

*Duplicate
see vol 20*

AN
IRISH CATHOLIC'S
ADVICE

TO
HIS BRETHREN,
HOW TO ESTIMATE THEIR PRESENT SITUATION,
AND REPEL
FRENCH INVASION,
CIVIL WARS AND SLAVERY.

BY DENYS SCULLY, ESQ.
BARRISTER AT LAW.

SECOND EDITION,
REVISED BY THE AUTHOR,
WITH
A PREFACE AND NOTES.

*" I perceive no Reason, why men of different Religious Persuasions
" may not sit upon the same Bench, deliberate in the same Council,
" or fight in the same Ranks, as well as Men of various or
" opposite Opinions upon any controverted Topic of Natural
" Philosophy, History or Ethics."*

ARCHDEACON PALEY'S PHILOSOPHY.

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Houses of the Oireachtas

PREFACE

TO THE *Second* EDITION.

THE Interest, which the Public were pleased to take in the former Edition * of the following Address, published in August last, may serve to apologize for its republication. The motives, that dictated it, are pretty obvious; indeed they have been approved of by even those anonymous pens, which have made it the subject of fastidious verbal comment. Of the few days of that critical period, which were employed in framing it, several hours were occupied by the duties of a Volunteer Corps, and it was entrusted to the Press upon the Author's leaving Town for Circuit—Several errors of print, consequently, crept into it, which, it is hoped, have generally received indulgence.

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* In consequence of its rapid Sale, a miserably imperfect and mutilated Edition of it was sent forth in September, without the Author's knowledge, under the pretended Sanction of a Member of Parliament.

Whether this fraud upon the public has proved more or less lucrative to its actor, than petty larcenies usually are, may concern those, who have been thus imposed upon.

It did not fall within his plan, nor does he now purpose, to discuss, at length, any controverted opinions; but he will take this occasion of combating some attempts, which, he finds, have been made to misconstrue his expressions; and he would have done himself this justice sooner, if domestic circumstances had not, for several weeks past, unavoidably detained him in England, and left him, until lately, a stranger to those attempts. His views, in writing the Address, have not been mistaken, nor can they easily be misrepresented: the topics, of which he has freely availed himself, were not forced, or far-fetched, or, as he learns, unsuccessful. It is true, he has not clothed them in the lofty language of clamorous menace, or the hacknied and idle cant of blustering invective against the population of the country—he has preferred the tone of expostulation, of persuasion, and of affection for the persons addressed.—He was not sanguine enough to flatter himself that such a mode, or indeed any mode, of inculcating Allegiance and of promoting concord amongst Irishmen, would have exactly suited the tastes of all those political Dictators, who float upon the surface of Society in this divided Land; and it afforded him no surprise to learn, that it had displeased two anonymous Writers, of whom one has addressed what he terms his

“ Remonstrance

“ Remonstrance to the Author,” and the other, *longo proximus intervallo*, has produced a “ Letter to Mr. Wickham,” upon the occasion of this Advice.—Indeed the Gentlemen, who have caused their names to be whispered about as the writers, are persons from whom the Public might, reasonably, have expected more valuable labours.—They might have rendered themselves really useful, by dispelling the prejudices and assuaging the acrimony of those, over whom their influence extends—a consummation devoutly wished for by every liberal and truly loyal man; or, they might have signalized themselves, if they pleased, by breaking a lance with some of those champions of Jacobinism, by whom the peace of this Country was so cruelly convulsed a few years ago. But,

“ Dant veniam corvis, vexat censura Columbas.” *

They fall forth, in this auspicious season for Controversy, to *denounce* a fleeting Publication, of which they are pleased to admit, that “ its advice is found in many respects,” “ excellent in more,” “ deserving of cordial praise in others,” and, on the whole, “ praiseworthy in its motives and objects.” Such is their outline of a composition, which, by the aid of amusing sophisms, hardy assertions, and misquoted extracts, they have

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wrought

wrought their fancies to imagine as wearing “an alarming Complexion.”—What alarming colour can mark the expressions of an honest and unpurchased attachment to the Throne, it is not easy for any reasonable man of genuine Loyalty to discover; neither is it too much to predict that attempts to spread such alarm amongst the sober and sound parts of the Community will prove ineffectual, and, in point of utility, rank very humbly indeed,

Ος δὲ κε μήτ' αὐτῶ νοεῖ, μήτ' ἀλλεῖ ἀκούων
 Εν θυμῷ βάλλεται, ὅδ' αὖτ' ἀχερῆϊος ἀνὴρ*.

One of those Writers has, indeed, disclosed at the end of his “Remonstrance” a subject of “Alarm,” which may, perhaps, disturb the *enlightened* benevolence of about one thousand persons in this Country, but which, it is hoped by millions, may prove a well-founded alarm; namely, that the great body of Irishmen may conduct themselves unexceptionably throughout the approaching struggle, that Government, by approving of and rewarding such conduct, may confer political liberty upon four millions of subjects, place the tranquillity of this Island upon an immoveable basis, and thus render the means of annoying the Crown and the People, which such Writers possess, as insignificant as the
 common

* HESIOD.

common good requires. To avert those mighty calamities was an object worthy of the pens of veteran partisans, and requiring all their address. They approach, therefore, not by arraigning the principles or the inferences of the "Advice," nor yet, openly, by criminating those unequivocal expressions of Loyalty, which it contains, (*that* might be too plain) but by casting upon each phrase such forced and undue constructions as imagination and conjecture alone can impose. In this laudable task they have amply verified the observation of the Historian: "Ad reprehendenda aliena dicta et facta ardet omnis animus; vix satis apertum os aut lingua prompta videtur."—*Sallust*. Neither have these Censors of others deigned, themselves, always to respect the ordinary rules of good sense or of probability. For instance, when they clamour about the phrase of "Assassinations at Ballinamuck," they overlook, as unimportant, the fact, that no such phrase appeared in the "Advice."—When they pretend, that the allusion to the carnage at Ballinamuck (obviously introduced for the sole purpose of exposing French perfidy) conveys a reflection upon the humane Lord Cornwallis, as having been present; they effect not to know, what a little inquiry might have ascertained, that he was *not* at Ballinamuck on the day of that Action. They
might

might have seen, by an easy reference to old Magazines or Newspapers, the Official Letter from the Officer, who was there, to Captain Taylor, private Secretary to Lord Cornwallis, dated, Camp, Ballinamuck, Sept. 8th, 1798, and beginning thus: “ Sir, I have the honor to
“ inform you, *for the Information of his Excellency,*
“ &c.” and so proceeding to detail that Victory, —which he need scarcely have taken the trouble to do, had his Excellency been *present*; in fact he was at St. Johnstown, with the main Body of the Army. Another charge, equally unfounded, is, that the Rebellion is, *throughout* the Address, styled Civil War.—A mere inspection of the Address will evince what credit is due to this curious assertion, and with what prudence the credulity of a Reader has been counted upon, where Detection is so easy.

They, who sincerely search for motives of action, may indeed, without equalling those writers in latitude of conjecture, incline to an opinion that their real purposes might, perhaps, have been expressed with more brevity thus: “ We alone
“ can render Government popular and the
“ Country tranquil, by wresting the Reins of
“ power from the servants of our Sovereign,
“ and by trampling upon the Laws and Con-
“ stitution of the Country. We reject the
“ co-operation of three or four millions of
“ Catholics,

“ Catholics, and condemn those amongst them
“ (whether Prelates or Laity) who tender to
“ Government their Adulation, i. e. undeserved
“ praise.—We seek for employment in the salu-
“ tary task of menacing the People and of shout-
“ ing ‘ Rebel,’ in their ears, to the great security
“ of the Government and the contentment of the
“ Subject.”

It might, however, be a species of fraud upon the “ Remonstrancer,” to confound his merits with those of the “ Letter-writer.” The avidity of the former had so gleaned the controversy of every sophism and conjectural meaning suited to his purpose, that the latter appears only to be an immethodical plagiarist of anticipated comments, not highly gifted with ingenuity, still less observant of decorum—and producing about the additional effect of taper-light introduced to aid that of a Torch. If the Remonstrancer indulges in some prejudices, not strictly consonant to Christian Charity or favouring of the impressions of liberal Education, he avows them unequivocally, without descending to the pitiful aid of dark hint or loose insinuation.

That those Writers quarrel more with the allusions or illustrations, than with the inferences, of the Address, with the occasional misapplication (if they please) of phrases or of words, than
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with the principles * enforced by those phrases, will partly appear from the very first objection of the Remonstrancer, that the “ Advice does “ not affect any Solicitude for the Interests of “ either England or France, further than as those “ Countries are connected with our prosperity “ and Independence.” The objection amounts precisely to this; that, in so short an Address, such a Solicitude ought to have been professed, and that the Interests of England, and consequently of every other part of the Empire, ought to have been dwelt upon, in order to engage Irishmen to defend *their own* Interests against French Invasion. To which this obvious answer occurs, that it was by no means necessary so to do, even were the Address more comprehensive in its form—that the most natural and persuasive topics, in addressing any man or Body of men, are those of his or their own peculiar Interests—and that, in selecting those local and pressing considerations, which should inspire Irishmen with hostility to France, and attachment to our King, who directs the Imperial energies at this juncture, the Author has given the strongest pledge of that cordial affection to Britain, which he is known to

* We must here except one broad principle, in which those *pseudo*-Loyalist writers are widely at variance from the Author, namely, his disapprobation of those intestine Factions, which the late Union with Britain was calculated to put down.

to entertain. Were he, indeed, to have selected the topic dictated by the Remonstrancer, he might have found himself somewhat embarrassed by certain strange doctrines of recent circulation, such as, that "it is a doubtful point, whether the " People of Ireland ought or ought not to be " bound to support England in her Wars."* This Doctrine offers a construction, which Separatists and French Emisseries would gladly adopt, nor could even the admitted loyalty of Mr. Jebb's character bring it safely through the ordeal of criticism. Waving this difficulty for the present, we find the Remonstrancer, in this instance so tenacious of English Interests, upbraiding the Author very angrily in another, with holding in too favourable esteem the Statesmen, Generals, Military, Artists, &c. of Britain. This reproach is equally curious. In truth pains have been taken, in too many instances, to prepossess the People of this Country against the British character. That character has, however, rendered itself estimable, and prejudice has been counteracted (as far as local partialities, from which not even Britain is exempt, can be corrected) partly by the virtues and example of those very persons, whom the Author has commended; and, to commemorate and ac-

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knowledge

* *Remonstrance* against the Union, by R. Jebb. Esq. barrister at Law.—Jones, 1799.

knowledge their merits, appears to be as likely a mode of attaching our Countrymen to Britain, as the strongest direct manifestations of solicitude for British Interests would have proved.

The Remonstrancer next discovers that the "Advice" has inculcated Catholic Loyalty (long since transferred from the abjured race of Stuart to the present reigning family) by the memory of the ancient fidelity of their Body to their Monarch, displayed a Century ago, in resisting what was considered by them as a Dutch Invader—Dutch Invader! cries he; this is a slur upon a Revolution, and therefore implies Republicanism; it shews the cloven foot of passive obedience, and, of course, convicts the Author of being a refractory subject. In vain, it seems, did Ruggle, two Centuries ago, ridicule such Critics as our Remonstrancer; in vain has he held up his black-lettered hero, Ignoramus, exclaiming: "O ho, hic est *defalta literæ*; emenda; "emenda: nam in nostra lege unum *comma* "evertit totum *placitum*." Seriously, however, we need not now inquire whether, according to the Remonstrancer, we owe the establishment of our free Constitution to William the III. or whether, according to Blackstone, "that Constitution had "already arrived at its full vigour and the true "Balance between Liberty and Prerogative was "happily

“happily established in the reign of Charles the
 “Second.” But it may be laid down, that it is
 as friendly to our hereditary Monarchy and as
 hostile to Paine’s Doctrines, in these times and in
 this Island, to freshen the pristine zeal of our
 Countrymen for Royalty, as to descant upon
 those Revolutionary Events, which some persons
 connect with the *Sovereignty of the People*, and
 the *glorious* privilege of *cashiering Kings*. The
 policy of extolling Revolutions is, in these days,
 questionable enough.—In England, the Revolution
 Society, whatever may be their aversion to
Jacobitism, are said to have been not unfriendly
 to *Jacobinism*. Even the *professed* utility of such
 retrospects has ceased with that bugbear, a Pre-
 tender to the Throne. In this Country, a late Re-
 volution (such as Mr. Jebb has *demonstrated* * the

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Union

* Perhaps it is too much to say, that Mr. Jebb has *de-
 monstrated* the Union to have been a Revolution; but, supposing
 it to have been one, a surly Critic might imagine a connexion
 between those predictions of Rebellion, confusion, and ruin,
 which he published on that occasion, and the laboured efforts of
 the Remonstrancer to excite disaffection and revive the specula-
 tions of Separatists, by a high-coloured and inflammatory enu-
 meration of the grievances and injuries supposed by him to have
 flowed from that measure. Surely the introduction of so fresh
 and angry a topic, so timed, so applied, and so tending to
 a *Counter-Revolution*, more suits the pen of a “cunning and
 “disaffected

Union to be) has been the subject of free controversy ;—every man talked and wrote, as he chose, of its merits. But it seems that we may not advert even to an Individual connected with the Revolution of the Century preceding the last (for the Revolution itself is not once mentioned in the Address) without wounding the British Constitution. This may be the Creed of some Irish Lodge, but it is really difficult, for a plain understanding, to discover of what solid import to the immutable principles of Civil Liberty it can be to dispute at this day, whether the Irish subjects of James the II. have, or ought to have, considered that Individual, in 1689, as a Dutchman or as an Invader. Such are not the Constitutional maxims, which the Author has imbibed from Education, and in a Seminary too, which has taught principles of rational freedom to such men as Spelman, Bacon, Milton, and Hale, in former days, and Thurlow, Paley, Law and Pitt, in our own. These men would smile at the puerility of such inquiries. Is not the Remonstrancer content with the universal suffrage to the merits of William the III.—his bravery, wisdom, and fidelity to his engagements?

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“disaffected man,” than the Author’s incidental allusion, for a Monarchical purpose, to one of the actors in an *ancient* Revolution, which displaced the reigning Sovereign of that day.

and does he commemorate him solely for those intolerant purposes, which that polite Prince, were he living at this day, would severely condemn? If he feels himself bound to take up his pen against every writer who adverts to eminent persons buried a Century ago, he will not want matter for Controversy. It is, however, to be presumed that, on reflection, his Candour will readily suggest to him, that the allusion in question was not calculated to slur an ancient Revolution, but to deprecate another.

His next objection is, that “a slur has been cast upon the memory of another great man, Oliver Cromwell.” Alas! may we never see his like again! If indeed talents could shelter from Infamy the Crimes of Regicide and Usurpation, the memory of his Highness the Protector might have descended to us more respectable than it is; and a similar indulgence may be extended hereafter to his Consular Majesty of France. But it so happens, that Talents and Guilt are too often linked together; and whether it is a Tenet of modern, or any other, System of Philosophy, that the one should be respected for the sake of the other, the Remonstrancer may possibly inform us. As for the absurd suggestion, that an abhorrence of an Usurper’s Memory implies a slander of any titles to Land in this Country—it is almost

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beneath notice. Those titles, now 140 years old, stand upon a better footing than the grant of Republicanism ;—they are deduced from a solemn act of Parliament passed in the Reign of a Monarch, Charles the Second—and it so happens, in refutation of the Gentleman's suggestion, that many, if not most, of the Estates purchased within the last twenty years by Catholics, some of whom are the Author's nearest connections, are derived under those very Confiscations :

“ The Confiscations of that Day are confirmed
“ to the present Occupiers by immemorial pos-
“ session, by the utter impossibility of ascertaining
“ the Original Proprietors, and by the personal
“ and pecuniary Interest of almost every Roman
“ Catholic in the Land to maintain that Settle-
“ ment *.”

The Remonstrancer himself must know, from daily professional experience, that those Estates sell full as readily and as dearly as any others ; that no Protestant ever asks, nor any Catholic ever offers, less for them, than according to the current market price of Estates ; and indeed, were the Gentleman to relate, amongst his acquaintance or in any private Circle, such dreams upon this head as he has gravely produced in his anonymous Pamphlet, they would rather

* Declaration of the Catholics, 1792—Signed T. M'Kenna.

rather shake his own title to sanity of intellect, than the present stability of those Tenures. The Proprietors, at this day, are to be found in all Persuasions and parts of the Empire: The descendants of the first grantees are as estimable a class of persons as this Island contains; but it argues no great respect for their feelings or justice to their principles to assert, that either the one or the other are allied to the cause or the memory of an Usurper.

He next assures us, with what truth does not appear, that those Bands of Swadlers, mentioned with disapprobation in the Address, are really, perhaps *ex vi termini*, the Methodist Societies. What the theory and practice of the Methodists may be, the Author knows not; for, as he understands, many diversities prevail amongst them. But the appellation of "Swadler" is sufficiently understood amongst us to belong to those Agitators only, who industriously revile and render odious the Clergy of regular Churches, and kindle the popular flame (as if fuel were wanting) by insidious Discourses against Wealth, and Rank, and Power. They preach *sub dio*, in Market places, sometimes in the Irish Language, and even on horseback, such morality as that "Faith alone, will cover all offences, and that it matters not, what their hearers commit, but what

“ what they believe.” If such spreaders of delirious fancies amongst a credulous Rabble, and whom the Magistracy has been occasionally obliged to chastise, are the persons whom the Gentleman deems at this day inoffensive and devout, his notions of public safety and of Devotion have at least the air of novelty to recommend them.

But the Remonstrancer enquires, whether it is safe, prudent, or true to admit, as the Advice does, that “ his Majesty’s Ministers, by abruptly re-
“ calling Lord Fitzwilliam, violated their faith
“ with the Irish.” Upon a subject much agitated, and long since exhausted, it is only necessary to show that Mr. Jebb, amongst more moderate men, did, in 1799, deem it at least safe and prudent (if true) to dwell much more upon it than the Author has done in 1803.

“ We have witnessed,” says he, “ a gross and
“ unfortunate inconsistency, disgraceful to our
“ Parliament and our Country. Violent Grand
“ Jury Resolutions, supposed to be countenanced
“ by Government—Catholic Petitions ignomini-
“ ously kicked out of the House of Commons, next
“ Session passed—*Full participation of rights PRO-*
“ *MISED from the highest Authority, and in the*
“ *same Session the SAME MEASURES REFUSED;*
“ but (says this friend to British Interests) all
“ those

“ those flowed from *British Interference*.” * It is hoped that the Remonstrancer will shew, by a Scholium, that this *highest* authority, and this *British Interference*, referred to somewhat besides Ministry, or that Mr. Jebb has published what was more safe, prudent, or true in him to *assert* at that time, than it is in the Author to *admit* at present. But a member of the Irish Government did sanction this assertion of Mr. Jebb with equal safety and prudence, informing us, as of a fact “ of public notoriety, that in December, 1794, “ the Catholic Body were brought forward under “ *engagements of plighted* support from Govern- “ ment †.” Whether those “ plighted engage- “ ments” have been fulfilled or not, is matter of equal notoriety.

With regard to Lord Camden’s Administration in this Country, no person is less inclined than the Author to derogate from that Nobleman’s just merits. His Lordship’s general character forbids us to suspect that, as far as his personal intentions could have been accomplished, he would have resorted to any other than just and moral means for the preservation of public tranquillity. Indeed, the Author has been well informed, since the publication of the former
d Edition,

* Mr. Jebb’s Pamphlet against the Union.—Jones, 1799.

† Lord Clare’s Speech on the Union, February 10, 1800.

Edition, that such enormities, as disgraced those times, were not only perpetrated without his Lordship's sanction, but were foreign to his nature, and are to be attributed to the temporary sway of certain individuals, whom his Lordship, from peculiar Circumstances, found, it at length, utterly impossible to controul. Under this impression, the Author, in the present Edition, has altered some passages, which might be construed to impute to Lord Camden an approbation of outrages, which all good men are agreed in condemning. Indeed the topic of contrast, though natural and obvious enough in such an Address, is scarcely necessary to the recommendation of a Government so strong in public esteem as the present.

The Remonstrancer, feeling the difficulty of shewing, by sober facts, that the Advice was of that "alarming" Complexion which he announces, has recourse to the aid of Imagination, and conjures up a Vision, most confused indeed, and horrible: "Suppose," says he, "that this
" wise Conspiracy had succeeded, and French
" Invasion been repelled, and an Irish republic
" established, a guillotine erected, and an Irish
" Tribunal sitting quietly and judging wisely,
(*Credat Judæus Apella*) " what sentence would
" they pronounce upon the Author's Pamphlet?"
In truth, this would open a wide field of inquiry
to

to the Chabots and Marats, thus raised to the Bench. If their stern justice should even condemn the Author as an incorrigible Royalist, they might search farther back for other acts of Incivism, and possibly might stumble, for instance, upon Mr. Jebb's pamphlet, published against the Union about four years ago.

In this Pamphlet, Mr. Jebb, whose Loyalty is undoubted, has yet managed matters so luckily, that he might well alledge to such a Court, that far from meriting their displeasure, he has even strong claims upon their Gratitude; for, he could argue, "have I not inculcated principles admirably
" calculated for a separation from Britain, have I
" not declaimed upon our sacred Independence,
" and against the surrender of our Liberties to that
" nation; have I uttered a syllable against French
" alliance, and have I not rather thrown out
" salutary doubts of the policy of our being
" bound to support Britain in War?" So forcible a defence would surely find favour, not merely with an Irish, but even with a French, Tribunal in this Country (which, by the bye, was the less improbable * vision) whilst the Author, by several pages of his Address, not very respect-

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* The absurdity of this *hypothesis*, that the late Conspiracy, paltry as it was, had not for its object the introduction of French power and conquest, has been very recently exposed in Parliament by his Majesty's Ministers.

ful towards the latter Nation, may have rendered such a Tribunal implacable *. So much for this precious test of Supposition. Really, however, to suppose, or to dream, that the *mighty* effort in the Corn-market could, without French Invasion, have overturned our Government, that Pikes and Pitch-forks could have carried a regular and well-prepared Fortrefs, that a few quires of Proclamation Paper could have ousted us at once of our Lands, our Houses, and our free Constitution, may accord with the rumoured opinions of Mr. Russell or Mr. R. Emmett, or may float with such fancies as that of a successful resistance to the late Union, but is indeed rather beyond the reach of common intellects. Let it be laid up with the lumber of objections to the validity of titles to our Estates, already noticed.

But, even if the result of his abstruse calculations has demonstrated this Theorem of successful Irish Rebellion to his own private satisfaction, is it to his prudence or to his disputatious zeal that the Government of the Country are to hold themselves indebted for his promulgation of it, at this juncture, amongst a people, three-fourths of whom he describes as disaffected and ready to rebel.

Happily

* One Critic pronounces, with a sapient air, that, "though the 'Advice' is highly Anti-Gallican, yet Anti-Gallicism and Anti-Anglicism are *consistent*," i. e. that loyalty consists well with disaffection, wisdom with folly.—This paradox marks the Critic,

Stultitiane erret, nihilum distabit, an Ira.

Happily, however, his Vision of an Irish Tribunal is as far beyond the regions of probability, as his description of Irish disaffection is unsupported by fact. What then becomes of his motley assemblage of half-sentences, and garbled phrases from the "Advice," which, from the pains evidently bestowed upon stringing them together, appear to form an important part of his Remonstrance?

But, under the rational impression, that those disaffected persons are Catholics, and Catholics only, he very naturally is shocked at the numbers of that Persuasion in this Country.

Ignoscas petimus, Vacerra ; tanti

*Non est, ut placeam tibi, perire *.*

That they are so numerous, was neither mentioned, nor felt, by the Author as a matter of the least exultation.—He would have rejoiced more in their happiness than in their numbers—Free from the spirit of a Sectary or a Partizan, and not zealous for Profelytism, he regards such numerical researches merely as a matter of curiosity. The allusion presented itself incidentally, but the attempt, which has been made to treat that allusion as unfairly, as well as untruly, introduced, disposes him to produce some of those Data, upon which his opinion rests, that they are about four-fifths of our Population ;—and respecting the sufficiency or insufficiency of those Data, he is in no wise solicitous.

That

* MARTIAL.

That the Catholics were, in 1786, in the proportion of three-fourths of our Population, appears from the testimony * of Doctor Woodward, late Bishop of Cloyne, a respectable Prelate of the established Church. His authority acquires no small force from his having made observations upon this subject as well in the South, where that See lies, as in the North, where he had resided previously to his elevation. Assuming therefore this fact in 1786, of which indeed there are other evidences, we may inquire what reasons there are for judging, that this greater fraction, since that time, may have advanced beyond the lesser by one-twentieth part of the whole, so as to raise it from three-fourths to four-fifths. This fact, certainly, rests more upon general observation and the influence of general causes, than upon any particular or positive evidence of enumeration. None of our late Statistical Surveys appear to have adverted to any distinction of Sects in considering our present Population, excepting that of the Co. Kilkenny by Mr. Tighe, a member of the late Parliament, and estimable, amongst many virtues, for strict honour and veracity. Mr. Tighe tells us, that, in 1800, the number of Inhabitants in that County was about 101,000, of whom there were only 941 Protestant families, whom we may estimate at about 7,000 persons, that is, something less than
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* State of the Church of Ireland, 1787.

the ratio of 1 to 14.—He adds, that this number of Protestants is not greater than it was 60 years ago! The Author has not purposely instanced the County of Kilkenny, but he has met with no document of this nature respecting any other:—He is sensible, that most other Counties have a greater proportion of Protestants than this, but he understands that it is not the *most* Catholic County in Ireland. Be this as it may, we may also take into account the habits of our peasantry (almost wholly Catholics) their early marriages, the facility of those marriages, and their simple and peculiar food. It is true, that Wars and Emigration tend (though very little) to retard this encrease—but these two causes operate upon all; and it appears that a more than proportionate diminution is produced upon the members of other Churches by the superior temptations to advancement in other parts of the Empire, by the attractions of foreign Countries (which Wealth alone can visit at will) and above all, by the unhappy activity of exclusive and impolitic Societies, in alienating many Protestants from their Countrymen, and disgusting them with their Country. These results agree with the Author's own observations, and with those of many intelligent persons; but they would indeed be attended by desponding reflections to him, were he to hold,

hold, as the Remonstrancer gravely pretends, that the Pope can, or would, transfer the Allegiance of Irish Catholics from his Majesty to the Usurper of France. In this respect, we may marvel at the strength of the Remonstrancer's prejudices against his neighbours, his inexcusable Ignorance of their principles, and his disregard of the solemn and special Oaths of Allegiance, which bind as well their Clergy as their Laity.

But our wonder rises as he proceeds to another broad assumption, from which it would necessarily follow, that those very Catholics are members of the obnoxious Societies. In other words, he treats those Societies as identified with the Regulars, Militia, and Yeomanry, no small part of whom, not excepting the Author himself, are Catholics, and therefore, adds he, any allusion to the evils occasioned by the former, must necessarily criminate the armed force of the Land. Here is another instance of bold assertion, and a proof of the facility of drawing monstrous inferences from *supposed* facts. We are not now to learn, that in the Military Profession "*Faith*" is not inquired into, although "*Good Works*" are indispensable—Courage, fidelity, and those Talents, which are to be found amongst all Persuasions, secure to their possessor a welcome reception in the Ranks of brave Soldiers and Volunteers.

setting aside the illegality of their Oaths, they may by the secrecy of their consultations, and their Independencé of the Executive Power, be easily rendered a formidable Instrument in the hands either of a disaffected Party or of a successful Invading Power. Without recurring to Davila's Civil Wars, we learn fully the tendency of those Associations from the Histories of the Covenanters and of the Exclusionists of the 17th Century. *Quod sibi volunt, dum id impetrant boni sunt ; sed id ubi jam penes se habent, ex bonis pessimi fiunt* *.

It would be unnecessary to notice any argument built upon this imaginary identity of those Societies with the armed force, if the Gentleman had not, with like confidence, coupled with it another assertion equally bold, namely, that those Societies comprehend the "Protestant Aristocracy of Ireland." The fact more probably is, as the "Advice" has suggested, that this respectable Aristocracy holds them in profound contempt, as busy disturbers of our peace. What the *Mobocracy* (as it is termed) may think of them, is another consideration. Regardless, however, of this mistake, the Gentleman readily constructs upon it a new inference, and assuming without difficulty another fact of about equal truth, (namely,

(namely, that this Aristocracy unanimously opposed the Union) he would fain apply to this whole body the Author's observation, that "the
" faction whom the Catholics dread, (i. e. those
" Societies) repine at the Union, have changed
" sides and become discontented." He felt that this opposition to the Union, and this Discontent, as applied and confined to the Faction in question, could not be controverted. Indeed, we learn it from the tendency and language of his Remonstrance, the manifesto of that Faction; and, if proof were wanting, that this Faction opposed the Union, with conspicuous vehemence, it would be amply furnished by Mr. William Smith, then a member of Parliament, well acquainted with that fact, who tells the Public, (in his "Letter
" to Mr. Grattan," printed by Marchbank, 1799) that "there is a description of persons," speaking of this Faction, "whose Loyalty is of a base
" and spurious kind; who, whilst they make an
" uproar about their Loyalty, in fact, *resist the*
" *Union* for no other reason, but that, though it
" may advance the commerce of their Country,
" they are well aware it must extinguish theirs;
" who, not actuated by any generous sentiment,
" have hitherto followed the Trade of allegiance,
" merely because they have found it a more profitable
" one than that of Sedition; who, pro-

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" fligately

“ fligately confiftent, are led to *oppose the present*
“ *Government* by the fame motives, which in-
“ duced them to fupport the paff—by corrupt
“ selfishnefs, not public fpirit. They confider
“ British Connexion as a fort of State commo-
“ dity, for which England ought to deal with
“ them on their own terms. They promife to
“ fupply this Article of prime neceffity fo long
“ as they are permitted to vend it for their own
“ fole benefit to the fifter Country ; and though
“ of late (i. e. in 1799) the Crops have been forry,
“ yet, aided by the ftrong hand of Coercion,
“ and continuing to manure with Irish blood,
“ they make no doubt of having permanent and
“ abundant harvefts.”

Now, if the Author has, in his Advice to his Catholic Brethren, permitted aught to efcape from him, touching this Faétion, more irreverent than this Picture of them thus heavily laboured and publicly exhibited, not by an anonymous libeller, but by a fedate Legiflator, fubfcribing it with a “ *W. Smith pinxit,*” he defires only that it may be pointed out, in order to be immediately corrected. But left the Remonftrancer fhould here object, that this picture may have been overcharged by ill-natured spleen or party irritation, (failings, however, which muft not be imputed to Mr. Smith) we fhall produce, in attestation of
its

its fidelity, an extract from Doctor Patrick Duigenan's "*Fair Representation*," printed by Milliken, 1800. This *impartial* Writer, who is also a "Member of the Imperial Parliament," and would *surely* have been shocked by imputations unjustly cast upon *any Class* of Irishmen, strongly recommends Mr. Smith's Pamphlet for "*good Information*," and affirms, that "Mr. Smith, though a very young man," in 1800, "has in that *Capital* performance, vigorously combated the well-informed veteran, Mr. Foster."

Avunculus excitat Hector.

Nor let this "recommendation" be suspected, because it has been requited with interest in the "capital performances" of this "very young man." Enough, however, appears probably to satisfy the Remonstrancer, that the conduct of his Party, upon that memorable occasion, was more generally understood than he seems to imagine.

But, as he proceeds, he begins to apprehend, that his assertions would prove of as doubtful efficacy, as his Revolutionary visions; that his attempts to load the gentry of Ireland with the odium of his party, might, like the stone of Sisyphus, roll back upon his own Head. It occurred to him, that those hints might be contemned, as proceeding from some soured Individual,

vidual, whose personal speculations that Union may have crushed, and whose dreams of Senatorial exhibition it may have forbidden him, however tempted by Prynne, and D'Ewes, and Hatfield, ever to realize.

To extricate himself, therefore, he at length admits the position, as the "Advice" states it, and then wheels about with this querulous interrogatory, "why is the *dangerous* truth divulged, that this petty faction is incensed by the Union, and discontented with existing circumstances?" To this it may be answered, because nothing can more attach the people of this Country to their Government, than to learn, that the Sway of Passion is over, and the mildness of true Policy substituted—because the Catholics, (concurring with the same Mr. Wm. Smith's Address to the People, Marchbank, 1799,) "may conclude, that, if the Faction in question looks blue, as needs be, at the Union, the Measure is not calculated to prolong religious Discord, or foment the Divisions of the Inhabitants." Hence they may persuade themselves, as they have done in other instances, that the "blue looks," or discontent, of those persons bode some public good, or presage the coming of settled tranquillity, and that the Union is the harbinger of a liberal and dispassionate system of Legislation for

for this Country, Much of the discontent and of the exasperation which have afflicted this Country, may be attributed to the opinion that this Faction was sanctioned by, or connected with, the Government. This opinion was assiduously propagated by the Jacobins of this, as well as of other Factions, and the People, having no very certain rule of judging, were the more easily deluded into it, by the imprudence of one or two members of a former Government. To disabuse the popular mind in this respect, and to counteract the mischiefs of an opinion so injurious to the Government of the present day, is to render a service, not merely to the Catholic, but to the Protestant, and to every person who has any interest in the welfare of this Country. Perhaps no other topic was more proper to be introduced into an Address to the Catholics, or more likely to inspire respect and affection, than this of the Justice and the Moderation of their Rulers. The Remonstrancer has, naturally enough, availed himself of topics of a different nature, but apparently not for the same purposes, namely, the revival of obsolete imputations and invectives against his Countrymen, the style of menace against the Government, and of clamour against religious liberty.—These are weapons, which the Author
of

of the "Advice" does not meddle with.—The evils which have ensued from cherishing such an unhappy temper amongst a small Faction, sufficiently indicate the calamities which would attend the spreading of it amongst Millions. And what Inference has the Author drawn from his view of those acknowledged facts? Not that we should regret a former System, and complain of the present; not that we should repine at the Union, exaggerate the benefits of a distinct Legislature, dwell upon ideal losses, and suppress all mention of the solid advantages flowing from that measure, and of the compensation provided by Law for petty inconveniences, but that, whatever we may think of the past, we ought to look upon the present with approbation, and to the future with hope, and that a sense of the blessings of a good Constitution and form of Government, administered with mildness and justice, should attach us the more strongly, at this crisis, to our Sovereign, to Britain, and to each other.

Here it may be observed, that the Remonstrancer and his humble Copyist (for to what lengths will not Party lead some minds?) have deemed it not beneath the Dignity of their anonymous Pens to frame another conjecture of still more mischievous tendency, if, indeed, its absurdity did not render it perfectly harmless. This

Conjecture

Conjecture in substance is, that those Passages in the "Advice," which relate to this Faction, if they do not comprehend the whole Protestant Gentry of Ireland, must at least have been levelled at those amongst them, who opposed the Union. No meaning is then to be annexed to those passages, which mention our Protestant fellow-Citizens in terms of praise and affection, and which express the Author's opinion, that "three-fourths of them reprove and despise those Affociators, as mere drudges of Sedition." In truth, no man has confounded this Faction with the mass of the Protestant opponents of the Union. Amongst the latter are some of the Author's most valued friends, many the most liberal and benevolent of men in public and private Life, a large number of the members of that enlightened Profession, which the Author loves with partiality, and honours with reverence, as the ornament of our Country, and the safeguard of our Liberties. These opponents of the Union acted upon principles very different, indeed, from those avowed by the Remonstrancer, and entertained by his party *. *Their* motives in opposing the Union, as well as those of many of its Protestant supporters, were as elevated as ever actuated public men; not the love of a prolonged

f Dominion

* See Remonstrance, page 45.

Dominion over their fellow subjects ; for they deemed too respectfully of our Monarchy and our Constitution to doubt, that a firm attachment to the one and the other would, in *all* persons, prove co-extensive with a participation in the benefits of both. If they duly appreciated the value of an Established Church, they did not, however, hold it to be a sound Doctrine either of Religion or of policy, that the Church can be upheld only by restraints upon Conscience ; and, above all, they abhorred the aid of animosity and violence to the cause of Religion—

—— idem odere vires,
Omne nefas in animo habentes.

“ They would, out of love to their Country
 “ and their kind, torture their invention, if necessary, to find excuses for the mistakes of
 “ their Brethren, and, to stifle dissension, would
 “ construe even doubtful appearances with the
 “ utmost favour. Such men will never persuade
 “ themselves to be *ingenious and refined in discovering*
 “ *Treason and Disaffection in the manifest*
 “ *palpable signs of suffering loyalty.* Persecution
 “ is so unnatural to them, that they would gladly
 “ snatch the very first opportunity of laying aside
 “ the tricks and devices of penal politics, and
 “ of returning home, after all irksome and
 “ vexatious

“ vexatious wanderings, to our natural family
“ mansion, to the grand social principle, that
“ unites all men, of all descriptions, under the
“ shadow of an equal and impartial Justice.” *

These are not the men, whose motives are regarded without respect by the Irish People. Neither the Author, nor any other observer, has confounded them with that Party, whose clamour against the Union, notoriously springing from a different source, proved as successful in rendering that measure popular, as their former pretensions to Loyalty had been auxiliary to Jacobinism. In this instance also, therefore, the kind intentions of the Remonstrancer and of his Disciple, will fail of being accomplished to their good liking.

We shall dismiss his chidings and his dreams with the only remaining complaint of any weight, and a *very* weighty complaint it is—that “ there
“ is no allusion to a *single* Irishman amongst the
“ names of those Generals, Statesmen, Military,
“ &c. &c. upon whom the Author has bestowed
“ praise; that they are all British names.” This is a strange proof of that hostility to British connexion, which he has elsewhere imputed to the
“ Advice;” and it is adduced with as little diffidence, as if no repugnancy could be suspected to exist between this hostility to Britain and partiality

lity to Britons—Yet he does not omit to manifest his displeasure at the partial allusion made to our Countryman, Lord Moira ; but his Lordship, perhaps, is not sufficiently noble, or virtuous, or accomplished to be selected for our objector's purposes. In this spirit, it appears, throughout his Remonstrance, that he can scarcely tolerate in another the least diversity of opinion or of feeling from himself.

Velle tuum, Dindyme, nolo, nolle volo.

He will not permit his fellow-subjects to admire the virtues of a Cornwallis or a Moore, because they happen to be English or Scots, or to hold up for the imitation of Irishmen the conduct of a People now united to us, perhaps, because that People has been with impunity made the subject of indecent and unjust invective, in his former publications.

To this charge of respecting very highly the manners, temper and character of his British fellow-subjects, the Author, however, pleads Guilty—Nor is this impression altogether without cause; it is the result of various and intimate acquaintance. That People, generally speaking of them in private Life, do not cling to the narrow policy of reigning by the needless depression of their neighbours ; if they engage in a Party, it is not in order to circumscribe the natural rights of others, or to give immovable permanency

permanency to political disqualifications, but to assert and establish the just and legitimate privileges of all; not to promote, but to check, monopoly of every kind—firm, but not furious; benevolent, and therefore not suspicious; religious, but leaving their Christian neighbour to worship his Creator, and commemorate his Divine Redeemer, in his own way. If they notice the Sect of another, it is only incidentally, and as they would mark the colour of his coat—but their views of their own happiness and interests are too just and enlarged to permit them to confound supposed Errors of opinion with the defects of the Heart or of Morals. As they think with freedom, so they decide generally without passion; and whether their differences relate to the merits of James or of William, or to more interesting subjects, their discussions are free from asperity and unjust reproach*. These are

* A writer amongst us, who has published *his own* Opinion of his “Letter,” in an English Review, has thought proper, through *that* channel, after announcing himself as a man of Rank and talents, and reviling the members of our Government and his Majesty’s Law Officers *by name*, to invent and fling a false imputation upon the Author’s Ancestry.—This imputation has fallen harmless upon a person, whose Ancestors, during several generations, have preserved an unfulled purity of fame, and exercised extensively a rural and honourable occupation, which from ancient times has ever been respected, which in the present day is cherished and cultivated by the flower of our nobility,

are amongst the happy manners and habits of a People, capable of appreciating and of improving the blessings of rational Society—a People, to whom (let Pride confess it) we are *all* obliged to recur for lessons of moral wisdom, for the mediation of mildness, and for the example of moderation and mutual forbearance. Alas! why is it that, in our Island, this character so much admired, is not more generally imitated, and that so many, of all persuasions, are disgracefully deficient in even the common offices of Charity towards each other? Why is uncharitableness, with the force of savage ferocity, let loose upon this sequestered corner of the Earth, to perturb the springs of social pleasure, and blast the hope of returning quiet? And why are adventurers licensed to foment that ferocity, by spreading the evils of Discord, and instilling the Doctrines of Intolerance? Where shall we seek the means of healing these mischiefs, and of neutralising this abominable

nobility, and even by Majesty itself. It is no just cause of reproach against the Author, that the Penal Laws (which levelled Catholics with the dust) do not permit him to see his relatives upon the Bench, or in the Senate.—Would it not be more becoming a truly loyal, though anonymous, “Yeoman,” to emulate, than to sneer at, a Family, of which one Individual recently tendered to his Sovereign an offer to raise, at his own expence in one County, Five hundred Men for his Majesty’s service, without any of the ordinary emoluments of raising Regiments, such as the sale of Commissions, &c.

abominable spirit? Protestants, you, whose virtues and example are rendered conspicuous by Power, Wealth, Dignities, and Establishments, those means rest principally with you—Let not the clamour of zealots deter you from the exercise of that liberality, which was the early boast and principle of your Church. It is with you to lead the way to national concord, not only by assisting to dispel the prejudices, and purify the zeal, of those partizans, whom your example and precepts can, perhaps, moderate, but by promoting the Instruction of those illiterate and despised peasants, whose warm hearts are not intractable or insensible to kind treatment. If the re-establishment of internal Concord be at all practicable, it cannot be effected by the wishes or exertions of Catholics alone—Many Protestants have strenuously and nobly laboured to this end, but, from the want of unanimity, much remains to be done; and the accomplishment of their beneficent views is unhappily impeded by the systematic opposition of misapplied zeal or of organized Bigotry. May this opposition speedily subside—may the benefits of education be more diffused, and may all ranks of our people be taught, by the example of our British fellow-subjects, those habits and manners which constitute their true happiness—Then only can we hope for some progress towards the solid establishment

establishment of internal tranquillity; and then only can this country, from a burden, become a Bulwark of the British Empire.

We have now travelled through the "Remonstrance," and, if any of its remarks remain unnoticed, they are only such as are obviated by a reference to the "Advice" itself, or are too futile and frivolous to amuse the public eye. Probably the Gentleman, who has addressed the Author, is now satisfied that he has misconceived the allusions, and misconstrued the expressions, contained in the "Advice to the Catholics." Perhaps he might have avoided those errors, had he taken into his counsels a spirit of indulgence for well-intended actions, and of reciprocal allowance (which ought ever to be made) for the nature of the subject, for particular views of it in all its bearings, and for differences of opinion and feeling between the Remonstrancer himself and the Catholics, (who were addressed) naturally arising from early habits, from the difference of their respective political situations, and from those prepossessions of education, which are perhaps more zealously instilled into the minds of Protestants than of Catholics in this Country—

Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.

Having taken leave of the Remonstrancer, we need not bestow any further attention upon those
Observations

observations on the "Advice," which appear in the "Letter to Mr. Wickham." This distempered Rhapsody contains nothing apposite to the professed subject, which had not already been urged with more subtlety by the Remonstrancer—and it can scarcely demand from the Author a respect, which it does not appear to have received from any other name.

FINALLY, the Author contemplates, with no ordinary satisfaction, the flattering testimonies which have been borne, by Protestants as well as Catholics, to the *utility* of the Address. It has been found, generally, to accord with the sentiments of that valuable and numerous Class of persons who were its objects, whilst it has produced the salutary effect of undeceiving some of his Protestant fellow-subjects, respecting the inclinations and opinions of their Catholic countrymen. This is not a fit place to dwell upon the expediency * of removing those political restraints which separate the professors of the different persuasions in this Empire from each other. Still less does it appear to be fit, or even rational, to blend matters of purely political concern with those Theological Controversies,

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which,

* See, on this head, the writings of the Rev. Mr. O'Leary, Rev. Doctor Milner, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Newenham, &c. also Mr. Plowden's History of Ireland down to 1801, said to have been composed at the instance, and under the auspices, of the present Prime Minister.

which, in almost all other Countries, have been long consigned to repose, even by the Ministers of the respective systems of Faith.

“Οὐ γὰρ θεωρία καὶ πράξις πολιτικὴ, ὥς τὰ πολλὰ, συνέιναι
πεφύκασιν. *

Surely this is not a Country, or an epoch, suited to such controversies. It behoves us now to provide the means of giving compactness to the strength of the Empire, of employing all hands, conciliating all hearts, and concentrating and animating our great physical force †, for the purpose of repelling a towering Despot, whose Power is tremendous, and whose aim is our Ruin. A view of that fatal gulf, which has swallowed up other Nations, and which is open to receive us, (we know not how speedily) ought to induce men of all Persuasions to turn to *each other* for support and affection, not to persevere madly in all the illiberality of haughty exclusion and unchristian discord. It is the interest of France *alone* to prolong and inflame this discord amongst us—this is the avenue to her success.

* NICEPHOR.

† That this desirable purpose may yet be accomplished, is sincerely to be hoped. By the late Returns of Military Force, as stated in the House of Commons, it appears that it is deemed necessary to employ in this Country, of the Regular force of these Islands, nearly *two-sevenths*, whilst we scarcely produce *one-seventh* of the Volunteer force. This simple fact is pregnant with many serious considerations.

success. It is her policy to divert our fears, and mislead our attention from her enormous projects, now ready to burst upon our heads—That policy is unhappily abetted by vain and frivolous discussions of imagined possibilities of danger, provoked by wrangling controvertists in an eternal outcry against *Popery*. They, who distract the public mind, and waste the public energies, by such aggressions at this crisis, may be well-meaning or well-affected subjects, but they are playing the game of France in this Country. No man can be so besotted as not to perceive, that their outcry and invectives tend only to mislead the Protestants, and to teize and exasperate the Roman Catholics of Ireland, nor can any man be so infatuated as to reckon upon the certain, or even probable, overthrow of French Invasion, if our population be thus misled, alienated, and exasperated. Let those deluded instruments of French policy, therefore, desist from their narrow and mischievous system of traducing the Roman Catholics, and cease to convert speculative differences in Religion into gross charges of disloyalty and immorality. If they really practise the Religion which they profess, if they join sincerely in prayer with the Ministers of the Protestant Faith throughout the United Kingdom, let them

meditate with profit upon those prayers * (composed recently in England by the venerable Prelates of that Religion, and appointed by the *highest* authority to be read in all the Churches of the Empire) in which the differences between Protestantism and this scare-crow, Popery, are, after all, acknowledged to consist only in matters of *doubtful* opinion, and connected rather with *forms* of external worship, than with the *essentials* of our most Holy Faith!

* Prayers for the General Fast Day—October, 1803. (In the prayer respecting Ireland) “ Give us grace to put away
“ all rancour of Religious dissensions, that they, who
“ agree in the essentials of our most holy Faith, and look for
“ pardon through the merits and intercession of our Saviour,
“ may, notwithstanding their differences upon *points of doubtful*
“ *Opinion*, and in the forms of external worship, still be united
“ in the bonds of Christian Charity.”

AN IRISH CATHOLIC'S
ADVICE
TO HIS BRETHREN,
&c. &c.

MY COUNTRYMEN,

I ADDRESS you with a heart full of devotion to your welfare, and deeply interested in the destiny of our common Country—that beloved Country, where we all have drawn our earliest breath, where our ancestors have flourished in former times—the scene of our own comforts, the object of our hopes; whose Honour and happiness it is our solemn duty to guard for ourselves, and to transmit inviolate to our posterity. I wish, and hope, to animate you to its defence, and to demonstrate to you the dire and intolerable calamities which impend over, and must surely crush us, unless we shall look into our true situation, and act with a spirit, a wisdom, and a promptitude becoming our numbers and our character.

The following sentiments flow from an honest and unbiassed survey of our interests as Irishmen,

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without

without adverting to those of either England* or France, farther than as those countries affect our present prosperity and independence. If they shall appear reasonable and convincing to your judgments, and shall invigorate your souls with a sound perception of your Country's true Interests at this awful crisis, I seek no other object; I feel no higher Ambition.

But, that you may confide in the credit and motives of the person who addresses you, I shall begin by submitting both to your decision upon their weight and probity. I neither am, (as many of you know) nor is any one of my Family, a Partisan, a Dependant, or a Flatterer of any Government, nor in any wise interested in supporting a single abuse or defect of our political system;—but, like yourselves, I am a true born Irishman, a Milesian, a Catholic, of parents and kindred dwelling amongst you, your friend and brother, allied to no title, or power or party, save yourselves, (if that be a party) identified with you, living in the same habits and comforts, sharing in the same privations, restraints and grievances, with my Catholic countrymen.

I feel an honest pride in belonging to a faithful and loyal class of people, who have never deemed any sacrifice of their wishes or resentments too great for their King and their Honour;

* That my English attachments are strong and decided, appears thro' out the whole of this address; but it has seemed to me (in addressing my Countrymen) the most natural course, to demonstrate that it is the peculiar Interest of Ireland, for her own sake, to adhere steadily to England, and to reject with abhorrence, the insidious and destructive amity of France.

Honour, who have never lost their Dignity, or their temper, with their Fortunes, who suffered with manly fortitude a Century of unexampled injustice, vanquished the spirit of Intolerance by subduing their own passions, and finally redeemed themselves from servitude by their wisdom and unbroken energies. We have honourably won our way, with calmness, to our present rank of Character, which (however still somewhat shackled by a remnant of the broken chain) is yet, in my judgment, the most enviable and truly splendid, that the annals of History present.

——— faithful found, unmov'd,
Unshaken, unseduc'd, unterrified,
Our loyalty we kept, our love, our zeal.

This is not idle exultation; it is an useful soothing of our souls, by the recollection of our merits and those of our Fathers, by a retrospect of our gradual resurrection in our Country, and by a mutual congratulation of each other upon the Rank and comparative prosperity which we now enjoy.

Let such recollections now animate us steadfastly to maintain our present advantages. The moment is at hand, which is to decide, whether we shall be cast from it into far deeper misery than we have emerged from, or be triumphantly conducted to National concord and permanent peace. The warning voice of our venerable Guide, Arthur O'Leary*, is hushed to

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eternal

* When Invasion was menaced in 1779, the writings of this good and loyal man, excited in the South an universal zeal in defence of the Country—and, in 1786, his Addresses to the people were equally successful in quieting some local disturbances.

eternal silence; his soul is gone to receive in Heaven that Happiness, which he wished to all mankind, but particularly to the Men of Ireland. He, doubtless, still looks down, with fond solicitude, upon his native Country: and could his benevolent spirit re-animate his sleeping dust, he would now (for I knew him and his sentiments well) proclaim to you, with the earnest voice of Patriotism and Christian eloquence, those solemn and precious truths, which, with not less pure motives but far inferior powers, I shall venture briefly to lay before your eyes.

My Countrymen, THE FRENCH boastfully proclaim the menace of invading our Island once more. For this daring enterprize they have collected their adventurers, their convicts, their outcasts and plundering banditti; and their General, Massena, cheers his fellow-ruffians on, by picturing us as an easy prey, as a lazy, bickering, cowardly, helpless nation of poltroons, worse even than themselves. They fancy already, that they may, with impunity, pillage our Homes and fields, violate our Women, bind our Men neck and heels, transport them to the West Indies to perish by disease or the sword, and lastly, parcel out this lovely Island amongst the most ferocious robbers of their Gang. It is high time, therefore, for us to decide, if any still doubt, how to act, whether WITH THEM OR AGAINST THEM? In order to determine wisely, let us discuss this Question, not angrily, but calmly,—let us leave all passions and animosities at the door; and when we have determined, let

let us act accordingly, with vigour, and in concert—*with vigour*, because, that will do half the business for us,—*in concert*, because if we should disagree, we might be mad enough to shorten the business of the enemy by cutting each other's throats, instead of serving ourselves or our Country. We are all, I believe, heartily agreed in our detestation of a Civil War; we feel the same emotions of grief and shame on all its miserable consequences, whether they appear on one side or the other, in the shape of victories or defeats, of a Battle at Ross or at Carnew, of a massacre* at Wexford, or in the fields of Ballinamuck. They who execrate the practice of indiscriminately burning the houses and torturing the persons of the innocent and the guilty, they who abhor the now exploded system of Terror amongst us, they who profess the true principles of affection towards Men of every Sect and Party, must shudder at the renewal of a Rebellion or Civil War. They will, therefore, join with me in scrutinizing closely the pretences and promises of

* It is easy to perceive that this passage implies, simply, a deprecation of that sanguinary spirit, whose effects, wheresoever they appear, Humanity must deplore.—Nothing is farther from my intention than to assimilate the originating principles of that Spirit in these two instances—We learn, from Mr. Hay's History of the former, that it was perpetrated by a barbarous mob, instigated by the wicked Industry of the savage Dixon—In the latter instance Massacre, *Strages*, *Cades*, may perhaps, appear to be sanctioned by the usage of putting Rebels to the sword, even after resistance had ceased. Milton applies this word, generally, to homicide—

—— of whom such massacre,
Make they, but of their brethren, men of men.

Par. L.

of those Foreigners,' who now invite us to hostilities against each other.

In the first place, I entreat of every Irishman to lay his hand upon his heart, and to ask himself seriously these few and simple questions:—Who are these French? Which of us has seen or talked with them, or had experience of them? What may be their object or view in taking this long voyage, upon the element that all Frenchmen detest, exposed to the cannon of our fleets and the fury of the storms? Have they the kindness to take this mighty trouble merely for our sakes? And, if so, what presents do they bring to us, and what rewards do they promise to themselves? Can they bring to us what they themselves have not, Liberty, Property, Laws, Honesty, Truth, or Religion? Have we, in a word, any reason either to love or to fear them?

Having weighed those questions, I will tell you frankly what answers I have found to them:—An attention to their conduct, their history and connexion with Ireland, may afford us some salutary cautions, and I give you the plain result of what I have observed or learned upon those subjects.

It is 112 years since the Capitulation of Limerick to William the Third; it was the last City in Ireland or England, that surrendered to him; and never was any place more gallantly defended than Limerick had been by our loyal Ancestors, who, with Sarsfield at their head, fought for their
hereditary

hereditary King, James, against what they considered as a Dutch invader *, and his hired battalions. France had long amused the besieged with promises of succour—no succour came; and the brave Garrison, after enduring incredible hardships, were forced to give up, with breaking hearts, their last possession in their Country, but not without having obtained, and deservedly, glorious terms of Capitulation. The French Fleet came (as they have always come to their *friends*) when there was nothing to be done for them, when all was over, and they were not wanted. However, they enticed 14,000 veteran Soldiers on board this fleet to France;—not one of those veterans ever saw his Country again; they were all thrown by the French upon the most hazardous attempts, and all perished in battle, the dupes of French craft and ambition. Never afterwards did the French seriously attempt to restore James to the throne which he had ceased to deserve, or those exiles to their Country, where they might have remained, although France then had, what she now has not, abundance of shipping, and a Navy not inferior in strength to that of these Islands.

Their next visit was about 43 years ago, when one Thurot, an Adventurer, landed at Carrickfergus in the North, with a few hundreds of them.

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* In the former Edition, by one of those errors of the Press, in which it abounded, this word happened to be printed in capitals; and this circumstance, probably, suggested to the “Remonstrancer,” the idea of that misconstruction of it, which, I trust, has been fully refuted in the Preface to the present Edition.

He amused himself, as usual, with plundering the country for a few days.—The people rose against him, and he had just time to get back to his ships; however, in his return, he was overtaken by our frigates, shot in action, and his ships were captured.

After that experiment, they left us in quiet for 36 years, when, about Christmas, 1796, General Hoche came, with 20,000 * Frenchmen, and a strong fleet, to Bantry Bay.—With all this force they had not the courage to set foot upon Irish ground. All the men of Munster, on the first alarm, joined hearts and hands to repel them; but the French prudently shifted their quarters, and they and their ships, in returning, were, for the most part, either wrecked on the seas, or made prizes to our cruizers.

In September, 1798, another gang, to the number of 1,100, came to Killala under Humbert. Now those were their most orderly and valiant men, the choicest of their Italian and German armies—and how did they behave? They rambled about during three weeks, doing much mischief in villages and in corn fields; they enticed to this army many thousand peasants, whom they afterwards insulted, because, forsooth, they would not bend the knee to Frenchmen, and could not learn the manual drill from French serjeants, who spoke neither English nor Irish. Two hundred raw soldiers of the Limerick militia charged this whole army of French heroes at Colloony with
fixed

* Seamen included.

fixed bayonets, and forced them to measure back their ground with loss.—Who were the victors? they were Catholics, mostly descended from the defenders of Limerick, who, being prohibited by an old Act of Parliament (now repealed) from dwelling within the walls, took up their residence in those noted suburbs of Limerick called Garryone. The French being tamed by this skirmish, and hotly pursued and overtaken at Ballinamuck, finished their short race by an act, scarcely to be equalled in cowardice and treachery, towards 1500 of those peasants, whom they had allured to the tricoloured Flag. Instead of sending a Flag of truce, or demanding terms of mercy or protection for their Irish allies, (who, though raw and undisciplined, wore their uniform and formed part of their Army) they flung down their arms in a panic, and cried out for quarter for *themselves alone*.—Those dishonoured fellows got quarter, and immediately saw, with unconcern, almost every man of their Irish allies devoted to military Execution. I have since been on the field of Massacre *, and was shown the large pits, into

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which

* I have already explained, that this application of the term “Massacre,” without any Epithet, does not of itself attach a stronger character to this affair than that which is applicable to the effusion of blood in Military execution—Some Massacres, such as that at Wexford, must be reprobated by all men; others, such as that of Ismael or Warsaw, may appear to be defensible. All are equally to be deplored—and it is upon the horrors of Massacre and violence of every kind, that I rest a strong argument against the hazard of public Commotions.

which heaps of Irish carcases had been thrown, without the ordinary rites of Christian interment. Such is the Alliance of the French. They never afterwards complained of this affair, as of a matter that concerned them, or the honour of their character in Ireland: on the contrary, their vindictive hearts felt so sorely the disgrace of having been first checked, and finally vanquished, by a few Irish troops, that their shame was converted into a general antipathy against our Nation. They bitterly inveighed against those deluded Rebels, whom they had, under the name of Allies, betrayed to untimely graves; they calumniated them as the vilest Cowards, Robbers, and Scoundrels they had ever met with. They pretended to be utterly ashamed of their new Allies, and protested repeatedly that they would, on their return to France, represent Ireland as a Nation of Thieves and Barbarians; the last promise alone they have kept. This Gang was, as I have said, composed of their most honourable and precious men, gentle as lambs, pure as saints, in comparison with the precious cargoes of their countrymen, who now hope to succeed them: they were delegated, as it were, for the express purpose of captivating our affections and commanding our respect; a pattern of French excellence, which must, as of course, have rendered us enamoured of the whole of their giddy nation; and yet we see their impudence, their treachery, and their falsehood.—

I will

II

I will give you an instance of the intemperance even of Humbert and his Generals, in a private company of ladies and gentlemen, where (if any where) their behaviour might be expected to be discreet and guarded.—During their captivity, they dined at a worthy Dean's house in the county of Longford; a trifling dispute arose amongst those Generals, which soon, as is usual amongst them, was inflamed into a mighty quarrel. So little regard for decency had those *deliverers*, so little temper or common sense, that there, at their Host's table, they vented the grossest scurrility against each other, exchanged the most angry menaces, and at length, in the presence of Ladies! nearly drew their swords, in token of their valour—swords, which they had been suffered to wear only by courtesy! The company were glad to withdraw and leave the room to those *polite* gentlemen; and the Host was, no doubt, heartily glad when they left the room and the house to him. Such are the men who would guide and govern us, and yet have not as much self-command as we meet with in the lowest ranks of society!

In 1801, our Countrymen met and fought them in Egypt; there, amongst other exploits, the 28th Regiment of Foot, mostly Irish, cut down the flower of their boasted veterans. A Regiment of Germans, headed by Irish officers now at Cork, bayoneted the French Regiment of *Invincibles*, so calling themselves, took their Standard, and extinguished them and their name.

The remnant of this gasconading Army, which Bonaparte had allured to follow him and then deserted, were forced, in disgrace, to *bite the dust* or to lay down their arms. Peace was made opportunely for the French. It drew the curtain before their defeats, and saved them from our triumphs and the mockery of Europe.

In a word, do not our Sailors also, mostly Irish, conquer them with ease wherever thy meet them? Do they not, at every opportunity, land in open boats upon hostile shores, storm their Batteries, spike their guns, and ever triumph even upon French ground?

And, after these things, shall we, or should we fear Frenchmen? We, who are not, like the Dutch or Austrians, dull, slow, and heavy machines; nor like the Spaniards and Neapolitans, indolent, debauched, or frivolous; nor, like the Swiss, few in number and bordering on France; but we who are, I say, from our cradles, a bold, martial, and muscular people as ever existed,

“Fierce in our native hardiness of Soul.”

inhabiting a remote and defensible Island, which we well know how to defend; we who are, beyond most Nations, robust of constitution and frame, patient of fatigue, of cold and heat, hunger and thirst, nimble, terrible in battle, rushing headlong upon the bayonet and the battery, and ever prodigal of life in a favourite cause. Shall five hundred thousand of us (for we can turn out so many efficient men) fear to fight the French in the cause of our Country?

Country? Of us, who, at our schools, our patron festivals and our fairs, make fighting and rough exercises our pastime, nay our delight? What is, and has been, more common in Ireland, than to see the men of rival Parishes and rival Counties meeting, by choice and previous appointment, upon our Fair-greens and Race-grounds, and there, with clubs and other weapons, engaged in furious conflict for whole hours, with dreadful loss of limbs and lives, and all for the empty honours of their Parish or County? What, then, is there for such men to dread in facing those shrivelled French Fops, who feed upon garlic, chicken broth and frogs, who wear rings in their ears, muffs on their delicate hands, and pass their days and nights amongst dancers, fiddlers, and gamblers? *Petitmaitres*, whom a single week of our wet weather would blockade in their Hospitals, or wash back into the Sea; who would find in our very air and climate the same noxious repugnance towards them, that St. *Patrick* is said to have breathed into it, for our protection against all other venomous Animals.

If, then, we need not fear or respect them as Foes, what better reason is there to love them as Friends or Allies? Let us see *, therefore

* One critic falls foul of this appeal to the reason of the Catholics, as favouring of "Moderism," a crime, which his visit to Paris has taught him duly to abhor.—But why is he so angry? He professes that his views are, like mine, Antigallican; and if he deems trite intimidation the most cogent method, may I not prefer that of persuasion? If he chooses to bluster, may I not expostulate and convince if I can?

fore, how far their amity is to be confided in, or their alliance esteemed. In the first place, they have never, since Ireland has had a name, performed one act of real service to us or to our Country.—I challenge them, or any servile admirer of theirs, to shew one act of kindness or friendship flowing at any time from the French to the Irish, or point out a single instance in History, of the French having befriended any People, without endeavouring also to rob and to enslave them.—They approach with the kiss of Judas, and they bite with the deadly venom of the asp. We have seen their treachery at Ballinamuck; we know that they seduced to their cause several Irishmen, of all persuasions, a few of whom were men of talents and integrity, whose private views, whatever I may think of their foreign connexions, I will not here, contrary to my opinion, accuse as sordid or vindictive, nor will I, for any purpose or at any time, speak of the moral and intellectual qualities of those men, otherwise than, as I have heard of them from their professional acquaintance, with respect*. They were seduced to that cause

* To advance even a possible untruth, is not, at least in my judgment, the best recommendation of an argument; and to shew that the Rebel Leaders were mere enthusiasts, seems to me to be as efficient and as just a mode of arguing against Rebellion, as to assert, of persons whom I knew not, that they were immoral or vindictive.—Indeed the Gentleman, who dictates to me an opposite principle, does himself, very *consistently*, forbid us to “ Insult the calamities of the Exile, or traduce the dead.” Neither does he

cause at a time, indeed, when the French Revolution had not fully developed itself, when its character was vibrating between Liberty and Slavery, when public opinion was undecided between the ferocity and folly of the many, and the timid, but impotent, benevolence of the few, and when many honest and benevolent persons did hope that the French Nation was engaged, not in forging its own chains, but in maintaining the cause of rational Liberty.

What is now to be thought of those promises and those hopes? Their Revolution is at an end, They had gained, after the slaughter or exile of two or three millions of men, the opportunity of firmly fixing their Liberties and of choosing their own form of government; whether a limited Monarchy, a qualified or a pure Republic. Other Nations looked for the event with impatient solicitude, and hoped that the French would now produce some admirable masterpiece of a free Constitution. But no, French souls were too servile for so noble a line of conduct. They have preferred an odious and execrable Tyranny; they have made a cruel, vulgar, and gloomy foreigner their Tyrant, without

he scruple to paint the Messrs. Emmet (to whom I alluded) as men of the "best qualities of the head and heart, of amiable dispositions and talents, entitled to a splendid Lot"—and this upon the authority, not of *hearsay*, but of his *personal* acquaintance.—Yet he thinks himself licensed to censure me for not having reviled their private character.—

without whose leave they dare not open their lips, or move one inch; and they have made themselves the vilest of slaves, because Frenchmen never have been, nor ever can be, any thing else but slaves.

As for our ill-fated Countrymen, who have been allured by the false signals and lights of France to steer to such a coast in quest of Liberty, their reception, has been cold and chilling, and their disappointment most bitter. They are allowed no pension; they have no subsistence but what they can raise amongst their families here; they are either watched and encircled by spies in Paris, or left to starve in the garrets, cellars, and highways; thus those deluded Exiles, who might have lived in comfort at home, drag on the burden of life in the utmost misery and neglect, in the land of unfeeling strangers.

So much for the conduct of the French towards our Nation and their own. Next, it may be useful to see what are the received and current sentiments amongst them, with respect to Ireland. Now all Frenchmen despise and ridicule all other Nations, but ours in particular. The wide and turbulent Ocean, which the Almighty, perhaps amongst his other mercies to us, has interposed between Ireland and France, is considered by the *modest* people of Paris as a proof that we are destined, from the Creation, to be an incorrigible nation of Savages or slaves, eternally cut off from all their refinements, civilization

tion, and improvements. Voltaire himself, their favourite Author and Oracle, assures them very gravely in language too coarse to be repeated, that the Irish have no good moral or intellectual quality whatever. The French believe this to be as true as the Gospel, and they deem of Ireland accordingly: for their ignorance keeps pace with their insolence. Does not our blood boil with scornful indignation at those things, and do we not pant for an opportunity of forcing them to better manners and more instruction?

But perhaps their Tyrant, Bonaparte, may have more sense, or more kindness towards Ireland than his slaves have. Vain expectation! Our officers, and soldiers who have served in Egypt, assure us*, that his practice there was, to murder thousands of his prisoners in cold blood, and to rid himself of the sick and wounded of his army, by poisoning them in their beds. Monstrous villainy! to doom his own suffering soldiers, who had blindly followed him from France in that frantic expedition, to the excruciating agonies of death by poison.—We read also upon the authority of printed French letters, that very lately his Brother-in-law, by his orders, conveyed hundreds of his Negro slaves on board transport-ships provided with false bottoms, and then, at a sufficient

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* Even in Denon's account of the French Expedition, we find their own Historian relating, with perfect *Sang-froid*, many horrid instances of French cruelty and barbarity in Egypt.

distance from shore, pushed them all into the Ocean; the prey of the sharks and the waves. Would he treat Irishmen, if in his power, better than he has treated the natives of the West Indies, of Egypt, or his own soldiers and countrymen? Surely, it would be insanity to expect it.

Let us now see how Bonaparte has acted towards those nations, to whom he has deigned to wear a show of kindness.

He found the Swiss republic somewhat divided in itself—the Catholic cantons were tranquil and satisfied; some of the Protestant cantons murmured against a few of their magistrates,—Bonaparte came amongst them, with grimaces and sweet speeches, promising them his healing protection, and a new Constitution, more free than their own, which had stood for centuries—he caught them, as the spider catches the innocent fly—he protected them, as the kite protects the dove—he plucked them, and stripped them, and plundered them of their all, even of their goats. He took them in the same trap, in which he has taken other Nations; and the following is the simple contrivance and uniform construction of it. First, a catalogue of grievances (such as every country under Heaven does and must furnish in some degree,) is vamped up by a few shallow natives of the Country, who either are bribed by his agents, or have the folly to flatter themselves that they shall be Rulers and Lords of all, if they assist him in enslaving their Country.—Then follows an invitation to him, or to France,

France, to act the farce of the Umpire, as being great, glorious and powerful.—He accepts the mediation, and both parties are base enough to submit to his interference.—He pretends to call a general congress by proclamation, for the purpose of choosing their own form of government.—This gratifies the rabble and collects all the vulgar and conceited politicians of the country together. All is gratitude to the great little man.—All is enthusiasm for Liberty; and every man dreams of it in his own way; the statesmen (that is, the mobs) debate and discuss the subject, in the streets, in the taverns.—No system can please all, nor ever did.—They differ, altercation, and form new factions.—Bonaparte, prepared for this perplexity, sends his agents amongst the multitude, to divide and bewilder them the more, while he seems to take no active part himself, nor to exercise any influence over them.—In the mean time, a general uncertainty prevails; the old laws are at a stand, the Courts of Justice are shut, and men begin to find the misery of being without Magistrates or Judges. Riots become frequent, property is pillaged; the strong attack the weak; all with impunity; and bad men are encouraged, by the general confusion, to proceed from wicked actions to worse.—The innovators stare at each other with terror and amaze; they ask themselves, in tremulous whispers, where will all this end?—They are ashamed to own their error, and all are afraid to return from Anarchy to their late Government, without first

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consulting

consulting with the Great man and the Great Nation.—

The Great Man receives the plaintive Deputies of the congress;—listens, with great appearance of tenderness, to the tale of their sorrows; gets all the information he can from them; tells them that their case is very hard, that they are patriotic, valuable Citizens, profound Legislators, and that he would be happy to see distinguished by Public posts, men so capable of working a new Constitution skilfully, and of preserving the relations of Amity and Fraternity with the Great Nation. The Deputies retire from his presence, wondering at his political sagacity, and dazzled by the tawdry magnificence that surrounds him. They receive some money, and more flattery, from the Consul and his Agents; and, by and by, they are agreed in intreating him to condescend to frame a Constitution for their poor Country.—He, with much diffidence, gratifies their desires, and in due time produces, from one of his Pigeon-holes, a pompous Proclamation, full of generosity and high sounding phrases, followed by a skeleton of Constitution, in which much is vaguely promised, and new-coined words of undefined meaning are abundantly scattered through, in order to leave the whole to his own subsequent interpretation. The Deputies are delighted at the prospect of some Novelty, of casting off their old fashioned Laws, and of *regenerating* their Country. They return to it with this Constitution in their pockets, in which
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care has been taken to nominate them, during pleasure, to some conspicuous Posts of power. They present it to the Congress, who accept it by acclamation, and, having thus fulfilled their Legislative Duties, their Session closes with acts of public thanks to the great Consul and to Heaven.

The Consular Proclamation, in patriotic polysyllables, is promulgated; and all is joy and festivity again, until the frenzy of the moment has had time to evaporate. Then, indeed, the dizzy lovers of Novelty begin to feel, in practice, the studied imperfections of their new Constitution; they murmur at the gross injustice of its provisions; they detect the incapacity of these Rulers of their choice.—Discontent diffuses itself—Power is ridiculed and insulted—and, at the news of the first riot, these public Functionaries the puny disciples of Sancho Panca, tremble with dismay, and turn pale at the ebullition of popular fury. They dispatch couriers to Bonaparte, bearing their invocations of his speedy protection; they beseech him to shield them from the consequences of their own rashness, and to second his generous labours by the Bayonets of his Mercenaries. The Plot is now ripe—he does not refuse them: French legions are poured in upon them, dispersing menacing and reproachful Proclamations against the ingratitude of the refractory Citizens, and the incapacity of the terrified Rulers: all are treated
alike

alike, as rebels and Enemies. Every species of Rapine and Outrage follows; and the last act of this Farce of Deliverance closes in the dreary silence and servitude of military Desolation.

Such my countrymen, is the Freedom that the French would fain introduce into Ireland; and such are the scenes that they would act here:—such was the experience of the Swiss, the Italians, and the Dutch. The Swiss alone indeed, floundered and struggled awhile (as the Dutch will perhaps, shortly do) to get loose from the fatal Toils, into which they had been ensnared; they rose tumultuously in arms—it was too late; their attempt was vain; seven thousand brave Swiss, disdaining the yoke, perished in battle, overwhelmed by the numbers of their Oppressors. Their Patriots are either chained down in Dungeons, or scattered in Exile over the face of pitying Europe; and their surviving Countrymen are now as abject Slaves in Switzerland, as their Masters are in France. Bonaparte found the people of Italy, Piedmont, and Savoy, happy and heedless enough also, amongst their Singers, Dancers, Musicians, and loose women. He found the drowsy people of Holland contented and quiet, smoaking their Pipes, plodding at their Trades, or farming their rich pastures. He came amongst all those People, as in Switzerland, under one pretext or other, fleeced them by military exactions, ruined and beggared them by forced Loans and contributions, expelled them
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from their Homes, and has rendered them vagrant and mournful Slaves.

Whose slaves are they? They are the Slaves of the most creeping Slaves that ever bowed beneath a yoke—the French themselves. They, like their Masters, have no Parliament, Convention, or Congress, no free Juries, no fair Trials, no equal Laws, no Justice, no permission to enjoy the earnings of their Industry, the fruits of their Soil, or even the sad consolation of giving utterance to their anguish. All is laid waste or plundered—whole armies of Commissaries, Collectors, and Tax-gatherers have been let loose upon those credulous people, and have ground them to powder.

Next, my Countrymen, a few words as to the National Character of those French,—I am, as much as any other Man, adverse to national Prejudices or Imputations, in general; but, as it becomes seriously interesting to us all at this moment, and as we are invited by the French themselves, to form a true and just estimate of their Character, I conceive that we shall best do so, by comparing and communicating amongst ourselves, each man his own experience of them, as a Nation or as Individuals. For my part, I can say, without regret, that I have never been in France; but it has been my fortune to be more or less acquainted, at different times, and in various places, with nearly a thousand Frenchmen of all classes, and those probably, not the worst amongst them; of those I declare, that I
have

have not known ten persons possessed of steadiness, worth or discretion. Many other persons, Irish and English, who have visited or resided in France, have confirmed to me those sentiments of the French *. Our Irish Brigade Officers, who were in the service of the French Monarchy, entertain no favourable sentiments of the French character; those brave and faithful men have had mortifying proofs of their contempt and jealousy of all Foreigners. You have heard that their Voltaire, whom I have already alluded to, drew a portrait of his Countrymen, high and low, and it was that of "*a half monkey and a half tiger.*" That was their likeness 40 years ago, painted by the man, whom they admire as their Philosopher and their Ornament; and he might have added the subtle *serpent* to the horrid Figure—They are not improved since his time. In the name of common sense, my Countrymen, can any good come from such a Race as this, or from such a Tyrant as they

* I ought to have excepted one individual from this observation. He abdicated an office of dignity, and scampered, *ex mero motu*, to Paris. There he doffed the ermine of justice for the ensanguined habiliments of a *chef de Brigade*, as a qualification for the Consular levee; thus equipped, he casts rank and office at the feet of Regicide and Usurpation, in the face of Europe, to the amazement of his sober brethren, and the amusement of the newspapers. Returning, he declaims upon the charms of the Revolutionized Departments, and the splendour of sacrilegious pillage; and finally, after this probation, denounce this "*Advice*," under the assumed appellation of "*A Yeoman*." Such a traveller has, doubtless, a strong antipathy to Jacobinism, at least to some features of it.

they are cursed with? Would they, or could they, place Irishmen in a better situation than they themselves are in? Would those hungry and half-naked Ruffians feed or clothe our Poor? Would they give a Farm, a Potatoe-Garden, a Cow, a Cask of Butter, a Pig or a Rag to any man in Ireland? Can we not see, or can we doubt, that they will rob, starve, and famish our inhabitants, or dispose of them by some wicked means or other, if we permit them to invade our Country with any degree of success.

What description of men will they select for this Enterprize of Invasion? All their outcasts, cut-throats and convicts; the sweepings of their Gaols, Streets, and Highways; without a Coat on their backs or a halfpenny in their pockets; such as (according to their own Boasts) have ravaged Italy under Massena and Bonaparte himself, and returned loaded with Pillage, and Crimes, and Execrations.

Oliver Cromwell (of infamous Memory) brought to Ireland a Republican army of pillaging, canting, hypocrites, similar in manners to the Bands of Swadlers*, that now infest our towns—they were the turbulent spirits and the refuse of England at that time—who could find nothing in their own Country good or sanctified enough for them, whom “no King could rule,

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* I am far from confounding this term with Methodism—it is here applied solely, in the common meaning, to those who disturb the public peace by preaching the doctrines of licentiousness and Anarchy. See Preface.

no God could please." I speak of events 150 years distant, which ought now to be viewed with as free and dispassionate a mind as that of the Norman conquest. Like the other events of History, these teach by example, and we learn from them the lesson, that civil commotions of every kind generally lead to bloodshed and ruin. We find, that in those distant days, the native Protestants who had invited Cromwell over, and the Catholics, who had no crime to answer for, were equally trodden under foot by their Invaders, and suffered to perish by intestine feuds, unpitied in their disgrace, or unheeded in their poverty. Even so will these French Invaders trample upon and despise all classes of Irishmen, if we do not chase them back into the ocean like Rats *, and prove our unanimity in the cause of our Sovereign and our Country. Irishmen cannot be so credulous, after what has passed in other Countries, as to expect partiality from them as Allies, or that a French Quarter-master would permit a native to occupy a decent House or even a Cabin, or to enjoy a meal, whilst the lowest Russian amongst themselves should want a Dwelling or a Dinner. Nay more, we and our families should be expelled from our Homes, in the coldest and most inclement season, to make room for their Horses, their Trulls, their Dogs, and their very Monkies. We can speak both English and Irish, but scarcely a Frenchman understands

* " Ffrancodh," in the Irish language, signifies a Frenchman as well as a Water-Rat.

derstands any language besides his own.—They will make no distinction between English and Irish, between their mortal foes and those whom they profess to befriend—they will treat them (and they treat Irishmen abroad) as Englishmen all. The Papist will be confounded with the Orangeman; the Priest with the Parson; the Constable with the Cocker; the Informer with the Culprit; the Gaoler with the Convict,—They will not understand any of those distinctions; or they will pretend not to understand them, so long as we have hands to labour for them, a Barn to be pillaged, a Cow, or a Pig, or a Fowl to be devoured, a Wife or a Daughter to be violated, or a corner in which they can expect to force, by Tortures, a disclosure of hidden Gold or Silver. The bloodshed, which the fate of Battles may occasion, would be trifling in comparison with the frightful ravages and depopulation by Pestilence and Famine, consequent upon a Civil War or Rebellion, and of which the French would not fail to leave Ireland in the full enjoyment, as soon as they should have succeeded in their destructive objects.

Now, my Countrymen, let us, without prejudice, compare this character with that of the English Militia and Regulars, who have been in this country within the last three or four years. Have they injured the properties, outraged the persons, or offended the feelings of the humblest Irishman, even in the most obscure corner of the

Island? Have they seized upon any man's Substance, taken his goods without payment, or left a single Debt undischarged here? Have they not rather, generously and successfully, interfered frequently in stemming the animosities of Party, in repressing Fury and Bigotry, and in protecting the innocent of every class, wherever they have had an opportunity? Need I name to you Generals Moore, Dundas, Fox, Grose, Hunter, Meyrick, Payne, and the Earl of Dorchester? These are the People of a Country, to which we are inseparably united—a Country happily enjoying one King, one Code of Laws, and one Constitution with ourselves. These are our present Friends and Fellow-subjects, and shall we exchange them for Frenchmen?

I hope I have satisfied your Judgments, that the French are not the Men, whom Irishmen should take to their bosoms; that they are neither to be feared nor loved, nor to be thought of otherwise than with Contempt and Abhorrence. Depend upon it, they can possess no real valour, nor can they harm us, if we are but true to ourselves and to Ireland.—They come, with foul Consciences, deeply steeped in Guilt, and reeking with Crime; they come only to overrun, to disfigure, and to desolate our fair and fertile Land. *They* are not animated by the flame of Liberty, by the love of true Glory, or by honest or exalted Views. *We* are animated by those Incentives, and by those high feelings which kindle in the Bosoms of a brave and unbending People, standing forth in the Defence of all that

is dear to them. *We* cherish the holy impulse of true Freedom, of Patriotism, and of a jealous Honour. We will march, at the call of our King and our Country, to maintain those inestimable possessions, and with the generous perseverance of native loyalty, frustrate the audacious views of those who, counting upon our local or temporary subjects of disunion, would overwhelm us all in the miseries and shame of subjugation.

I come now, my Countrymen, to a painful Topic, which you will expect me not to decline, and which, if it had not been used for the purposes of Delusion, I would fain pass in silence. Our Redemption from our political degradation in our Country is that Topic; and it often associates itself in the minds of some men with French Invasion and Revolution. We are, indeed, in a diseased state of health, and gladly would I avert my eyes from those bleeding wounds and gashes, to which Plaisters and Salves should have been long since applied. The active parts of that Degradation are so marshalled, as to bear most heavily and directly at present upon the middling and higher Classes of our Persuasion, and I feel my share of them as severely as any of you.— But they bear, indirectly, upon us all; and the acrimonious irritation of Teuper, which they preserve and cherish to our annoyance in Civil Society, is far more oppressive than their political operation. But, if a Family Physician is tardy in attendance, if, whether through Dullness, or from the cold spirit of Experiment, he has withheld

held the cordial Draught from the parched Lips of his Patient, until Thirst has mounted to Fever, and Fever threatens Frenzy, is it yet prudent to accelerate the sick Man's dissolution by calling in a Foreign Charlatan, to bleed him to Death, or poison him with Nostrums, which fatal Experience has condemned? Is our State of Life so galling and grievous as to leave no alternative but French Tyranny? What is there in it to hope for the future? Every thing. What is there to fear? Little or nothing.

It is pretended, that a certain Faction (a handful of bustling Bigots) force some wretched peasants by their insults and outrages, to favour those foreigners, that they terrify by their mysterious Meetings, by their secret Consultations, by the memory of the Massacres in Armagh, Wexford or Wicklow, that those peasants are harassed by rumours of intended Assassinations and tremble for the security of their Homes—that despair may force some of them from their peaceable pursuits to the crime of Rebellion—Those fears are, now at least, unnecessary, those rumours unfounded, and the crime of Rebellion at all times without excuse or palliation. The faction in question, however dangerous their existence may be to our Sovereign and our Country, and however unwarrantable may be the conduct of some of its members, are yet angels of Mercy and Kindness, in comparison with French Tyrants.

Another

Another topic, used with too much success in seducing Irishmen of all persuasions from their Allegiance is, that much of Injustice, Indignities and Calumny, was suffered, some years ago, from Men of short-lived Power. It will readily appear that this topic ought to have no such effect, however true the fact may have been, and I hope I have too free a Spirit not to have felt and sympathized with those Sufferings. There is no Wisdom in glossing over our situation by Sophisms or misstatements of Facts, or in smothering our honest sentiments at a moment like the present, which requires plain Dealing alone. There is no good sense in extenuating the Errors of former times, nor is there any necessity for doing so, in order to engage us in co-operating with the Government and our fellow subjects in our own Defence.

Would that the effects of those Errors could be expunged for ever from the Annals of this Country! But, since they must subsist for public shame, let them subsist for public instruction also. It befits our candour, and it may promote the public good, to make known to his Majesty's Ministers and to define to our Legislators, what are the feelings and the respectful hopes of upwards of three millions of subjects, who are loyal to their King and desirous to testify their fidelity by Actions.—If, from our not being represented in either House of Parliament by those of our own body, who might speak our true sentiments, other Men unauthorized by, and hostile or strangers, to us, have frequently misled the public

public mind, by uttering sentiments * and wishes as ours, which we disclaim and detest, if we are prohibited by Law from choosing persons to watch over our Interests, and sue for the relaxation of those Laws which affect our body, if Addresses and Petitions are but fallible organs of our sentiments, and liable to bustle and inconvenience, if such is our present situation, then the occasional Publications of loyal and independent Catholics may be found amongst the least exceptionable channels of communication between our Rulers and our Body.

It is scarcely necessary to say, what all parties seem now to acknowledge, that, when his Majesty's former ministers, in 1795, abruptly recalled Lord Fitz-William from the Government of this Island, when they violated their faith with the Irish people † and caused a peal of indignant complaint

* Such for instance, as the supposed authority of the Pope over our Bishops, that of the Bishops over the Priests, and that of the Priests over the Laity—that such authority may be exercised, by a *Sorites*, in the teeth of our special Oaths of Allegiance—that a poor old Gentleman at Rome can, by the sound of his whistle, set us all in an uproar, or charm us into Rebellion, Ruin and Death, for—we know not what. In fact, it is not Religion, but Irreligion, that disturbs this country.—A single leaf of Tom Paine's writings can do more mischief, than the most furious Bulls that his Holiness could fulminate, were he ever so ill-inclined.

† These observations are confirmed by Lord Clare's speech on the Union, February 10th, 1800, and Mr. Jebb's Pamphlet against the Union.

complaint to ring from Derry to Dingle and from Westport to Wexford, they listened to evil counsel, and acted without much of good system or of good sense. This highly unpopular measure was deplored, not merely by this or that Sect or Class of men, but by the almost unanimous voice of the Nation, without any religious distinction.

Discontent had, however, nearly subsided, when, about Christmas 1796, Hoche and his Banditti appeared at Bantry-Bay. At the sound of Invasion, the generous spirit of native Loyalty filled the hearts of all Men, and returning kindness seemed to have extinguished all bitter recollections. All wounds were healed: all grievances consigned to oblivion. We came forward to shake hands with our fellow-subjects: we tendered our lives and fortunes to protect those of even the most prejudiced amongst them—It was not a moment for them to hesitate in accepting our aid toward maintaining their Establishments and our own quiet—They looked around, and saw the paucity of their numbers*, scarcely exceeding the necessary complement for garrisoning a few of our towns; that they could not produce the Legions required

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for

* This relates, merely, to those prejudiced persons, few indeed in numbers, who, (destitute of the liberality of sentiment which actuate the Protestant Gentry of Ireland at large) form their institutions upon the principle of excluding Catholics.

for traversing the morafs, for climbing the mountain, for lining the coasts; that they fcarcely existed, or were to be heard of, in many of our diftricts. To venture alone upon the task of repelling Invaſion, would be as if our Drummers and Fifers were to charge upon the battalions of France, whiſt our Rank and file lay in their tents. They embraced us cordially and heartily. I ſaw the Peaſant and the Peer, the Parſon, the Proctor, and the Farmer, all mingling together in the ranks, and breathing one common reſolution, that of repelling the Invader. All lent or tendered their horſes and their cars to draw the ammunition, the artillery, and the baggage of our Army. Who does not remember, that the pooreſt amongſt us, in that rigorous ſeaſon, gave their beds, their potatoes, their butter, the milk of their cows, their all, for the reſreſhment and ſupport of our marching Troops. They carried the firelocks and the knapſacks of our fatigued ſoldiers; they cheered them with ſongs and ſmiling welcome, and their mirthful alacrity preſaged, and truly, the ſpeedy diſcomfiture of invaſion.

Thoſe generous Peaſants were offered money as the reward of their ſervices and their ſacrifices, but they ſpurned money; their noble ſouls diſdained compensation, and thus did they refute the invectives and remove the ſuſpicions caſt upon them—they proved themſelves to be truly loyal, according to the Poet's juſt definition.

“ Loyalty

— “ Loyalty is still the fame,
 “ Whether it win or lose the game ;
 “ True as the Dial to the Sun,
 “ *Altho’ it be not shined upon.*”

What rewards were looked for? not Money, but Justice—not gold, or power, or praise, but simply, the removal of unmerited dishonour.— We hoped, that his Majesty’s Ministers would unyoke us from the code of Intolerance, would break down the ignominious barrier that separates us from our fellow-subjects, and wholly obliterate from the Statute-book the nickname of Papist, with its sullen train of disabilities, forfeitures, penalties and incapacities. That was a fit time to have abolished, with Dignity and perfect safety, that remnant of civil distinctions on the score of religion, which has been permitted, during an additional period of ten years, without necessity or provocation, at so heavy an expence and risk to the empire, and so much cost to humanity, to prolong its goading existence; that was a time to have effaced the stigma, which, however lightly others may affect to think of it, is yet galling enough to free and loyal hearts, unconscious of crime and above imputation.

That golden opportunity was not seized; and unhappily, the project of Parliamentary Reform, and the violence with which it was urged and resisted, contributed not a little to augment the evils occasioned by this political error—not that

men of any party, originally, meditated the mischiefs which ensued—not that the advocates of Intolerance would then, perhaps, have consented to purchase, at so dear a rate, the petty advantages of monopoly. But the times were full of agitation and clamour—the agents of irreligion and anarchy were abroad—French Emiffaries found in political enthusiasts, and in the unthinking and inflamed part of the Commuunity, too many fit and ready instruments of their policy; they worked up those combustible materials, which thus presented themselves, and wielded against the throne many formidable weapons, popular chagrin, the outrages of pretended Loyalist zealots, the ill-judged mode of levying the annual Tithes, and the imperfect state of Representation *. If any reasonable man doubts, that conciliatory measures would have diffused universal Loyalty, and fortified our Island, as it were, with an adamantine bulwark, he may find in the History of the United Irishmen, as disclosed by their Directory to the Secret Committees of Parliament, that it was their determination, (to use their words) “had the differences between the Government and the People been adjusted, to inform the French Directory, that they must abandon all thoughts of invading us, and no longer look for support in Ireland.” No man will

* Certainly many objections to the Parliamentary Constitution of this Country, have been since removed by the Legislative Union—a measure, from which many important advantages are to be expected.

will imagine that, after such an intimation, the French would have dared to persist in their project.

I do not wish to be the Annalist of the Rebellion that followed, or of the calamities and torrents of blood that flowed upon our Country from the folly and fury of parties, matured by French artifice—I shall pass, rapidly, over the horrid scenes that were afterwards acted.—Fifty thousand persons, of all parties, perished—sanguinary and unreflecting men outraged properties and persons in many instances, almost indiscriminately; some of the sufferers, retaliated with cruel severity; others fled to the Laws of the land for redress, but the doors of justice were closed, and they were repulsed by Bills of Indemnity. Many obtained compensation. To those events succeeded a state of comparative tranquillity, which it appears to be as earnestly the care of our present Government to confirm and secure, as it ought to be the principle of every good member of society to respect.—It ought to be endeared to us the more, by the dreadful experience of the consequences of disturbing it; for, thank Heaven, the dark epoch of our History is gone by;—the black storm of civil war has been weathered through, and we now enjoy the Sunshine of Justice and moderation.

If we are to be of any party, let it be the party of Moderation.—Let no man, from a base and vindictive impulse, draw down ruin and disgrace upon his country.—We are a warm-hearted,
sanguine

fanguine People ; lovers of generosity and justice ; gifted with strong Talents and Passions ; we know how to resent, but we know also how to meet returning kindness with increased attachment.—

We must reflect, that the actual First Magistrate in every Country is, like the Master of a Family or the Proprietor of an Estate, liable to mistakes and abuses in the management of his affairs ; to fits of anger, and caprice, and prejudice, like the rest of us ; that he may, naturally, with the best intentions, be at times ill-humoured, improvident, or obstinate upon some particular subjects ; that, in proportion as his Family is numerous or his Estates extensive, his cares are heavy, his views indistinct, his information inaccurate, and depending much upon that of others.—If he exercises a general superintendence over the whole with integrity, if he encourages Industry, causes the Laws to be respected, checks oppression and preserves order, with as much of talent and skill as the ordinary extent of human faculties admits of ; can we expect more, or shall we renounce his paternal care, and fly to a foreign and Savage Master for improvement ?

Let us consider with our admirable Countryman,

Why should we stray from Pleasure and Repose,
To seek a Good each Government bestows ?
How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part, which Laws or Kings can cause or cure ?
Still to ourselves, in every place consign'd,
Our own Felicity we make or find.—

A new

A new, and a happier, Day, dawns upon us. The Rulers of our Empire will tranquillize and conciliate their faithful people ; and well am I assured, that the generous natures of Irishmen can easily be won by kindness and confidence. It cannot tend to the Interests of the United Kingdom, rather to prolong the crippled and hectic state of this populous Island, than to restore it to its Symmetry, and to brace its frame by a few Tonics, which would render it not merely impregnable to attack, but vigorous in assailing and chastising the common Foe.

We will not believe, that those attempts, which certain writers have made to impose novel constructions upon an oath, can impede the wishes or the justice of the beneficent Father of his People, in despite of the reasonings of a Butler * and a Newenham † ;—that the cavils of a Duigenan will outweigh the warnings of a provident Pitt ;—that the fables of a Musgrave will overbalance the testimony and experience of a Cornwallis and a Castlereagh ;—that the virulence of a Rennell

* See, in the Essay on the Coronation Oath, by Charles Butler, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. London, 1801, a satisfactory Answer to some Objections against the relaxation of the Penal Code against Catholics.

† Two small Publications upon Irish Affairs have lately appeared in London, from the pen of William Newenham, Esq. (late member for Clonmell) which merit universal attention and respect. One is entitled, " Essays upon the Population of Ireland," the other, " An Obstacle to the Ambition of France, or Considerations upon the Expediency of improving the Condition of his Majesty's Irish Catholic Subjects.—Sold by Archer, Dublin.

a Rennell will overbear the authority of those great names, Mansfield and Thurlow, and Burke, in a word, that the howl of Ascendancy will drown the calm voice of Reason and true Religion.

You see, that the small Faction, whom you dreaded, have changed sides, and are become the most discontented party in the country ; that they are become the most clamorous against British Connexion, because it has clipped their monopoly ; that they are incensed by the late Union, which has demolished (not our Parliament, for we had no share in it, but) their Club-house.

—— they resemble now

Their Sin, and place of Doom, obscure and foul.

It appears to be the Principle, as it is the Interest, of the present Government, who espouse no party, to treat all with Impartiality and Justice ; is it too much to hope, that, if you continue cordially to support them, they, in return, will continue to protect you, and reward you with their esteem and confidence ? Surely, if the People of this Country do not neglect their true interests ; if they adhere to Loyalty, Moderation and Calmness, it is not to be doubted by any thinking mind, that public affairs are in a train, which must beyond a doubt, if not deranged by violence, lead to National Content and permanent Security.

We

We see, in the high post of representative of our Sovereign amongst us, the good, the firm, and the upright Lord Hardwicke, learned himself, and descended from the Luminaries of the Laws of his country.—I speak only the public voice in saying that, under his Administration, persecution is powerless, violent and overbearing men are checked, the applications and complaints of the Subject are hearkened to, our Traders and Manufacturers are consulted and respected, and public affairs are transacted with ability, dispatch, and good faith. You are not harassed by wanton and expensive prosecutions*; you are not goaded by insolent speeches; you are not frightened from your houses by tortures, houseburnings, or sanctioned outrages upon your persons or properties. I have been informed, upon the authority of my venerable and most learned friend Doctor Lanigan, our Titular Bishop of Ossory, that in that District Instructions have been received from the Lord Lieutenant by the Governors and Deputy Governors of the County, to quell religious feuds, to discountenance factious symbols and badges, and to protect, impartially, the properties and persons of all from the violence of those blinded men, who abuse the pretence of loyalty in trampling upon the laws. Similar tranquillizing directions, I find, have been received in other Districts, and perhaps universally. Now it may

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be

* Justifiable prosecutions have never been unpopular in this Country—those only were so, which were, or seemed to be, unjustifiable—such as those of Messrs. Hamill, Bird, Fay, &c. &c. &c.

be said, that some Magistrates may disobey, or remissly execute, those salutary orders; however this may be, most of them will gladly obey and enforce them; many are happy in this high sanction for abolishing the petty Tyranny, which eludes or defies the arm of tardy Justice—all will, in time, feel the Wisdom and necessity of those orders.

They will the more readily do so, when they catch the tone of Authority; when they see that Faction is out of Fashion, and contemplate the wholesome example set before them by the first Man in the Country. That example must have weight amongst all classes of men in power, down to the Parish Constable and the Policeman. The sound policy and the just notions concerning this Country, which dictated his peremptory refusal to consign one of our most fertile and opulent Counties * to the rigours of Martial Law, at the importunity of timid men, and contrary to the spirit of an Act of Parliament, merit the gratitude and steady Affection of Irishmen. You have seen that his principles have not been shaken by the recent outrages in the metropolis, which, however aggravated by the horrors of Assassination, were yet not formidable in their contrivance or extent. His cool discernment taught him to distinguish between the desperation of three or four hundred Ruffians,

* Amongst the good consequences of this salutary firmness have been a visible improvement in the state of the County alluded to, and a cessation of some petty outrages which had previously disturbed some of its Parishes.

Ruffians, and the motions of a whole People.—He perceived, amidst the consternation of Public Rumour, that the number of those Persons, who in the hours of Intoxication raised their arms against the Government of their Sovereign, did not exceed that of rioters at a Country-fair*.

G 2

His

* This opinion of the insignificance of those Desperadoes, which I early conceived from a view of the Loyalty of the great mass of our population, has been since confirmed by the acknowledgement of Mr. R. Emmet, that the whole number, upon whose aid he counted with any degree of confidence (and he was sanguine enough) amounted to about Eighty! We have the testimony and observation of his Majesty's Judges and Law officers, who had the best opportunities of information, and whose veracity is above question, that their resources and preparations were contemptible, and that, with the exception of two persons (neither of whom, by the bye, was a Catholic) they were men of the meanest ranks of society.—Their attempt was almost instantaneously crushed, altho' not before those barbarous murders had been perpetrated.—A former Government, whose vigour has been much extolled, and who could not have been deficient in Information, did permit a more formidable Conspiracy to explode in 1798, the Mail Coaches to leave Dublin as usual, on the night of expected Infurrection, the Mails to be plundered, the passengers to be exposed to the mercy of Rebels, and towns and tracts of Country to be occupied by insurgent armies—Hence we may learn, that vigilance can look no farther in such a conjuncture, nor can power effect more, than merely to provide the certain means of restoring Peace, not to dive into the schemes which fickle and wavering Conspirators may form respecting the precise spot, moment, and force of meditated mischief. Let this consideration silence those, who murmur, not perhaps so much because that petty attempt of July last exploded and wasted its force in one brief hour of outrage, as because it was defeated, and its actors detected and punished, with so little of violence, bustle or bloodshed, as to have strengthened that Government, which it was intended to shake.

His moderation and his wisdom, in that critical moment, steadily relying upon the vigour of established Law, dictated those orders, by which
 “ the strictest Discipline is exacted from the Regu-
 “ lars, the Militia, and the Yeomanry Corps,
 “ the property and persons of Individuals are
 “ secured against Plunder and Outrage, and
 “ every effort is enjoined for the prevention of
 “ unnecessary acts of Violence and Severity be-
 “ yond the faithful discharge of indispensable
 “ Duty.” Even in the Rigour of strict justice, you perceive him adhering to the Ancient and Constitutional usage of punishing only convicted guilt, and rejecting the absurd tyranny of torture, as an engine of Detection, or an auxiliary of rational Evidence,—Every trait of this good Man’s Character* proves, that he is not less kind and interested in our Welfare, not less attached to Peace and Lenity, not less indisposed to a factious Domination, than the amiable Cornwallis, whom he has succeeded.

In

* This feeble tribute to the merits of a nobleman, who has saved this Country from confusion, has been termed (by the Letter-writer to Mr. Wickham, p. 34.) Adulation, i. e. *unmerited praise*, “ αἰσχρὰ ὁμιλία,” for thus is “κολακεία,” defined by no common judge, Theophrastus.—The voice of the Nation, however, affirms it to be a praise far from being “unmerited.”—

Illo custode rerum, non furor
 Civilis, aut vis, eximet otium;
 Non Ira, quæ procudit enses,
 Et miseras inimicat urbes.

In these views and measures he is, no doubt, seconded by our upright Chancellor, Lord Redefdale, the benefactor and patron of the English Catholics, the successor of the unpopular Lord Clare*—the patient corrector of the mistakes of his predecessors, and the sagacious purifier of our laws from that confusion of Doctrine and Practice into which political frenzy and distractions had plunged them.—In the other civil, as well as in the Military, situations of Rank, we see, in general, men whose moderation and good sense promise the establishment of tranquility in this

* That Lord Clare was “unpopular,” (which was matter of notoriety and is recorded in his own speeches) may have been, partly, the consequence of his having been “intemperate,”—and these two Epithets comprize the whole of what related to that Nobleman in the former Edition.—Whilst the Letter-writer to Mr. Wickham censures those Epithets as *Investive*, he yet tells us, (in a clumsy Eulogium) that Lord Clare “did *not controul* “his temper,” nay adds, that “his conduct appeared rash and irritable,” and further ventures to accuse his Lordship of “Pride,”—p. 26. That Lord Clare possessed good qualities, has never been disputed. A spirit of justice beamed thro’ his Pride, and the result of both these qualities was such, that the Letter-writer would (to use his own elegant figure) have probably “had his Ear nailed to a Pump,” had he accosted his Lordship, when living, with the familiar appellation of “Poor fellow!” applied in the Letter, to this elevated Magistrate.—What should we think of such a phrase as “Pauvre Diable!” in a Funeral Oration upon a D’Aguesseau or Le Tellier? or what species of *pathos* sanctions this application of a phrase, which the great Shakespeare has appropriated solely to the recollection of a jester, “Poor Yorick!” Lord Clare’s memory deserves a more serious attention, but it was not my province to delineate his Character.—

this island, and who are not void of those liberal qualities, which can preserve a perfectly good understanding between the officers of the Crown and the subjects, be their Religion what it may.—

I may have appeared to digress, in speaking of public Men. But allow me to say (in the language of Edmund Burke) “ that the characters “ of such Men are of much importance in the “ History of intestine Commotions. Great men “ are the Guides-posts and Land-marks in the “ State. The Credit of such men with their “ King or in the Nation, is the sole cause of all “ public measures.” I have now, for the sole purpose of counteracting those attempts which have been made to alienate the public attachment from the established Government, performed a task not a little painful; for however it may be gratifying to render homage to great merit, yet it is highly unpleasant to hazard the imputation of having praised public Men, merely because they happen to be in Power. My heart disowns the motive: and, for the rest, I confide, for my protection, in my past conduct, in my character amongst you, and my independent station in life.

Having shewn to you, my Countrymen, what you have to hope from the beneficent views of our present Rulers, let me warn you against the dangers to be dreaded from other quarters, and, principally, from domestic Dissentions, A very small Faction of our Countrymen, composed

posed (as all factions are) of some Knaves and more Fools, thought proper, some years ago, to associate together, for the purpose of circumscribing the Attributes of Loyalty and the numbers of the loyal. In the Reign of violence, in the absence of reason and moderation from this Land, they availed themselves of the short-sighted terrors of the Government of that day, to hoist amongst us their Banner, to which they invited and (by the temptations of Sedition) allured the Rabble of one class to repair, whilst they forbade the remaining population, containing four-fifths of the hereditary Loyalty of the Country to approach it. I shall stand acquitted of intentional offence or disrespect towards any person, when I declare, as the truth is, that I am not, (knowingly) acquainted with an Individual Member of that Association; nor would I be understood to confound the main Springs with the outer Wheels, the Missionaries with the Fraternity at large, or the recruiting Serjeants with those who have been only drilled to the first Test*,—that plagiarism of an impious Motto, which negatives the most numerous and antient class of Christians, whilst it adopts Mahometanism and even

* This first test, I have been informed, is (not relating to any moral or political principles, but) an oath that the candidate "is not, has not been, nor ever will be, a Catholic,"—What the interior and higher Oaths are, can only be collected from hearsay and observation, for profound secrecy is exacted by another Oath. Surely all this is very absurd, even if harmless.

even Atheism†. But I learn, upon the authority of the most respectable men of all persuasions, that the original confederators *profess* the established Religion, as being the wealthiest and the strongest, without possessing much of its mild and tolerant spirit, or feeling any real attachment to it, as a Bulwark of Christianity. I understand that they appear generally, wherever they have rendered themselves conspicuous, to be men of obscure origin, doubtful or desperate means, narrow intellects, no learning, without amenity in their manners, or sweetness in their temper. Not possessing importance of themselves, they have recruited their Lodges by founding the *Tocsin* of Loyalty, by raising a clamour of “Church in Danger,” “Ascendancy,” “King William,” “The Glorious Memory,” and so forth. Not possessing much property themselves, they claim, in Rebellion and Warfare, to be the sole Escort of our Properties, and the sole Centinels of our Laws; as if we knew not the value of our own property, of good order and of wholesome Laws.—As they pretend to uphold Religion without Christian charity, so they feign to support Order by violating the laws, and to preserve their Country by rending it asunder.—They claim an exclusive Patent for enjoying and trading upon all Moral Virtues, and all the blessings of

† This motto has been inscribed on the Gates of a certain Town in Ireland.

of Civil Society. Thus, in an evil hour for the Crown and the People, have they practised upon the fears or the ignorance * of many humane and conscientious members of the Protestant Establishment, and cajoled them (unawares) into the adoption of their initiating Test, and the wearing of their Colours and Badges, in order to inveigle others, and exaggerate the opinion of their numbers and their influence; and thus has an Association been halloed together, impotent and incapable for every purpose, save Civil broils and public mischief.

They are associated upon the same principles and calculated (possibly without foreseeing it) for the same purposes, as the fanatical Rabble, who, in the year 1780, confederated in London under the name of the *Protestant Association*, and then set fire to that Protestant City. We are told by our Edmund Burke, an Eyewitness of their crimes, that “on pretences of zeal and piety, without any sort of provocation whatever, real

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real

* The learned and celebrated Doctor South, who was a Dignitary of the Protestant Church, and certainly not partial to Catholics, has said, that “Scarce one, in five thousand of the loudest and fiercest exclaimers against Popery, knows so much as what Popery means—only that it is a certain word made up of six letters, that has been ringing in their Ears ever since their Infancy, and that strangely inflames, and transports, and *sets them a madding*, they know not why, nor wherefore.—Let Popery be what it may, yet, for all that, let us not be deceived with Words—We are men, and let us not sell our Lives, our Estates, our Reason and Religion, for Wind and Noise.”

Sermons.

“ real or pretended, they made a desperate at-
 “ tempt, which would have consumed all the
 “ Glory of Great Britain in the flames of London,
 “ and buried all Law, Order and Religion under
 “ the ruins of the metropolis of the Protestant
 “ world. All the time” says he, “ that this horrid
 “ scene was acting, or avenging, as well as for
 “ some time before and ever since, the wicked
 “ instigators of this unhappy multitude, guilty,
 “ with every aggravation, of all their crimes,
 “ screened in a cowardly darkness from their
 “ punishment, continued, without interruption,
 “ pity, or remorse, to blow up the blind rage of
 “ the populace, with a continual blast of pestilen-
 “ tial libels, which infected and poisoned the very
 “ air we breathed in.”

He thus describes those Incendiaries and their
 System, “ Their whole scheme of Freedom is
 “ made up of pride, perverseness and info-
 “ lence.—They feel themselves in a state of
 “ thralldom, they imagine that their souls are
 “ cooped and cabined in, unless they have some
 “ man, or body of men, dependent upon their
 “ mercy.—This desire of having some one below
 “ them descends to those who are the very lowest
 “ of all—and a Protestant Cobler, debased by
 “ his poverty, but exalted by his share of the
 “ ruling Church, feels the full pride of his petty
 “ Ascendancy.”

This portrait bears strong features of resem-
 blance to the sorry faction here.—The Leaders of
 this lawless Association fear to share with us the
 little

little meal of privilege that they feast upon, or to part with a scrap of their petty Charter; they would, it seems, rather see their Countrymen rushing upon mutual slaughter, and becoming Rebels to their King, exiles from the Land, or slaves to an Invader, than not crouching beneath their yoke.—They are, blindly or traiterously, fighting the battles of anarchy in the disguise of the Royal uniform, they abuse the Colours of the tolerant and Anti-Gallican *William*, for the purposes of Intolerance and national Disunion, and are, in effect, the most formidable foes of our gracious sovereign and of the Established Church.

It is true that, to lull the truly loyal to sleep, they have deemed it politic to send forth occasional ejaculations and strings of resolutions, couched in the common place phrases of Loyalty, and subscribed either by dark Initial letters, or by the names of some tools, whom we forget or do not know. But we know, that the Rebel Parliament of Charles the 1st, who afterwards brought their Monarch to the Scaffold, also scattered about most fervent professions of Loyalty whilst they plotted Revolution, and impudently issued Proclamations in their King's name, for the purpose of levying an army against his Royal life and Crown.—We know that every wicked junto professes the most plausible purposes to veil the most consummate villainy. And who will venture to predict that this Associated Rabble of armed fanatics, if permitted to gather strength, may not, in their characteristic fluctuation of plans,

and ficklenefs as to objects, rehearfe one day the Tragedy of the Cromwellian Revolution, or of the London conflagration? *

I lament the importance of mischief, to which this Faction, originally insignificant, has grown in Ireland.—They thwart the purposes of an enlightened Government; they paralyze the efforts of truly loyal subjects; they bewilder and disconcert the Public at large.—They appal their Fellow-Protestants throughout the United kingdom by chimerical stories of absurd plots and impossible cruelties, and they persuade even reasonable Irishmen into the heart-rending doubt whether their native land is to be to them more secure and agreeable than a Garrison town. Upon their principle of monopoly they clamour against English Governors, repine at our Union with England, and excite national prejudices by a clamour against English connection.—By all these means, they deter the ingenious and wealthy artists and capitalists of our sister Island from bringing amongst us their skill, and their helps to our prosperity;

“ * We may judge *what may be*, by *what has been*—and we
 “ remember, that the treacherous cant and misapplication of
 “ those Words, ‘ Popery, Superstition, and the like,’ have here-
 “ tofore served, to such as now brandish them, as an effectual
 “ Engine to pull down the Monarchy to the ground, to destroy
 “ Episcopacy root and branch, and to rob the Church, and
 “ almost all honest men, to the last farthing.—It is left to you,
 “ Protestants, to consider, whether it can become sober and wise
 “ men, (especially in such great concerns) to be *now* deceived
 “ by the same Cheat.”

Dr. South's Sermons.

prosperity; they fill the populace with terror and dismay by their nocturnal bustle; by dividing the Country, they give colour to the rumours of Incendiaries, and, by exciting a belief of national weakness, they bereave the nation of half its national strength. Do we not all know the sad effects of those Rumours, which heat the fancies of our credulous Peasantry, drive numbers from their homes to escape apprehended assassination, indispose them against our Laws and Government, and have forced thousands of all persuasions, in despair, to fly to the Rebel ranks for shelter? Do we not learn, from the authority of Mr. Emmett, in his examination by Lord Dillon before the Secret Committee of the Lords, that “wherever it was attempted to introduce an “Orange Lodge, the United Irish and friends “of France always encreased very much? It is the intemperance, the petty tyranny and the factious taunts of those men, that have very much contributed to create in this Country the unnatural feelings of Rebellion against the Throne, and alliance with Frenchmen, or caused a temporary hesitation between Monarchical habits and Republican novelty.—But they should know, that the Government does not sanction or protect one faction in its outrages more than it would another, and that they will gladly and vigorously co-operate with every man, be he of whatever class or sect, in crushing Oppression, and in chastising every infringement of the Laws, let who will practise or perpetrate them.

I have

I have felt it to be necessary thus far to disclose, as I have learned them, the characteristics and consequences of this Association, for the common advantage of our Government, of our Protestant fellow subjects and of you.—Of the Government; as the testimony of an individual to the Wisdom of persevering in their firm and temperate conduct, which, I hope, will render it unnecessary to recur, at a future day, to strong measures for humbling a faction so dangerous to the Executive Authority—Of my Protestant fellow-subjects, because I love them as my Countrymen, whose virtues I respect and admire, and whose friendship and intimacy, in many valuable instances, I am happy in enjoying—These excellent and enlightened men are not in general apprized of, or those who are deeply lament, the evils which the community suffers from this Association wearing their name—I know that they are incapable, as a body, of exasperating the rage of Party or of darkening the suspicions of Ignorance; and I firmly believe that three fourths of them reprove or despise these Associators, as mere drudges of Sedition*. I do not know, nor have I heard of, a single

* The same Doctor South has given this excellent advice to Protestants, “ Let every faithful Minister of the Church of England, in a conscientious observance of the Laws laid upon him by the Church, make it his business to undeceive and disabuse the People committed to his Charge, by giving them to understand, that most of that noise, which they have so often heard ringing in their Ears about ‘Popery, Tyranny, arbitrary Power, and the like,’ has been generally nothing
“ else,

a single Gentleman, who ranks himself amongst them. They are to me as so many Ghosts, much talked of, but never seen. Would to Heaven that their mischievous effects were as difficult to be discovered! For your sakes, my Catholic Countrymen, I have digressed into the History of this Association, in order that none amongst you may confound the Tools of it with your Protestant fellow-subjects at large. That would be an act of gross injustice indeed—You will rather consider the steady equity and mildness of the far greater and better part of your fellow-subjects, than the violence or the vanity of the few. Beware of permitting Passion to hurry any of you into such excesses as those, which are imputed to this Faction. Rather,

“ Fly from petty Tyrants—to the Throne.”

Let indignation be assuaged by the Recollection and the daily Sense of the Benefits, the Kindnesses, the Commiseration, and the affection, which receive, and have long experienced, from Protestant hands and Protestant hearts. Let the momentary reign of Factious men be forgotten, or passed over as a Blank in the pages of your History. Let the record of our peaceable and legal

“ else, but mere flam and romance—and that all these clamours
 “ are only the artifices of some malcontents and ambitious
 “ Demagogues, to fright their Prince to compound with them
 “ by *taking them off*, (as the word is) with great and gainful
 “ places; and therefore, that they bark so loud, and open *their*
 “ *mouths* so wide, for no other cause, than that some Prefer-
 “ ment may stop them.”

Sermons.

legal Demeanour, be presented without a Blot
or a Stain.

- “ Let their works declare them—Our free powers,
- “ The generous powers of the well-fashioned mind,
- “ Not for the tasks of their confederate hours,
- “ *Lewd Brawls and lurking Slander*, were design’d.
- “ Be we our own Approvers.”

We have now reviewed our present Situation in our Country, and we see that (whatever improvement it may yet admit of) it is more prosperous and promising than it has heretofore been at any given point of time; that we ought to prize it at a high rate, and preserve it against all attempts to disturb it. That the French are not, in fact, objects of Friendship, Respect, or Fear, appears from the foregoing short History of their connection with Ireland, from the character and opinions of their Nation and their Tyrant, from the conduct of both towards other Nations, and towards their own country; from their inferiority to us in Egypt, in Ireland, on Sea; from a comparison of our own strength, habits, and aptitudes with theirs. Your dangers are to be apprehended, principally, from intestine feuds.—I have exposed to the Government, to my Protestant Countrymen, and to you, the causes and the effects of those Feuds.—You will blunt their asperity, and temper their mischiefs, by a dignified forbearance or by silent contempt; by opposing mildness to their fury, and morality to their prejudices; and, by reflecting, above all, that upon You rests the DEFENCE OF YOUR COUNTRY. Where Concord breathes, Faction expires; where Violence

lence terminates, Security begins.—In preserving those blessings of concord and security, you may confidently rely upon the wisdom of your Rulers, and the co-operation of your ancient and constant friends, the *truly* loyal men of every persuasion. Every prospect of the future is cheering and animating; and your Happiness and your Honour will be ensured, if you be not perverse or misguided. I need not depicture the Horrors of Rebellion or of Civil War—you have fatally beheld them.—I need not declaim to you upon the shame and miseries of Slavery—but I have shewn that it is in your own power to avert both those, and all other, public calamities.

I have addressed these pages of advice to You, my Catholic Countrymen, in particular; not that I believe you to be capable, in the hour of danger, of swerving from your habitual Loyalty or your Patriotism, of forsaking your King or betraying your Country; but, because you are exposed to great and trying perils, and your Political situation is peculiar and critical, almost beyond example in History.—It is clear, that artful and insinuating Emissaries of France will craftily endeavour (in Ireland as elsewhere) to inflame the public mind against the existing restraints and grievances of the day, such as they are, and of which every Country has some share.—Irishmen of all persuasions have much to dread in resentment, rashness, and credulity, acted upon by the narrow policy of a blinded Faction, by the protracted rigour of a Penal Code, fabricated in angry times,

and by the destructive machinations of insidious foreign Emissaries.

I have applied such observations to each of those topics, as appear sufficient to counteract their pernicious results.

Let no man flatter himself with the hope of being a neutral Spectator of the Invasion of his Country, and of the confusion of Rebellion or of Civil Wars—that hope would be absurd.—Even quiescent Loyalty will not be permitted in this season ; and if these pages shall have contributed, in however small a degree, towards inspiring You with a perfect unanimity, in the Resolution to present to your Foe the formidable Aspect of *active* and determined Resistance, founded upon internal Concord, I shall have been amply rewarded.—You will then have nothing to fear from Invasion, and it will, probably, not even be attempted. Such, in my humble judgment, is the wisest and most glorious course for you to pursue ; such are the soundest principles for you to adopt—I should rather say, to persevere in, since they are only those of your ancient and accustomed Loyalty.—That course and those principles may prove our Safety from impending Ruin ; for, by our adherence to, or departure from, them, will probably be decided the fate of ourselves, of the Empire, and of civilized Society.

SAY, therefore, to French Agents and Agitators, when they talk to you of your Grievances, that those can be discussed and redressed without French mediation—that the French themselves
have

have not redressed, but aggravated, their own Grievances and those of their subject Countries; that the present times are widely different from those, in which some Irishmen were fatally cajoled or goaded into a former Rebellion—that persons and property are now held sacred—that your Rulers are more temperate and more wise, and you are so too.

When they paint the false glories of *French Friendship* and Generosity, strip them of their glare by relating the facts contained in these pages; and add, moreover, that you are not strangers to the character of their General Massena, who is to lead this Army of *Deliverers*: that he was so infamous in Italy for his pillage and peculation, that even his fellow Officers deemed themselves disgraced by his conduct and presence; that they accordingly presented a Round Robin Remonstrance for his dismissal; that he was instantly cashiered, and has since lain concealed in the darkness of guilt, until lately dragged forth and selected as a Veteran in iniquity, to act over in Ireland similar scenes of rapacity and ravage.

When they talk of the Benevolence of their object in coming amongst us, tell them, that you are not ignorant of the recent boasts of that same Massena, “That he would not promise to conquer these Islands, or to keep them in subjection; but that he would so desolate them, that none of even the native Inhabitants would think them worth living in.”

When their Blandishments shall have failed, they will apply themselves to the nourishing of your Revenge, and remind you of your past Injuries, and of the acts of violence perpetrated by furious men against you; but you will tell them calmly, that your hearts are not made of Brass, nor your Memories of Marble—that you are good Catholics and Christians—that you pray for forgiveness for yourselves, and that your Resentments against others are not eternal.

When they terrify you by the mention of the Orange Faction, say that those Associators can no longer goad the peasantry into Rebellion—that their Dominion and Abuses are at an end—that they are frowned upon by our Rulers, and repressed by our Laws, which are administered with blended Justice and Mercy—and that you would now rather fight in the same ranks with the worst Orangemen against Invaders, than with the best of Invaders against your Countrymen—that Irishmen will no longer be divided, because they are determined to be no longer weak—and that you hope, by your firmness and harmony, to warn an Invader, that he will find every point of our Coast as impregnable as Gibraltar.

When they speak of the Irritation of Tythes, of the exactions of the Proctor, and of the litigiousness of Spiritual Courts, say that you would, indeed, prefer a more convenient mode of collecting those Tythes, so as that some fixed rate should be ascertained, Agriculture permitted to expand, and Litigation curtailed—but that you do

do not desire the *abolition of Tythes*, nor are you prepared to encounter Civil Wars, or to wade through Slaughter, for moderate objects, which you may rationally expect, from the good sense of the Gentry, the Legislature, and the Clergy themselves, to attain, in a peaceful and constitutional manner, before many years shall have elapsed.

When they dwell upon the Charms of Catholic Emancipation, and use it as a Bellows to blow up the Sparks of Discontent into a Blaze of Disaffection; when they point at the foul Stigma of unmerited Suspicion, which the Penal Code casts upon your Gentry and your whole Body; when they advert to the acrimony which it fosters in the walks of private Life; when they remind you of the burdensome Vestry-cess upon Land which you pay—in districts where the Lands are solely occupied by Catholics, and few or no Protestants reside; at the discretion of Vestries, from which the Laws exclude you; for the repairs of Churches, where service is rarely, if ever, performed, and for which repairs another, and an ample, Fund is already appropriated by the Law; when they speak of the hazard to your property and to the equal Administration of trial by Jury, incurred by your Disability to fill the situations of Sheriff and under Sheriff, and all Corporate offices; when they call your attention to your general Exclusion from Professional Honours, from the dignified posts in the State, and from the Legislature, whereby your public spirit is damped, your literary ambition is quenched,

and

and your honest Industry is bereft of its fair Rewards in the advancement of yourselves or of your Children, when all those wounding Topics are assembled and arrayed on the side of your Invaders—say to them in a firm Tone, that those of your Communion who feel those Burdens and Privations the most acutely, and, both from public and personal motives, desire their removal most earnestly, will not consent to be Disturbers of their Country's Peace; that, above all, they will not seek Redress at the Expence of Honour, of Loyalty, and of Humanity;—Tell them, that we are, at this Crisis, unanimous in a decided Resolution to stand or fall with our Country; that we care not, whether this Resolution cuts off our retreat, or renders us peculiarly obnoxious to Invaders, who profess our own Religion; that we disdain to temporize, and will convince even the most prejudiced of our fellow subjects throughout the United Empire, that our Fathers have long ago renounced all Foreign Views and connections, and that we look only at Home for our relief from every grievance. That, even though that relief should be temporarily obstructed, yet your suspense will not be measured by Eternity—that none of us would amputate a Limb because the Smith should be tardy in filing off the chain that binds it—nor would we unroof our Houses, because the Slat or the Thatcher should not choose to attend instantly to repair the slight Injuries sustained in the recent Storms—that we rely upon the experienced

experienced benignity of our gracious Sovereign for future protection, and that we hope for its continuance under an enlightened Prince, beckoning us to the Banner of genuine Loyalty, and drawing lessons of enlarged policy from that friend to Ireland, the gallant and accomplished Moira.

When those French Emissaries endeavour to excite your Envy of your wealthier neighbour, or of his splendid establishment, tell them that you rather rejoice in the contemplation of it; that if, in the chances of life, some persons must be richer or more distinguished than others, still Happiness is to be found in every station; that, if your Neighbour has been exalted by the fortune of a Die, of a Lottery, or of a lucky Speculation, thousands have been raised so before him, and the same may be your luck tomorrow:--that, if he has amassed his wealth by the slow progress of industry, his success is a wholesome incentive to stimulate the labours of you and of your Children;—that, if he has acquired it by Descent, you see, in his enjoyment of his income, a pledge of that protection which the Laws will afford to your Children in the possession of whatever property you may earn and transmit to them.

When they shall have failed in this attempt to rouse the meaner Passions, they will awake your sympathy for your Poor and your Poverty; and you will answer, that you also commiserate distress, and relieve the indigent to the utmost of your ability—that there is an abundant stock of
public

public and private Charity amongst us; that our Wealth is not deaf to the moans, or even to the sighs, of individual affliction, and that the avenues of bounty are ever open; that though we have fewer opulent or resident Gentry than the French or the English, yet we have not actually more poor persons than they or other Nations of Europe have, and that we are, comparatively, better circumstanced than most of them; that our wants are few, and our habits simple; that, though we have no Treasures of Gold, of Silver, or of the fine Arts, yet we are rich in our Soil, in our Climate and our internal Resources; that our Provisions are cheap, our Crops abundant, and our Pastures of surpassing luxuriance; that our rates of labour are doubled, and our Cottagers infinitely better clad, fed and housed, within these last twenty years, whilst our population has encreased one half; that most of our artizans are able to procure a week's subsistence for their families by the wages of three days; that much of our poverty exists only in appearance; that every humble Hut is not to be noted as an abode of Indigence, nor is raggedness to be mistaken for beggary; that we have no Laws for bounding the range of Mendicity, for cantoning our Poor according to their locality, for withholding from casual pity those, whose Poverty is either their misfortune or their trade—that therefore Poverty is permitted to roam at large amongst

amongst us in glaring deformity of features, frequently with studied distortion or mimicry of mutilation, and in raiment of selected wretchedness;—that it multiplies itself by presenting the same squalid and shivering Images at our principal Shops and places of public resort, who haunt the chariots of Rank and opulence, to exercise the sensibilities of the great, and remind them of the miseries incident to the lot of life; that, though we are far from being without a great portion of deplorable and extreme poverty (which no nation is exempt from) yet it will not appear, after all just deductions, that we are, in reality, burdened with more of it, than in that proportion to our very dense population, which the experience of Nations and the unchangeable Laws of political economy assign. Thus you will refute the Sophisms, and baffle the Machinations, of the friends of France; thus will you furnish each other with Antidotes to the Poison of Disaffection.

Many Districts have been overrun by gangs of armed Ruffians, Orange or Rebel, who prowl amongst the peasantry in the silence of night, and in the security of day, to gratify the love of plunder or the worst of passions*.—They invade the defenceless Cottage

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* The excesses, here alluded to, are committed by common desperadoes who have, by various means, obtained arms—

tage singly or collectively; they violate females, or they intimidate the inhabitants from obeying the laws in the prosecution of Criminals or the giving of useful information to Magistrates; and generally they exact at the muzzle of a pistol or a blunderbuss, or at the peril of firing the thatched roof, Contributions for the support of what they style *their cause*, and promises upon oath to pay further contributions at places and times prescribed. Be not intimidated by those scourges of Society, for you have the means of crushing them—Let not their injunction restrain your appeal to the Laws; keep no forced oaths, for they do not bind you; associate with your industrious Neighbours for the defence of all; give every useful information to the nearest spirited Magistrate, with boldness and candour, respecting the persons, descriptions and names of such of those Ruffians as you know or suspect; (and it generally happens that some do know, but dare not divulge, those particulars) lay plans for apprehending and assist in apprehending them; and, when seized, deliver them up with firmness to the arm of Justice—Let no Menace, no entreaty, no solicitation or tampering

arms—Those outrages, which, in p. 41. are mentioned to have ceased, were obviously of a different nature, wearing the more pernicious aspect of being sanctioned by persons of some local Authority,

tampering, deter or entice you away afterwards from appearing, when necessary, to prosecute and bring them to conviction.—Remember that you owe this duty to yourselves, to your safety, and to your Country.—If the warrant of the Magistrate be too feeble, or the ordinary aid of Law too distant, for your summary deliverance from those Robbers, you will obtain effectual military succour by applying to the General of your District, or to the Commanding Officer in the next Garrison Town—You may be assured, that you will thus, speedily, shake off those Gangs; for, at the first alarm of personal danger or probability of being resisted, those guilty marauders will abscond from the Country, leave you in quiet, and betake themselves to some other District and course of life.

Many Districts are oppressed by dangerous Vagrants, and that description of persons called *Cosherers*, who, without any certain calling, wander amongst you, upon unknown Missions, or for dark and doubtful purposes—I do not incite you to become Informers against the houseless and unprotected stranger, whose only crime is his poverty, whose dwelling fire may have consumed, or terror may have chased him from. But I would guard you against the spreader of News, and the vehicle of idle Rumours, especially of apprehended assassination or massacre—Observe him with vigilance: question his drift and scrutinize his real purposes: if you

do not obtain a satisfactory result, bring him before the nearest Magistrate, or at least intimate your suspicions to your Gentry and Clergy.—I do not require you to abolish, wholly, those usages of Hospitality, which you have received from your Fathers, and which you retain as sacred—But for the sake of your own safety, suspend, for a while, the indiscriminate practice of it: it is, at all times, highly oppressive to your industry and hazardous to your quiet—Entertain no person, whom you do not know to be well conducted in Society and peaceably disposed. Tell such persons, that, in these critical times, every person ought to be found in his own Parish, dwelling amongst his own Relations, or engaged in some Industrious pursuit or fixed occupation of life—that much suspicion and hazard attend their presence and society; that your reception of them may involve in it your Ruin and that of your families, and that you expect that they will betake themselves elsewhere. Tell them these things, and they will no longer importune you to harbour or tolerate them amongst you.

As for the rest, let your activity, until the moment of Invasion, consist in the assiduous exercise of the Industry appropriate to your respective callings, in adhering to the rules of Order, Sobriety and peace, in practising the duties of Civil life, and in vigilant circumspection

tion against licentiousness and disturbances of every kind—Assist the Magistrates and Officers of Justice in the execution of their public duties, and give shelter or protection to no person, who has violated the Laws, or is accused of having violated them.—Reflect that the Servants of the law are your proper protectors, and that the offenders against it are your natural enemies. If any neighbouring Gentleman should be entrusted by your King with the command of an armed Association for the common defence, and should invite you to repair to the Standard of your Country, give your services and attendance with alacrity. If the Law should call upon you to array yourselves for the defence of the Empire, whether under the Title of an Army of Reserve or any other appellation, let your numbers fill the Ranks with the strength requisite for the public safety.—Reflect that, the sooner you learn the use and practice of Arms, the sooner your Country will be powerful, and the more firmly you will oppose an Invader—thus also you will return to your homes and peaceful occupations the more speedily and with the greater satisfaction, when the danger shall have been chased away. If you adopt this line of conduct, and shew yourselves to be at once an Armed and an united People, we shall, scarcely, be molested by Invaders, whose only hope and design, in coming to this Island, would be to augment Confusion amongst us with facility, and to excite Rebellion and Civil Wars with impunity.

BUT

BUT if, nevertheless, the Enemy should be so desperate and infatuated as to attempt an Invasion of our Island, if he shall think fit to make the hazardous push at our liberties and our happiness, whilst we shall be in so formidable an attitude of Defence, let our first care be to preserve internal harmony, order and steadiness amongst ourselves—let our next be, to discharge with active zeal the respective duties, whether military or civil, which chance or previous concert shall have assigned to each of us. They, whose lot shall have been cast in Military duty, will receive, through the medium of discipline, more precise and authentic regulations than I can suggest. They, who shall not be thus engaged, may serve their Country with not less efficacy by co-operating with the Powers entrusted with the management of our defence, in the execution of such measures as shall, from time to time, be recommended or deemed expedient. They will obey, with promptitude, the orders for that purpose, and adhere to the Instructions, which the Generals and the Magistrates of the several Districts will, in due time, take care to distribute and promulge.—Those orders and Instructions are founded in Reason and good sense: they proceed upon the received Maxim of daily life, *to sacrifice a part, in cases of necessity, for the preservation of the remainder.*—They relate to the removal of all provisions and forage from within the Enemy's reach, to cutting off his supplies, harassing, watching and discovering

discovering his Motions and his projects, breaking up Roads and pulling down Bridges in his line of march, annoying and alarming his detachments from our Mountains and our Bogs, in our Glens and our defiles, and other similar services which are enumerated in those Orders and Instructions.

You will render those services to your Country, not only without murmuring, but with alacrity. Remember that the Law has ensured ample Indemnity to individuals for the losses that they may, for the time, sustain in the necessary performance of those services—Compensation is given by our Country to her Children for the unavoidable sacrifices which she will call upon them to make for her preservation. No generous mind will elude, or shrink from, those sacrifices—rather let us partially anticipate the desolation which is menaced, by destroying our provisions and burning our Dwellings, where necessary, than leave the one or the other for the subsistence or the shelter of a cruel and rapacious Foe.—No man will, I trust, be base enough to temporize with the Invader—to bargain with him for a temporary safety or a ruinous neutrality, for whatever price or temptation—no man will be so vile, as to receive a Bribe for short-sighted Treason, to sell his Birthright for a mess of Pottage, or to barter Irish Honour for French Gold. Ireland is celebrated for its high feelings of National Honour.—The collective Honour of
a Nation

a Nation is composed of the Honour of its Individuals; it is built upon their high spirit and disdain of mercenary Interests; it endures only with the perfect Devotion of all to their Country's Glory and Welfare.

ARMED, then, with those pure Principles, and animated by those generous sensations, you will, my Countrymen, vigorously and successfully repel French Invasion, Civil Wars, and Slavery; you will maintain the advantages of your present situation, and preserve the certain Road to its full improvement; you will reap in Security the fruits of your honest Industry, enjoy the blessings of Agriculture, the cultivation of Arts, the repose of your Families, and the firm protection of the Laws. The honour and Independence of these Islands will be for ever secured; the eternal praise and gratitude of the Empire and of civilized Society, will be amongst our Rewards. Dangers will be banished from our Shores, and the Wealth, the Genius, and the Refinements of less favoured Countries will fly to our happy Isle for quiet and Security. Our generous Patriotism will have raised a splendid Monument of National Unanimity and Valour, more durable than the Marble Pillar—Its head shall reach the summits of our lofty Mountains; its extent shall be as spacious as the superficies of Irish Soil. Our Example will be a signal lesson both to Tyrants
and

and to the free States. It will exhibit to the one the dangers of excessive Ambition; to the other it will prove, that Concord is the soul of National Strength—and the Instruction to be derived from it may save torrents of blood to Humanity. Other Nations will read with delight and admiration, that the People of a remote Island, torn by the intestine distractions of Centuries, full of mutual distrust, and verging upon the miseries of Semi-barbarism, did yet, in the moment of National Trial, when their common Honour and Liberties were at stake, wisely and nobly bury all their differences in Oblivion, and swear, upon their Swords, to fight with emulous Valour and to die in the same Ranks, or to chase away a Savage Invader, his Chains, and his Barbarism.

Our Descendants will read, with rapturous enthusiasm, the Annals of the coming Events, and their hearts will glow with Gratitude to those, who shall have preserved this Isle of incomparable Loveliness, and proved themselves to be at once worthy of their high Trust, and of the Age they live in.

L

Oh! by majestic Freedom, righteous Laws,
By Heavenly Truth's, by manly Reason's Cause,
Awake! Attend! be indolent no more;
By Friendship, social Peace, domestic Love,
Rise, Arm, your Country's living safety prove,
And train her hardy Youth, and watch around her Shores

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 upon the power of semi-barbarism, did
 yet, in the moment of National Trial, when
 their common Honor and Liberties were
 at stake, wisely and nobly bury all their
 differences in oblivion, and swear upon
 their Swords, to fight with emulous Valor
 and to die in the same ranks, or to cast away
 a Savage Invader, the Queen, and his barbarism.
 Our Descendants will read with raptur-
 ous enthusiasm, the Annals of the com-
 ing Events, and their hearts will glow with
 gratitude to those, who shall have pre-
 vented the life of incompatible rivalries, and
 proved themselves to be at once worthy of their
 high Trust, and of the Age they live in.

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On the 1st of March, 1780, the British
 By the 1st of March, 1780, the British
 A letter from the British to the
 By the 1st of March, 1780, the British
 The 1st of March, 1780, the British
 And in the 1st of March, 1780, the British

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