

Unequal distribution of property.



Inequality  
of numbers.

tor were right in charging all the insurrections and rebellions in Ireland to the Roman Catholics, would not this inequality alone, account for its being so? But the truth is, that all disorders, in any country whatever, must be the disorders of the majority; consequently in Ireland belong to the Roman Catholics; and certain it is, that in whatever manner, or on whatever pretence, a civil war has broken out in Ireland, it has uniformly degenerated into a war of religious distinctions. Even the late rebellion, which was begun, planned, and contrived by the Dissenting republicans of Belfast; and which was purposely formed to unite all religions against British connexion, no sooner broke out, than the principle was overpowered by the majority of the Roman Catholics, whose deep-rooted prejudices led them to direct their vengeance on the churches and the clergy; as the Protestants have since retaliated by burning chapels and destroying cottages, in spite of every precaution that has been used to prevent such excesses.

Asperity of  
religious  
distinc-  
tions.

The Doctor may be considered as the Fugate man of Protestant Ascendancy; and whoever looks into his book, will find the asperity which religious distinction infuses into party, strongly portrayed; and be satisfied that, if this spirit were universal, I have far understated the fertile



tile source of jealousy and discontents that must inevitably distract that unhappy country from the difference of religion, and the difference of the political situation of the professors.

When we find Doctor Duigenan, whom I never heard distinguished for a cruel disposition, who is esteemed a good moral man, so far heated by this spirit, as to speak of Lord Cornwallis's humanity, as a criminal weakness; and to censure the conduct of two of his officers for sparing the lives of 600 of *the poor wretches*, shut up in the Wicklow mountains; and for trying to reclaim them from their delusion, by a dance and a glass of whiskey, instead of butchering them in cold blood, when they were in their power; we should only rest our view on the dreadful effects produced by the gall of religious division on the milk of human kindness; and, passing over the individual, draw the general inference, that good policy as well as humanity enforce the obligation of correcting the system that breeds such deadly enmity and hostile passions; for these are not the effects of the religion; but of the grafting a political system on religious distinctions.

But even these passions are not common to all the Protestants; the generality of whom may be allowed to have liberal sentiments, and  
to



Orange-  
men.

to be disposed to accommodation with their countrymen of the Roman Catholic religion; and accordingly the violent opposers have been marked by the name of Orangemen; from King William, who laid the foundation of the penal code against Roman Catholics; and these are subdivided, on this occasion, into Ecclesiastie and Laymen; the former inclining to an Union, the latter furious in their opposition.

Few men are capable of forming abstract views of general utility; and still fewer capable of the generosity required to sacrifice private interests to the good of the community. We shall therefore consider the different effects to be expected from an Union, on the different interests; in order to account for this difference in the conduct of two classes of men united in a common enmity to their Roman Catholic countrymen.

Church of  
Ireland

The church of Ireland is not only an object of jealousy to the Roman Catholics, and, in her present state, must ever be exposed to danger from that quarter; but, from the peculiar circumstance of being possessed of a very great landed property, which is an object of jealousy to the Protestant gentry, who regard it with an evil eye; she cannot rely on her own sons for support; and runs the risk of being sacrificed



sacrificed to a compromise between her friends and her foes. Her conduct in embracing British connexion, in the hope of identifying her interests with the church of England, is very prudent and perfectly just; as she can more safely rely on the justice of an United Parliament, than on her suspicious allies in the Parliament of Ireland. favours Union.

Church lands have lost the benefit, derived to lay property, from a common interest; owing to the very circumstance, which was intended for their security, their being unalienable. Church lands.

Landed property, *held in mortmain*, being, like civil rights, unalienable, may be considered as belonging to the community, rather than to individuals.

The power of the Legislature over the landed property of the church; to regulate, limit, and dispose of, is so fully recognised, and has been so frequently exerted, that a doubt cannot exist on the subject.

Of tithes I say nothing, whether the right to them be founded on the bible or the statute-book; on right divine, prescription, or law. The tithe of potatoes, the scourge of the cottager, calls loudly for Parliamentary regulation. Tithes of potatoes.



A *modus* would rescue the poor man from a grievous oppression, and prevent the shocking cruelties that clergymen and tithe-farmers have too often experienced in consequence.

Church  
land, a bar  
to improve-  
ment.

The quantity of land belonging to the church of Ireland is acknowledged, universally, to be a bar to national improvement. If, with better management, it should be found sufficient, in addition to the tithes, to maintain the established church with becoming dignity and ease; and, at the same time, to afford a decent maintenance to the Roman Catholic clergy; would it not be a very desirable measure, and a very wise one, both for the Government, and the Church itself?

I am a sincere friend to the established church of Ireland; but I am still more so to religion: and can never lose sight of the great object of melting down religious distinctions, and forming two inimical sects into one community of Christians and friends.

Roman Ca-  
tholic hie-  
rarchy.

A *hierarchy*, unacknowledged by law, and independent of the Crown, an *imperium in imperio*, is full of danger to the state. If the Roman Catholic priesthood were maintained by the state, they must of course be dependent on the government; which they would, from thence, have an interest in supporting: instead  
of



of being the channels of faction, agitation, and insurrection, they would become the preachers of order, subordination, and quiet. The lean beasts are always restless and troublesome, and breaking down the fences of the rich enclosures; the fat cattle enjoy themselves, and lie quiet.

It is a mistake that there is any thing, in the Roman Catholic religion, that precludes such a connexion between the government and their church, as the public good requires. Under the French monarchy, the Parliament of Paris condemned, as strongly as the Parliament of Great Britain, that dangerous tenet formerly advanced by the Popes, that they had a power to absolve subjects from their allegiance; and, that excommunicated kings might be deposed by their subjects: the doctrine was abominable, and it ought to be renounced. The kings of France appointed to all benefices, the Pope possessing nothing but an appeal, *in spiritualities*. On the same ground, the matter of supremacy might be easily adjusted in Ireland.

French  
church un-  
der monar-  
chy.

It will, I think, be allowed to be a matter of little consequence as to the state; whether ordination, consecration, induction, &c. be derived from the Pope or the Primate; while the ap-  
N
pointment



pointment to all temporalities is vested in the King.

Lay  
Orangemen  
oppose  
Union:

The same reasons, that very properly induce the church of Ireland to favour an Union with Great Britain, ought, if well understood, to have the same effect on the lay Orangemen, who now give it so a violent an opposition; though certainly some excuse is to be made for those, who consider themselves possessing an *exclusive right* to the places and the emoluments of the state; objects which no man can be expected to resign without regret, even when compelled by justice and necessity so to do.

their in-  
terest in  
boroughs.

The sacrifice they are called on immediately to make, in consequence of an Union, is the property they possessed in boroughs; and when we consider that this species of property was of all others the most sought after, as giving distinction, consequence, and consideration to the possessor; it must be allowed that every attention is due to make an adequate compensation for what it may have been the work of ages to acquire; since the sacrifice becomes necessary to the public good, and the peace of the country. For though they will gain in common with all their countrymen by an Union, their peculiar situation demands a peculiar attention, even after all the abatement that can be made,  
from



from this species of property's not being recognised by the constitution; from the possession being precarious, and subject to many accidents and difficulties; and, above all, from its being the particular object of jealousy to the Roman Catholics, who constantly tacked a Reform of Parliament to their demand of being admitted to a seat in the Senate.

Of the 300 Members composing the House of Commons of Ireland, about 180 were returned by close boroughs, consisting of twelve burghesses, and a sovereign or chief magistrate, scattered like fortresses over the country for the protection of, and encouragement to new settlers. While these remained in the hands of Protestants, Roman Catholics, if admissible, had small chance of being returned. The mode of Parliamentary Reform proposed in England, was an additional number of county Members; as least liable to the influence of the Crown: but the object in Ireland, was to favour the admission of Roman Catholics to borough elections; by extending the right of voting, not only to the freeholders and freemen within the borough, but to those resident in a certain district round it.

State of  
Irish representation.

Reform.

Without some such change in the present system of representation, the Roman Catholics



would never have been satisfied; and if the borough-owner now receives a proper compensation, he will realize an uncertainty; he will escape from wrangling and quarrels; and cut off a fruitful pretext for disorder and agitation. So that, every thing considered, I doubt not that, if a proper compensation be given, he will think he makes a very good bargain. At all events, the interests of fifty or sixty individuals cannot be allowed to stand in the way of a great national arrangement, which will give peace and order to their distracted country; and secure the present establishment in church and state, by an incorporation with Great Britain.

Roman Catholics interested in an Union.

If the Roman Catholics should from hence infer that they are consequently to be for ever excluded, as at present, from a participation in national advantages; they would argue very wrong; for the security and strength of the Protestants would remove the only just and reasonable objection that can be advanced by them, to any proposal for farther concession: their fears being once removed, their opposition will cease. At present, they dare not give a share for fear of losing the whole; as they are weaker in point of numbers, they find their safety in keeping the assailants without their intrenchments: when the garrison is reinforced, they



they can throw their gates open, without an apprehension of danger.

The Roman Catholics, therefore, should see, that it is their interest that the Protestants should be fully satisfied in this point; as the certain means of obtaining whatever they can, in justice, desire. But, if the Roman Catholics expect that articles of agreement should be entered into, beforehand, for special objects; they will expect what the nature of the circumstances renders impossible; for there is no power now in existence, that could give them this assurance: the King cannot, much less can the Minister, though he has expressed his opinions, with regard to them, with sufficient precision to leave no doubt of his intentions, at a proper season. And the very object of the Union is to create a tribunal, before whom their claims will be sure to find an impartial reception, and a candid examination; and who alone will be competent to decide on their merits.

The only question for them is now to decide, whether they will repose their confidence in an united Parliament, who can have no object but to satisfy every class of His Majesty's Irish subjects; and whose wish must be to remove internal divisions, and to form them into one people:

or

Question  
for their  
considera-  
tion.



or will they retain their Parliament, as at present, which is one object of their complaints? will they trust to the justice and beneficent views of their gracious Sovereign, who has listened to their prayer and granted their requests after they had been rejected by their own countrymen? Will they rely on the Marquis Cornwallis, whose lenity and attentions they duly experience; or on the Orangemen, who now court their support? Will they rely on the men, who in 1789 excited their tenantry to commit the disorders which gave rise to the Peep of Day Boys, and Defenders\*? Will they trust the men, who, in 1792, pledged their lives and fortunes, at their county meetings, to support Protestant Ascendancy; and who, in 1793, endeavoured to defeat, when they could not prevent, His Majesty's gracious recommendation of their cause to the Irish Parliament, by introducing the exclusions of which they now complain?

\* In the summer of 1788, M. F. Esq. then High Sheriff of the county of Down, came to Dublin to request the then Lord Lieutenant to intercede with two Noblemen of that county, who, from mistaken zeal, were supposed to have encouraged their tenants to break into the houses of the Roman Catholics by night, under the pretence of searching for arms; as the disorders produced thereby, threatened serious consequences to the peace of the county. The Roman Catholics were then styled Defenders; a name they retained after they acted offensively; for the ensuing winter and spring they, under the pretence of retaliation, were guilty of great enormities.

The



The Roman Catholics now demand *Emancipation*. If they were in a state of slavery, in what other language could they sue to be released? As it may not be generally understood what is meant by this degrading epithet, I shall quote the clause of the Act 33 Geo. III. ch. 21. containing the enumeration of offices, &c. from which the Roman Catholics are excluded by the oaths required to be taken to qualify, &c.

Sec. 9. " Provided always, and be it enacted, that nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to enable any person to sit or vote in either House of Parliament, or to hold, exercise, or enjoy the office of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Lord High Chancellor, or Keeper or Commissioner of the Great Seal of this kingdom, Lord High Treasurer, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Justice of the Court of King's Bench or Common Pleas, or Baron of the Court of Exchequer, Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, Master or Keeper of the Rolls, Secretary of State, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Vice-Treasurer, or Deputy Vice-Treasurer, Teller and Cashier of the Exchequer, or Auditor General, Lieutenant,

Emancipation.

Proviso of  
33 Geo.  
III. ch. 21.



or Governor, or Custos Rotulorum of Counties, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this kingdom, Member of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Prime Sergeant, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Second and Third Sergeants at Law, or King's Counsel, Masters in Chancery, Provost or Fellow of the College of the Holy and undivided Trinity, Postmaster General, Master and Lieutenant General of His Majesty's Ordnance, Commander in Chief of His Majesty's forces, Generals on the Staff, and Sheriffs and Sub-sheriffs of any county in this kingdom : or any office contrary to the rules, &c. &c. &c. unless he shall have taken, made, and subscribed the oaths and declaration, and performed *the several requisites*, which by any law\* heretofore made, and now of force, are required to enable any person to sit or vote, or to hold, exercise, and enjoy the said offices respectively.

It must be admitted that the particulars of this proviso are of the most interesting kind, as objects of honest ambition and laudable pursuit : and it cannot be denied that exclusion and legal incapacity are degrading in themselves ; and that, in such cases, the injury, great as it

\* Test Act repealed in favour of Protestant Dissenters in 1780.



may be, is lost in the stigma it infers: in the case before us, it is alleged, that this might have been avoided, as the appointment to all the specified offices is in the hands of the Crown; who, it is contended, might have been safely entrusted with a discretionary power, without risk of danger or inconvenience to the state; in the like manner as the nomination of Justices of Peace was left to the discretion of the Chancellor by the same Act.

I think there is little doubt of the part that the Roman Catholics will act between an united Parliament and their present Parliament: but if any of them should be inclined to retort my former arguments of numbers and physical force, and to oppose an Union as transferring these advantages to the Protestants; and should further, suppose only in speculation, argue for the policy of connecting themselves with France, to counterbalance the power of the Protestants derived from a connexion with Great Britain; I will examine this view with the greatest candor, to leave nothing unexplained, whereon to hang a doubt.

Consequences of a connexion with France considered.

In the first place, Britain is not only much nearer to Ireland than France, and could sooner send troops and every kind of supply, but her  
o fleets



fleets commanding the sea, would prevent any regular supply from France from coming to Ireland. But supposing this were not so, has France, in her present exhausted state, even men to spare? You will learn the state of France from a very respectable authority, whose interest it was by no means to exaggerate the calamities he had been a very active instrument in bringing on his country. The Abbé Sieyès, in an address from the Executive Directory, of the 17th Fructidor, Sept. 3, 1799; issued by him as President to the French people, thus describes their situation :

State of  
France.

“ Citizens of every condition, be assured that the Directory, whose members lived lately among you, has accurately observed your *calamities* and *your wants*, and have reflected with sorrow upon the extent of the *privations* and the *sacrifices* which the imminent danger of the crisis has compelled the laws to impose.

“ They know what is felt by the *farmer*, *deprived of the hands by which he was assisted in his labour* ; by the *widow*, regretting the absence of the son who solaced her misery ; by the *soldier*, who has so often called, *in vain*, for *arms*, *subsistence*, and *clothes* ; by the *artisan* in want of employment ; by the *manufacturer*, whose business languishes ;



*languishes*; by the *artist*, whose talents receive no encouragement; and the *proprietor*, whose estate has fallen in value."

In the above description of republican France, every man among you will find the means of comparison with his own particular situation; and, without any remarks of mine, I will leave him to draw his own conclusion.

If France cannot send men, she can much less send money, which Great Britain supplies to Ireland with a bountiful hand: in the examples of the Netherlands, Holland, and Switzerland, you have before you the consequences of French connexion, and revolutionary principles. The French have first plundered, and then enslaved these wretched countries, whose infatuation blinded them to listen to the flattering seduction of proffered fraternity. But getting over all these strong considerations, I will farther suppose, that a numerous and well-appointed French force had actually landed in Ireland; a vigorous campaign must then take place, in which it is more than probable, that the exertions of Ireland (and here I include the loyal of all distinctions), backed and supported by Great Britain, would prevail, though the struggle might possibly be violent; and, most certainly, bloody and calamitous in the extreme.



But still, to leave no possibility unexamined, I will suppose, what you will all admit to be very improbable, that the French had enabled you to get the better. The first consequence of this new state of things must be, the destruction of your religion; which, though it might not greatly affect the rabble (for the rabble of all persuasions is every where the same), yet could not fail to make a great impression on those among you, whose attachment to their religion has made them give up the honours, the emoluments, and distinctions of the state.

In the next place, the trade of Ireland would be entirely ruined by the fleet of Great Britain; and your linen manufacture, the great article of your export, would be lost; by which Great Britain would save near a million a year, which it now costs her to give a preference to your linen over German linen, for her home consumption.

The supplies of money you have hitherto received from Great Britain would be stopped of course, and you would, besides, have to draw, from abroad, arms, ammunition, and military stores; and farther, to preserve the ascendancy thus acquired, a French army must be constantly kept in the country, of sufficient force to prevent the opposite party and Great Britain from



from recovering the government; and this French army must be paid and supported. Ireland does not abound in money; her natural produce must be put in requisition; her corn, beef, pork, and butter, that now bring such solid returns of British gold, must go to feed the armies of her new allies; who, if they paid at all, would pay for them by orders on the empty treasury of Ireland. And when they had drained you of every thing, and reduced you to misery, they would then leave you to settle accounts with Great Britain, irritated by your defection.

In this plain and intelligible view of French connexion, which is not overstrained in any one point, every man among you will be able to form a true judgment of its nature and consequence; and so well are these understood by the sensible and thinking men of your persuasion, that if a French army could, by any possibility, make good a landing in Ireland, I am convinced they would be joined only by the riot rout of raps and rapperies, whose excesses and disorders would render them weakness, and not strength, to any military operation.

Loyalty of  
Roman Catholics;

But this does not now rest on opinion; for the Roman Catholics have a right to claim the merit due to their loyal and honourable conduct,



shown in  
1796 and  
1798.

duct, both when the French fleet appeared in Bantry Bay, and when a landing was effected by Humbert in the Bay of Killala. Neither do the events of 1798 justify any general reflection on that body; for the insurrection did not originate with them, nor had it religion for its object, as men of all persuasions were unfortunately engaged in it. But if every man in arms had been Roman Catholic, what fair inference could be made, but that the *general sense* of that body was against them? The rebellion was confined to the three counties of Kildare, Wicklow, and Wexford, and more particularly to the two latter, where Protestant Ascendancy and religious distinction have been carried to the greatest lengths; but these three counties are not a tenth of the kingdom, nor the Roman Catholics resident in them a fifteenth part of that persuasion.

Experi-  
ment of  
Protestant  
Ascend-  
ancy in the  
county of  
Wexford.

If an agreement had been made at the Revolution to select one county in Ireland, for trying an experiment of the effect of *Protestant Ascendancy*, I defy any man to point out a circumstance that has been wanting to make that experiment in the most satisfactory manner in the county of Wexford. Who that knew the county of Wexford, or had ever heard of the Protestant Boys of Wexford, could have conceived that the Roman Catholics should have  
risen



rifen there? And yet fuch is the fact; the rebellion not only broke out there, but was marked with atrocities that difgrace human nature. Does this example encourage us to extend Protestant Ascendancy over the reft of the kingdom? Munfter and Connaught, where the Roman Catholic religion is predominant, as the Protestant in the county of Wexford, were perfectly quiet.

If fuch general reflections be unjuft, they are certainly impolitic in the higheft degree, as they have a direct tendency to irritate, to alienate the affections of the Roman Catholics, and to drive them into desperate meafures, when they find themfelves not only deprived of the fhare of approbation that belongs to loyalty and good conduct, but as a body fufpected of difaffection, and involved in a general charge of rebellion.

General reflections.

The Orangemen, in thus holding up the whole body of the Roman Catholics, indifcriminately, as ftate criminals, might have two objects in view—the firft, to expofe them to military execution; the fecond, to render them fufpected to Government, in the hope of preventing any farther relaxation in their favour.

Objects of Orangemen.

In



First defeated by Marquis Cornwallis.

In the first, they have been disappointed by the manly firmness of the Marquis Cornwallis, who has restrained the rage of contending factions ; who has made the laws be respected by distributing justice to the rich and the poor, the peer and the peasant, with a steady and impartial hand ; and who, from the general confidence reposed in his virtuous character by all ranks, has been enabled to stop the effusion of blood, and to restore order and tranquillity, to a surprising degree, in so short a time.

Second, may be converted to their advantage.

To defeat the second, and to wipe away the imputation of disaffection and turbulence that your enemies have endeavoured to affix on your general character, the present occasion is favourable, and ought to be carefully employed for so commendable an object.

Arts to mislead the vulgar,

The same arts are now employed to mislead the unsuspecting and ignorant, by an appeal to their predominant passion, the love of their country ;—their monopoly of power these men do not blush to call the independence of their country ; and they who, on every occasion, opposed any act of justice to PAPISTS, now invite them to join in acts of sedition against the King who



who has befriended them, and the Lord Lieutenant who has protected them.

The sensible and discerning part of the Roman Catholics are in no danger of being deceived by such insidious attempts; but they ought, at the same time, to exert themselves to guard the giddy and the thoughtless from any act of disorder or insubordination which might give any handle to reflect on their community; for the men that now tempt them would be, hereafter, the foremost to accuse them.

The Roman Catholics ought to remember, that, in their present political situation, this is the only manner in which they can, effectually, show their acquiescence and approbation of the measure of *An Union*; and by their loyal and orderly behaviour recommend themselves to His Majesty's favour, and the good opinion of their fellow-subjects.

In confirmation of what I recommend, I will quote an authority which must be ever dear and respected by every Roman Catholic Irishman. It is the Introduction of the great charter of their liberties, the Preamble to the famous statute of the 18th of His present Majesty, ch. 49. which broke the chains of the Penal Code, under which they had long groaned, and



Chief Baron Burgh.

restored them to the rights of freemen. It was, I believe, drawn by that great and good man, the late Chief Baron Burgh, and should be cherished as the legacy and advice of a departed friend.

Preamble  
to 18 Geo.  
III. ch. 49.

“ Whereas, by an Act made in this kingdom, in the second year of Her late Majesty Queen Anne, intituled, ‘ An Act to prevent ‘ the further Growth of Popery ;’ and also by another Act made in the eighth year of the said reign, for explaining and amending the said Act, the Roman Catholics of Ireland are made subject to several disabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned : and whereas, *from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same, and it must tend not only to the cultivation and improvement of this kingdom, but to the prosperity and strength of all His Majesty’s dominions, that his subjects of all denominations should enjoy the blessings of our free Constitution, and should be bound to each other by* MUTUAL INTEREST and MUTUAL AFFECTION : *Therefore* be it enacted,” &c. &c.

These principles of a liberal and enlightened policy deserve to be written in letters of gold. Roman Catholics ! you here see the road that leads to the accomplishment of all your wishes :  
your



your *uniform peaceable behaviour* has restored you to the rank you now hold in the state : a perseverance in an *uniform peaceable behaviour* will obtain for you every thing that now remains to be done.

Peaceable  
behaviour,  
and conse-  
quences.

By an Union with Great Britain you will farther acquire additional weight by uniting with the Roman Catholics of that kingdom, among whom you will find men of eminence and respectability, whose prudence and discretion will be of the greatest use to direct your proceedings; as the irreproachable conduct of that body, in general, will, it is to be hoped, have the most beneficial tendency in influencing you to follow so laudable an example.

Before I close this part of my subject, I would beg leave to call the most serious attention of both Protestants and Roman Catholics to the misfortunes that have desolated the once happy kingdom of France, and *which have been all produced by a contest between two classes or parties; situated, as to civil franchises, as they now are*, with this difference, that the distinctions between the classes in France did not originate from religious persuasion, as they do in Ireland.

State of  
France and  
Ireland  
compared.

The *Noblesse* and *Clergé* possessed, as the Protestants of Ireland, exclusive privileges to



all the great offices of honour, distinction, and consideration in the state, with one additional privilege indeed, an exemption from certain taxes, which they denominated ignoble; and the *Tiers Etat*, or majority of the people, demanded *equality* of rights, and *equality* of *burdens*, with as much violence as ever the Roman Catholics called for *emancipation*.

Their demand as to *burdens* appeared reasonable; and as there was a *deficit* in the public revenue, an *Assemblée de Notables* was called in 1788, for the purpose, and in the hope, of prevailing on the *privileged classes* to submit to an *equality of taxation*; but the *Noblesse* and *Clergé* clung to their privilege, and formed a factious opposition, which ended in the dissolution of the *Assemblée*.

The Court, disappointed of carrying the measure amicably, resolved on calling the *Etats Generaux*, consisting of the *Nobles*, *Clergé*, and *Tiers Etat*; which last was to consist of 600 members, and the two former of 300 each. This arrangement, calculated to give a preponderancy to the *Tiers Etat*, created great alarm among the *Noblesse* and *Clergé*, who saw themselves aimed at by it, and prepared for defence. The whole military force of the kingdom, the provincial governments, the forts and garrisons, were



were all in the hands of the *Noblesse*; the *discipline* was relaxed, and the seeds of disaffection sown through the army; while the *Clergé* railed and caballed against the King and the Court.

On the meeting of the *Etats*, the third estate, conscious of their own strength, and led by men of the first abilities, were unbounded in their demands; they insisted on the Three Chambers being united into one, and all questions being decided by the *appel nominal*, or majority of votes: the *Etats Generaux* were converted into an *Assemblée Nationale*, and the wildest pretensions succeeded. Not satisfied with destroying privileges, they felt themselves insecure if they did not abolish the privileged orders themselves, which soon led to the destruction of the King and the overthrow of the Government. The conduct of the *Tiers Etat* showed that great bodies of men are incapable of gratitude; and the *King*, the *Nobles*, and *Clergé*, saw the fatal effects of their disagreement when they became irreparable; and their union to counteract the consequences that threatened them all, only rendered the struggle more animated and more violent.

In this struggle, not only the King and the leaders of both parties have fallen victims, but government, order, law, religion, and property, have



have been buried in one common ruin. The sons of the revolution have successively sprung up in arms, as in the days of fable, from the *serpent's teeth*, only to destroy each other: the country at last, after being deluged with blood and exhausted by crimes, now flies to a MILITARY DESPOTISM to shelter her from the horrors produced by her *New Constitution*; and the struggling factions bend the knee to a *Corfican Adventurer*, and implore a STATE OF SLAVERY to rescue them from the *anarchy* of *independence* and *equality*.

Such are the consequences that have resulted from a struggle for civil rights between two great classes of the people in France; and such are the consequences that may most certainly be expected to arise from a struggle of the same kind in Ireland, if the good sense of both parties does not derive the benefit from this example, to unite amicably for a compromise, by which every thing that is valuable may be obtained, and every thing that is ruinous avoided.



## CONCLUSION.

NATURE has, for the wisest purposes, im-  
 planted in the heart of man a social passion, for  
 mutual assistance and general preservation. This  
 passion, as the mind enlarges and reason ex-  
 pands, extends itself by slow degrees, like the  
 gradations of an increasing series, from the fa-  
 mily and the home, to the community, the  
 kingdom, and the state. But early prejudice  
 and local attachment still cling round the first  
 objects of our affection, and yield at last, with  
 difficulty, to the voice of reason and the public  
 good.

Love of our  
country

What now constitutes a barony, formerly  
 constituted a kingdom; and the bickerings and  
 bloodshed with which their petty contests were  
 maintained, show us the difficulty with which  
*Union* was accomplished, even when mutual  
 advantage rendered a junction of strength in-  
 dispensably necessary to the safety of both, to  
 preserve them against a common enemy.

This honest prejudice has the strongest power  
 over the most ignorant and uninformed minds,  
 who are incapable either of reflecting on remote  
 causes, or judging of distant consequences;

subject to  
abuse.



and naturally exposes their unsuspecting tempers to be misled by the artful clamour of interested and designing men.

The clamour excited against the present salutary measure of an Incorporate Union has been industriously circulated, through the filaments of Parliamentary influence, over counties, corporations, and boroughs: it is the old story of *Long live Diana of Ephesus*! The impression made by misrepresentation, though it may be violent, is generally of short duration. It cannot stand the test of fair inquiry, and prejudice must subside as reason begins to operate.

Review of  
the subject.

I have avoided touching on the manifold benefits that an Union with Great Britain must produce on the general improvement of the wealth, strength, and happiness of the kingdom of Ireland, as this part of the subject has been already so ably and fully discussed. I have, on the other hand, endeavoured to show the absolute necessity for this measure, in order to correct the inconveniences and dangers that result from the present defective state of the political connexion between the two kingdoms; and to prevent the disorders and calamities that are the natural consequences of the present relative situation of the religious distinctions within the kingdom of Ireland.

I con-



I conceive that men may refuse their assent to an Union on the first ground, and balance private interest against public advantage ; but no man can reject it on the second, without sacrificing individual safety and general security to petty and partial considerations.

It is however extremely desirable that the question should be most minutely considered ; truth runs no risk from inquiry—and if every degree of personality could be thrown aside, the arguments might be weighed on their own merits. To set the example, I shall here state every Objection I have ever heard made to an Incorporate Union, without any reference to the persons by whom they have been advanced ; and shall annex such short Answers as, I trust, will carry conviction along with them, as they shall be founded in *facts* which cannot be called in question.

Objections  
to Union  
answered.

*First Objection.* The present prosperity of Ireland is owing to her *independant* Parliament.

First Ob-  
jection.

*Answer.* If a line of demarcation is to be drawn, the prosperity of Ireland is owing, exclusively, to her *dependant* Parliament ; for all the benefits to her trade, including the grant of a free trade in 1780, were acquired by the *dependant* Parliament, and none that I ever  
a heard



heard of by her *independent* Parliament ; but a mutual intercourse under the Navigation Act, or what is called the Re-export Trade, which, I believe, has never produced one thousand pounds profit to the kingdom.

Second Ob-  
jection.

*Second Objection.* Great Britain is jealous of the prosperity of Ireland, and proposes an Union in order to destroy her trade and her independence.

*Answer.* Ignorance alone of British liberty and British prosperity could listen to such a stupid calumny, which, in fact, contradicts itself : for if Great Britain were capable of harbouring such mean and base views, she could make the attempt only, while Ireland remains, as at present, in a separate state. But when Ireland becomes united with Great Britain, and a part of the same state, it is absolutely impossible for Great Britain to destroy either the *independence* or the *trade* of Ireland without becoming *felo de se*, and destroying her own at the same time. There will not be then *two* Parliaments, as now ; there will be but *one* Parliament, and *one* law, for every part of the empire.

Third Ob-  
jection.

*Third Objection.* British merchants and British manufacturers are not more likely to settle in



in Ireland, nor British capital to be employed there after an Union than before.

*Answer.* Circumstances may undoubtedly counteract the fairest prospects ; but an Union has a direct tendency, if not counteracted by unfortunate events, to produce all the above consequences ; for, in the first place, when the appeal from the Irish Courts to the British Parliament was taken away, the British, from want of confidence, drew their money out of Ireland. When the appeal is restored to their own supreme Court of Judicature, confidence will return with it ; and when the state of the country is such as to render it safe for men to venture their persons and property ; the fertile soil of Ireland, the mild climate, cheap provisions, and cheap labour, will infallibly attract both manufacturers and capital : but the country must be quiet, and order and subordination to the laws are necessary preliminaries.

If these take place, capital will not be wanting for every possible object of improvement and speculation. To enter into a detailed account of the present state of Great Britain, would lead me into too wide a field : but one simple view will be sufficient to convince the plainest understanding, that she abounds with capital at this moment, far beyond all former example.



example. During the course of the present war Great Britain has raised, one year with another, upwards of twenty millions every year over and above what will be wanting for her peace establishment. Her trade has, at the same time, been extended to an incredible degree, and her manufactures have increased in proportion: no enterprise has failed, no undertaking miscarried, for want of capital: and one happy effect of such unprecedented prosperity has been, the eradicating the spirit of jealousy formerly entertained of Ireland; so that at a peace, as Great Britain will have twenty millions of surplus capital to dispose of, there can be no doubt, that it would prefer settling in Ireland, if Ireland be quiet and under the same judicature, rather than going to the West Indies, to Africa, or even to France, in quest of employment.

If this does not happen, it will be owing to Ireland herself; and the blame will belong entirely to her.

Great Britain and Ireland are now like a higher reach and a lower reach of the same canal: take away the lock that separates them, and the water will flow to a common level.

A poorer country has every thing to gain  
from



from a partnership with a richer; and nothing to lose.

*Fourth Objection.* An Union will injure the Dublin bankers. It will hurt the shop-keepers, who live partly by letting lodgings. It will hurt the attornies, and the lawyers.

Fourth Ob-  
jection.

*Answer.* 1. The reduction of the rate of interest, from 6 to 5 per cent. which will be the consequence of an Union, will be a loss to the banker; but it will be a very great advantage to the public; as nothing contributes so much to the increase of trade and manufactures, as a low rate of interest; and even what the banker loses in this manner, he may be expected to do more than gain in another, from the increased circulation and the extension of trade.

2. When the Parliament met only every second year, Dublin was fuller, and the society better, the intermediate winter that it did not meet. The society of Dublin has been hurt by the violence of party; it will still be the capital of the kingdom, the seat of justice, of literature, of elegance and amusement. Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Gallway, Derry, Belfast, and Newry, may all contend with Dublin for the foreign and colonial trade; but Dublin will ever retain the linen trade, and the trade with



with Britain for home consumption; the first from the linen hall of Dublin being supplied with complete assortments of the Leinster, as well as Ulster linens, which will always attract the English factors; and which circumstance did defeat an attempt that was made some years ago to transfer the linen market from Dublin to Belfast; and the second is a consequence of the first, to which the return is made from the London market, in articles of consumption and luxury, for the supply of Dublin; and from thence conveyed by the means of two canals, that extend to the south, the west, and north-west extremities of the kingdom. But the example of Edinburgh ought most completely to remove every apprehension entertained by the inhabitants of Dublin, from the effects of the Union; as whatever difference can be pointed out in the two cases, will be found to be in favour of Dublin.

3. If it be true, that attornies live by property, as property increases, their business is not likely to decrease.

4. The same may be said of lawyers, though it must be admitted that they will lose one line of promotion which has been pretty successful; for if an Union takes place, a young lawyer, who has walked the hall of the Four Courts  
with



with an empty bag in the morning, cannot come down to the House of Commons, and make his fortune by roasting the Secretary: but if, in consequence, he should be reduced to the necessity of studying Blackstone instead of Blarney, and Coke upon Littleton, instead of abusive declamation, *he* might find the benefit in the end, and his clients be no losers.

*Fifth Objection.* It will encourage emigration. Fifth Objection.

*Answer.* The residence of 32 Peers and 100 Commoners, for a few months, cannot greatly affect either Dublin or London; and the life of London is too expensive to encourage emigration.

The emigration that hurts Ireland, is to Bath, Cheltenham, Buxton, and Harrowgate, which are become Irish colonies; to say nothing of Brighton and Tunbridge, and the thousands of Irish families that are now scattered over Wales, watching for the moment that they can venture to return to their native homes.

The disturbed and unsettled state of Ireland, is the cause of the only emigration by which she can ever be injured.

So



General ob-  
servations.

So salutary are the effects that Ireland has to expect from an Union, on the prosperity, the security, and the peace of the country, that it would have been her interest to embrace the proposal with ardor, on whatever conditions it had been made. But here the generosity of Great Britain appears in the brightest point of view ; for so extremely favourable are the conditions to Ireland, that the opposers of the measure in that kingdom, have chosen, in despair of finding room for cavil, to pass them over in silence, rather than call the attention of the public to terms which were sure of meeting their warmest approbation ; and which will be more cordially embraced, as they are better understood.

The only advantage that Great Britain looks for, is from the improved state of Ireland ; in the hope of restoring her to vigour and health, instead of being, as at present, a disordered member of the body politic ; and of saving the constitution from the danger of a vicious and diseased habit, which, if not corrected, must prove fatal, in the end.

If I am asked, if I can depend on an Union producing this happy change ; I answer, that an Union will not only remove the imperfections that tend to destroy the connexion between



the two kingdoms; but that it would gradually extinguish the animosities and feuds between the different bodies of the people of Ireland, from which its disorders and troubles have sprung. By introducing capital and industry, it would give occupation to the idle and the mischievous; and when these have produced their effect, a strong government and a vigorous execution of the laws, must complete what an Union will have begun.

R

APPENDIX.



the two bodies, but that it would gradually  
bring the animals and fends between  
the two bodies of the people of Ireland,  
which its disorders and troubles have  
ruined. By introducing capital and industry,  
it would give occupation to the idle and the  
poor, and when these have produced  
wealth, a strong government and a vigor-  
ous execution of the laws must complete what

is now a partial and imperfect  
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# APPENDIX.

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## NUMBER I.

Anno Sexto Geo. III. Chap. 5. *An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.*

I. **W**HEREAS the House of Lords of Ireland have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the Courts of Justice in the kingdom of Ireland: therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, may it please your Most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

II. And be it further declared and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or



made in any Court within the said kingdom ; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

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## NUMBER II.

*Copy of His Majesty's Message delivered to the House of Commons of Great Britain on the 9th of April 1782.*

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty, being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

G. R.

Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious message ; and to assure His Majesty, that this House, feeling with His Majesty the deepest concern that discontents and jealousies should have arisen among His Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland, will, without delay, take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

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## NUMBER III.

*Copy of the Message to the House of Lords and Commons in Ireland, from His Grace the Lord Lieutenant; delivered the 16th of April 1782.*

PORTLAND.

I HAVE it in command from His Majesty to inform this House, that His Majesty, being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies, &c. &c. &c.

P.  
NUMBER



## NUMBER IV.

*Copy of a Resolution of the House of Lords in Ireland,  
Mercurii, 17<sup>o</sup> Die Aprilis, 1782.*

Die Mercurii, 17<sup>o</sup> Aprilis, 1782.

RESOLVED, by the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled, *Nemine dissentiente*, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to return him our thanks for the most gracious Message sent to this House by His Majesty's command, through the medium of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant; and to assure him of our most unshaken loyalty and attachment to His Majesty's person and government, and of the lively sense we entertain of his paternal care of his people of Ireland, in thus inquiring into the discontents and jealousies that subsist amongst them, in order to such *final adjustment* as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, &c. &c. &c.

Signed, { William Watts Gayer, } Cler.  
          { Edward Gayer, } Parliament.

## NUMBER V.

*Copy of a Resolution of the House of Commons in Ireland,  
Martis, 16<sup>o</sup> Die Aprilis, 1782.*

Martis, 16<sup>o</sup> Die Aprilis, 1782.

RESOLVED, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious Message to this House, signified by His Grace the Lord Lieutenant; to assure His Majesty of our unshaken attachment to His Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to His Majesty's subjects of Ireland; that, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before His Majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies; to assure His Majesty, that his subjects of Ireland are a free people; that the Crown of Ireland is an imperial Crown, inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain; on which connexion, the interests and happiness of both



both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland: To assure His Majesty, that we humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of our liberties existed; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with our lives: To assure His Majesty, that we have seen with concern, certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an Act intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of Ireland;" an Act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation; that we consider this Act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom: To assure His Majesty, that His Majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish, that all Bills which become law in Ireland should receive the approbation of His Majesty, under the Seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our Bills in the Council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy: To assure His Majesty, that an Act, intituled, "An Act for the better Accommodation of His Majesty's Forces," being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom: That we have submitted these the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy in Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress; that we have the greatest reliance on His Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a Chief Governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils which we see, with satisfaction, His Majesty has adopted; that we have moreover a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive, that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of the British nation; and we beg leave to assure



assure His Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.

(Signed) Thos. Ellis, Cler. Parl. Dom. Com.

[These two Addresses Nos. IV. and V. were presented by Mr. Secretary Fox to the British House of Commons, May 1, 1782.]

## NUMBER VI.

*British House of Commons, May 17, 1782.*

ORDERED, That the several papers which were presented to the House by Mr. Secretary Fox, upon the 1st day of this instant May, be referred to a Committee of the whole House.

Mr. Powys reported from the said Committee the following Resolutions, which the Committee had directed him to report to the House, viz.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that an Act, made in the sixth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George I. intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," ought to be repealed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that it is indispensable to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connexion between them should be established, by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent basis.

The said Resolutions being severally read a second time, were, upon the question severally put thereupon, agreed to by the House, *nemine contradicente*.

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing an Act, made in the sixth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George I. intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain:" And that Mr. Secretary Fox, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Powys, and Lord John Cavendish, do prepare and bring in the same.

Resolved,



Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as His Majesty in his Royal wisdom shall think most conducive to the establishing, by mutual consent, the connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a solid and permanent basis.

May 22, 1782.

Mr. Secretary Fox reported to the House, that His Majesty had been attended with the Address of this House of Friday last, which His Majesty had been pleased to receive very graciously; and that His Majesty had commanded him to acquaint this House, that he will immediately take such measures as may be most likely to conduce to the establishment of a connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a solid and permanent basis.

## NUMBER VII.

*Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland,*

May 27, 1782.

THE Right Honourable Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick presented to the House, by order of His Grace the Lord Lieutenant,

Resolutions and Address of the Lords spiritual and temporal of Great Britain, relating to Ireland, the 17th of May 1782.

Votes of the House of Commons of Great Britain, relating to Ireland, dated the 17th day of May 1782.

Read, and ordered to lie on the table.

The Right Honourable Mr. Fitzpatrick informed the House, that His Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious Answer to the Address of this House of the 16th of April—which is as follows:

GEORGE R:

His Majesty receives with pleasure the assurances of the House of Commons of Ireland, of their unshaken attachment to his person and family.

It gives His Majesty the highest satisfaction to observe,  
that



that in their opinion, in which His Majesty perfectly concurs, the constitutional connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the interests and happiness of both nations; and that it is the determination of his people of Ireland to share the fate of, and to stand and fall with the British nation.

His Majesty conceives that these principles cannot fail to contribute to the accomplishment of his earnest desire to remove all causes of discontent and jealousy; with that view His Majesty has recommended this weighty and important subject to the consideration of his Parliaments of both kingdoms, trusting that their united wisdom will suggest such measures as may terminate in a final adjustment to their mutual satisfaction.

With the same view His Majesty intends forthwith to communicate to the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, the Addresses of the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

G. R.

### NUMBER VIII.

ADDRESS IN ANSWER, *May 28, 1782.*

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

*The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.*

**MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,**

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to assure your Majesty of our unfeigned affection to your royal person and government; and that we feel most sensibly the attention which our representations have received from the magnanimity of your Majesty, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain.

We assure your Majesty, that we conceive the Resolution for an unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. to be a measure of consummate wisdom and justice, suitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character of both, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

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We



We assure your Majesty, that we are sensibly affected by your virtuous determination to accede to the wishes of your faithful people, and to exercise your royal prerogative in a manner most conducive to their welfare; and accordingly we shall immediately prepare bills to carry into execution the desires of your Majesty's people and your own most benevolent purposes.

Gratified in those particulars, we do assure your Majesty that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony; and that Great Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so may she rely on our affection.

We remember and do repeat our determination to stand and fall with the British nation.

We perceive with pleasure the magnanimity of your Majesty disclaims the little policy of making a bargain with your people; and feeling with pride the confidence your Majesty reposes in the good faith, generosity, and honour of the Irish nation, we answer with all humility, that your Majesty entertains a just sense of our character. Common interest, perpetual connexion, the recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British name and nation, together with the constitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we possess, must ever decide the wishes as well as the interest of Ireland to perpetuate the harmony, stability, and glory of the empire.

We assure your Majesty, that we learn with singular satisfaction the account of your brilliant successes in the East and West Indies, gratified at one and the same instant in our dearest wishes, the freedom of Ireland, and glory of Great Britain.

We cannot omit expressing our gratitude to your Majesty, for appointing the Duke of Portland to the government of this kingdom. We are convinced his representations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial.

We are acquainted with his character, and, relying on his upright and frugal administration, make no doubt that a free people and an uncorrupt Parliament will unite to give a constitutional Chief Governor decided support.

We have presumed to lay before your Majesty our genuine sentiments on the change of our situation. Your Majesty will receive them as the voluntary, unstipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.

NUMBER



## NUMBER IX.

*His Majesty's Answer, presented by Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick, June 13, 1782.*

GEORGE R.

HIS Majesty has received with the most sincere satisfaction the dutiful and loyal Address of his House of Commons of Ireland. His Majesty assures his faithful Commons of his affectionate acceptance of their grateful acknowledgments for the attention which His Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain have shown to their representations, and which they so justly consider as furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

The declarations of the House of Commons, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, that can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain may rely on their affections, are very pleasing to His Majesty.

His Majesty is fully convinced, by their present professions of entire satisfaction and dutiful attachment, that His Majesty always entertained a just sense of their character; the zeal which they have shown to perpetuate the harmony, and their determinations to uphold the glory of the empire, justify His Majesty for having, on his part, given the most unequivocal proofs of his royal confidence in the honour and good faith of the Irish nation.

G. R.

## NUMBER X.

*Copy of an Address of Thanks to His Grace the Lord Lieutenant, May 28, 1782.*

*To His Grace William Henry, Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.*

*The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, in Parliament assembled.*

May it please your Grace,

WE, His Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in Parliament assembled, beg leave to



express our most unfeigned acknowledgments for your excellent speech from the throne; and we do beseech your Grace to be assured, that these are not the trite expressions of mere formal duty, but the pure effusions of genuine gratitude from a free people to a Chief Governor who has announced from the throne the ratification of their freedom. Descended from a line of constitutional ancestors, inheriting their principles with their blood, the appointment of your Grace to the government of this country, was an earnest given by a beneficent Prince, of those gracious intentions which he has since so fully manifested to his people; and amidst the entire satisfaction which we experience from the important information which your Grace has been pleased to communicate, we cannot but rejoice that the name of Bentinck, so intimately connected with the great æra of British liberty, will be handed down to the latest posterity, inseparably blended with the full and perfect establishment of the constitution of Ireland. And we have the best founded expectations that a Nobleman, in whose virtues both countries have the justest confidence, will for ever cement those friendly and affectionate dispositions, which it is our earnest wish should at all times mutually continue between the two countries.

*Copy of His Grace the Duke of Portland's Answer,  
May 30, 1782.*

GENTLEMEN,

I return you my most sincere thanks for your kind and affectionate Address, and receive with singular pleasure your animated and honourable expressions of gratitude and entire satisfaction, arising from those declarations which the benign wisdom of His Majesty and the British Parliament has enabled me to make from the throne. I shall think myself fortunate indeed, if the period of my administration of this country shall prove the æra of reciprocal and inseparable affection between Great Britain and Ireland; an æra sacred to every friend, as it is formidable to every enemy, of the British empire.

NUMBER



## NUMBER XI.

22 Geo. III. Cap. 53.

*An Act to repeal an Act, made in the sixth Year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain."*

WHEREAS an Act was passed in the sixth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled, "An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain;" may it please your Most Excellent Majesty that it may be enacted; and be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the passing of this Act, the above-mentioned Act, and the several matters and things therein contained, shall be, and is and are hereby repealed.

## NUMBER XII.

23 Geo. III. Cap. 28.

*An Act for removing and preventing all Doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive Rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland, in Matters of Legislation and Judicature; and for preventing any Writ of Error or Appeal from any of His Majesty's Courts in that Kingdom from being received, heard, and adjudged, in any of His Majesty's Courts in the Kingdom of Great Britain.*

WHEREAS, by an Act of the last Session of this present Parliament, intituled, "An Act to repeal an Act, made in the sixth year of the Reign of His late Majesty King George the First, intituled, 'An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain,' it was enacted, that the said last-mentioned Act, and all matters and things therein contained, should be repealed: and whereas doubts have arisen whether the provisions of the said Act are sufficient to secure to the people of  
Ireland



Ireland the rights claimed by them to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in His Majesty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence: therefore, for removing all doubts respecting the same, may it please your Majesty that it may be declared and enacted; and be it declared and enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that kingdom, in all cases whatever, and to have all actions and suits at law or in equity, which may be instituted in that kingdom, decided in His Majesty's Courts therein finally, and without appeal from thence, shall be, and it is hereby declared to be established and ascertained for ever, and shall, at no time hereafter, be questioned or questionable.

II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no Writ of Error or Appeal shall be received or adjudged, or any other proceeding be had by or in any of His Majesty's Courts in this kingdom, in any action or suit at law or in equity, instituted in any of His Majesty's Courts in the kingdom of Ireland; and that all such writs, appeals, or proceedings, shall be, and they are hereby declared null and void to all intents and purposes; and that all records, transcripts of records or proceedings, which have been transmitted from Ireland to Great Britain, by virtue of any Writ of Error or Appeal, and upon which no judgment has been given or decree pronounced before the first day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, shall, upon application made by or in behalf of the party in whose favour judgment was given, or decree pronounced, in Ireland, be delivered to such party, or any person by him authorized to apply for and receive the same.



## NUMBER XIII.

*Duke of Portland's Correspondence.*

No. 1.

*Dublin Castle, 6th May 1782.**From the Duke Portland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State.*

MY LORD,

THE confidence I find reposed in me is certainly extremely flattering—I will meet it as it deserves, by continuing to write without any reserve.

Under the impression of the unavoidable necessity of conceding all the points required, for the sake of deriving any real advantage from the possession of this country, I do recommend that positive assurances be given that the alteration of the Mutiny Bill and the modification of Poyning's Law, shall be conceded to them in the form required by their Address; that the 6th of George the First shall be repealed, and that Writs of Error shall no longer be received by our Court of King's Bench; but that, as Great Britain, by these concessions, is desirous not only of satisfying the expectations of the Irish upon all constitutional points, but of preventing every possible source of future jealousy and discontent, she does not doubt of receiving an unequivocal testimony of a corresponding disposition on the part of Ireland, and is persuaded that the Parliament of this country will co-operate in the most effectual method, either with the King's confidential servants, or with commissioners appointed by the Parliament of Great Britain, or through the medium of the Chief Governor of this kingdom, to settle the precise limits of that independence which is required, the consideration that should be given for the protection expected, and the share it would be proper for them to contribute towards the general support of the empire, in pursuance of the declaration contained in the concluding paragraph of their own Address.—The regulation of their trade is a subject which, I think, would very properly make a part of the treaty, and which, from the dissatisfaction expressed by many commercial persons at the delusive advantages of the Free Trade, would be a very fit and necessary subject for discussion. I  
need



need not inform your Lordship that they will find precedents in the first volume of the Journals of their own House of Commons, of committees or agents being sent to England to represent their grievances and obtain redress.

As every letter your Lordship has received from me has progressively reduced the hopes I first held out to you, it will be natural for you to expect that I should assign a reason for supposing that the plan which I have submitted to you will accomplish the event we desire. All I can say is, that, in my apprehension, it ought to accomplish that event. In my apprehension, proposals, such as I have stated, cannot be resisted in Parliament with any effect. They so directly correspond with the wishes of the public, that I conceive that no artifice could induce them to support an opposition to them; the refusal to accede to them, or to appoint commissioners for a Final Adjustment, on the grounds of their own Address, when they should be assured that persons were properly authorized for that purpose, would be such an indication of sinister designs as would warrant your directions to me to throw up the government, and to leave them to that fate which their folly and treachery should deserve. If such should be the sentiments of the King's servants, after using every endeavour to bring them to a true sense of their condition, and of the consequences of such a refusal, I should hesitate as little to order the yacht, and to leave them to be the victims of their own insanity, as I should to say that it would be useless to attempt to coerce them, and that the country upon such terms would not be worth possessing.

Suffer me, my Lord, once more to repeat my most earnest instances for a speedy determination. There are passages in the two last letters I had the honour of receiving from you which make me think that there is little or no difference in our opinions upon this unhappy subject; and let me add, that unless negotiation can be entered in to with persons properly authorized by the Parliament of this country, and that the object is to go fairly to the bottom of the business, and to form a new system of relation between the two countries, upon the basis of their mutual interests, the character of the present Administration will be lost, and the English Government must be prepared to renounce all pretensions to respect or influence in this country. I am, &c. &c.

(Signed)

PORTLAND.



No. 2.

To Mr. ———.

*Dublin Castle, Sunday Morning.*

SIR,

26th May 1782.

I should be very glad to hear that Lord Charlemont was inclined to accede to any part, or even to the idea of such a plan, as you have been so obliging as to communicate to me. I should consider it as a material step to that situation in which I am sure it is the interest of both kingdoms to be placed; being convinced, that whatever is most like a UNION is the most probable bond of connexion to restore and perpetuate the harmony and prosperity of the two countries.

I am, with great respect and regard, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

PORTLAND.

No. 3.

*Extract of a Letter from the Marquis of Rockingham to the Duke of Portland, dated Wimbledon, 25th May 1782.*

The essential points on the part of Ireland now acceded to, will, I trust, establish a perfect cordiality between the two countries; and as there can no longer exist any grounds of contest or jealousy on *matters of right* between the countries, the only object of both will be, how *finally to arrange, settle, and adjust all matters whereby* THE UNION OF POWER, STRENGTH, AND MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGE may be best permanently fixed.

I observe in Lord Shelburne's letter to your Grace, dated 18th May, he states more reluctance to the idea of Commissioners than I should judge to be a general opinion of His Majesty's Servants; the measure may be a doubtful one; but if it appeared to be the inclination among the leading gentlemen of Ireland, I should think good would ensue.

No. 4.

*Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Earl of Shelburne, dated Dublin Castle, 5th June 1782.*

I have now stated to your Lordship every matter that I can think likely to come before Parliament, and have further to

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add,



add, that the desire which is generally and emphatically expressed for a speedy conclusion of this Session, will very forcibly tend to unite Gentlemen in discountenancing any attempt to bring on questions of any sort at this season of the year. I presume your Lordship will be of opinion, that it is not desirable to oppose the wishes of this country respecting as early a Prorogation as the business before them will admit. Nor indeed am I disinclined to recommend it; for the passions of this nation do not appear to me as yet to have sufficiently subsided to let the gratitude which is felt pass quietly and confidentially through that channel which can alone direct it to the reciprocal advantages of both kingdoms.

There is no doubt of Government being able to stop any mischief; but I cannot so readily take upon me to answer for the immediate attainment of the benefits which the liberality of Great Britain entitles her to expect. Unless, therefore, *one very great measure*, which I will make the subject of a separate letter, can be obtained, I submit to your Lordship the propriety of coinciding in the wishes of the Parliament, by putting an end to the present Session, as soon as may be after the return of the Bills from England.

## No. 5.

*From the Duke of Portland to the Earl of Shelburne.*

MY LORD,

*Dublin Castle, 6th June 1782.*

The measure which I stated to your Lordship in my letter of last night, as a sufficient inducement for deferring the prorogation of Parliament, is of so delicate a nature, and requires so much secrecy and management, that I think it unadvisable to trust the communication of it to any hand but my own; and as it is possible that the event may not justify the hopes I entertain, it would perhaps be more prudent to withhold the intelligence which I am now about to give you, until I could transmit the plan *properly authenticated*, for the consideration of your Lordship, and the rest of the King's confidential servants. However, as I feel that I have a right to take credit for my endeavours, and that the Ministers in England equally partake of my responsibility in the administration of the affairs of this country, I am as anxious that  
they



they should share any merit that can be derived from our joint conduct, as that they should be liable to any blame to which the adoption of ill-advised or inconsiderate measures may expose them. I shall therefore acquaint your Lordship, that I have reason to hope that I may be shortly enabled to lay before you the sketch or outlines of an Act of Parliament to be adopted by the legislatures of the respective kingdoms; by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of state and general commerce, will be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a share of the expense in carrying on a defensive or offensive war, either in support of our own dominions, or those of our allies, shall be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actual state of her abilities; and that she will adopt every such regulation as may be judged necessary by Great Britain, for the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations, or her own colonies and dependencies, consideration being duly had to the circumstances of this country. I am flattered with the expectation of receiving the most positive assurances from — — — — — of their support in carrying such a Bill through both Houses of Parliament; and in case such an object could be obtained, I should presume that it would be very advisable to trespass upon the patience of this country to bring it to perfection, even in the present moment. Your Lordship may depend upon the earliest account of my success and progress in this business.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) PORTLAND.

No. 6.

*From Lord Shelburne to the Duke of Portland.*

*Shelburne House, Sunday, June 9,  
Twelve o'Clock at Noon.*

MY LORD,

In the very instant of the departure of the messenger with the dispatches accompanying this letter, I have the honour to receive your Grace's of the 5th and 6th.

The contents of the letter are too important to hesitate about detaining him, while I assure your Grace of the satisfaction I know your letter will give the King. I have



lived in the most anxious expectation of some such measure offering itself. Nothing prevented my pressing it in this dispatch, except, having repeatedly stated the just expectations of this country, I was apprehensive of giving that the air of demand which would be better left to a spirit of voluntary justice, gratitude, and foresight. I gave your Grace confidence for watching the temper of those you had to deal with, and cannot express the pleasure it gives me to find that confidence justified. Bargains and compacts may accomplish little objects—great ends must be obtained by a nobler and more generous policy. No matter who has the merit, let the two kingdoms be *one*, which can only be by Ireland now acknowledging the superintending power and supremacy to be where Nature has placed it in *precise* and *unambiguous* terms. I am sure I need not inculcate to your Grace the importance of *words* in an act which must decide on the happiness of ages, particularly in what regards contribution and trade, subjects most likely to come into frequent question. Your Grace will have every merit I can give you. I have only to assure your Grace of every support necessary to carry this measure, and of the most confidential return to every communication you think the public service may require.

I entirely agree in your Grace's reasons for putting as speedy an end as possible to the present Sessions, unless the measure you have in contemplation can be obtained.

The King is at Windsor, and every one else out of town; I therefore only write the sentiments of

Your Grace's faithful servant,  
SHELBURNE.

No. 7.

*Extract of a Letter from the Duke of Portland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Earl of Shelburne; dated Dublin Castle, 22d June 1782.*

The disappointment and mortification I suffer by the unexpected change in those dispositions which had authorized me to entertain the hopes I had perhaps too sanguinely expressed in the letter which I had the honour of writing to your Lordship, the 6th instant, must not prevent my acquainting you, that for the present those expectations must be given up. I trust, and am inclined to flatter myself they are only suspended, and that they will be revived when the  
temper



temper of this country shall have recovered its tone, and acquired that degree of composure which must give it the firmness necessary for effectuating so wise and salutary a measure. Mr. F—— will have informed your Lordship of some very unpleasant circumstances which were likely to have happened a very few days before the Adjournment, the traces of which are strongly marked in the Address from the Leinster Volunteers, which I have this day the honour of transmitting to you, but which, I think, are to be attributed to a suspicion of the possible effect of a negotiation. By the account of the events of those three or four days, and of the timidity and jealousy of the first people in this country, it is clear to my apprehension, that any injudicious or offensive measure may be prevented, but that any attempt to conciliate the minds of this nation to any such measure as I intimated the hope of, would at this moment be delusive and impossible.

THE END.



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