

SECOND EDITION.

A

## S K E T C H

OE THE

## STATE OF IRELAND,

> PAST AND PRESENT:


Imperaturus es homivibus, qui nee totam servitutem pati possunt, nea totam libertatem.

Tacrt. Hist. i. 16.

## DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR M. N. MAHON, 109, GRAFTON-STREET, 1808.
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## THE MARQUIS WELLESLEY,

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MY LORD,
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I requeft you to perufe the following pages.
Our fentiments probably may not, in every inftance, accord; but I truft I fhall convince your Lordfhip, that the fate of Ireland not only deferves your attention, but imperioufly calls upon you as a Statefman and an Irifhman to exert your great and increafing influence in her caufe, hitherto fo conftantly mifmanaged and fo often betrayed.


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# A <br> <br> SKETCH <br> <br> SKETCH <br> OF THE <br> STATEOF IRELAND, 

PAST AND PRESENT.

I. AN author ambitious of fame fhould write the history of tranfactions that are past, and of men that are no more: defirous of profit, he fhould feek it from the prejudiced liberality of a party: but he whofe object is his country, muft hope for neither, and flrouded in difinterefted obfcurity, fhould fpeak of fects and factionss not what they defire, but what they deferve, to hear : to his impartiality his own times fhould be as thofe of Charles or James, and the ministers, bigots, and demagogues of his day, as Laud or Prynne, as Fitton, Hamilton or Tyrconnell.

And this fyle of writing-leaft popular, leaft profitable-is the moft difficult, the moft dangerous: power, always quick in revenge, is quickef in reaching its literary opponents; and the populace is never more flanderous than in arraigning his motives who could curb their violence.
H. Thefe difadvantages-great every whereare in Ireland oppreffive; where impartiality feldom thinks and never writes-party the only diftinction, paffion the only incitement; where the faction in and the faction out-orangemen and defenders-coercers and revolutionifts-the Englifh adminiftration and the Irifh directory, have divided between them the prefs and the nation.

I am therefore aware that my undertaking is a rafh and imprudent novelty, attractive neither of the light nor of the grave-of this junto or that. To feeak what I feel-tell what I fee-to Aketch with a true but tranfient pencil, the fate of Ireland-and, in confidering the evils and the remedies-to deliver an unbought and unbigoted opinion on the meafure of catholic emanci-
pation :-to doubt whether I fhall be heard-to be affured that, if heard, I flall offend-to do my duty without hope, but not without fear; thofe are my objects, this my fituation;-the inevitable fate of contemporary truth.
III. From the date of the Englifh eftablifhment in Ireland, firt effected-afterwards extended finaily fecured-by domeftic treachery and the foreign fword, there was till the laft century, no civil government. The king's deputies, and the deputies of the deputies, were ftrangers and foldiers-needy and tyrannical; their duty conqueft-their reward plunder-their refidence an encampment-their adminiftration a campaign. The capital and a fmall neighbourhood, emphatically called the Pale, the feats of the Englifh, acknowledged the theoretic exiftence, but not the practical benefit of laws. As the fuperior arms or arts of the fettlers changed turbulent neighbours into rebellious fubjects, the Pale was enlarged, but they had no laws to difpenfe, no civilization to communicate.
IV. I will not wade through the blood of a continual rebellion and intermittent maffacre-

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nor through recriminations nearly as odious, and retaliations quite as bloody. Prized fhould the land be, every foot of which has been fought; and fertile the country manured by the indifcriminate flaughter of her fons and her ftep fons! Suffice it to fay-the riotous difcontent of the half-fubdued, drew down the fufpicious feverity of the half-eftablifhed, and the fubjugation of the former, effected by degrees the degradation of both.
1646. We pafs over the alternate ravages of Charles and Cromwell, to arrive at the almoft Theban 1688. conteft of James and William-the lawful, but intolerant and intolerable poffeffor of the throne, and the unamiable, but enlightened and neceffary inftrument of his expulfion.

Of the Iriih there had been no reformation; illiterate, they could not find their own way; and poor, they had little to tempt the miffionaries of Henry the VIIIth: all therefore in Ireland, that was Irih, was papif-almoft all that was Englifh was proteftant. James was a papif, and William a politician, much more than they were Chriftians;-the blind devotion of the
former recommended him to the love and loyalty of the natives-and to the fear and enmity of the fettlers. Hence a war perhaps not yet concluded; and feuds confeffed to be unextinguifhed.
V. Offended, neglected, and defpifed by their refpective princes, the two parties evinced a generous attachment to their fortanes. But-the greater merit is here with the adherents to James. He, to infult, and neglect of his followers, added weaknefs, and meannefs, and cruelty, and cowardice, and defeat; while William, though the friend only of Holland, and the enemy of Ireland, was a conqueror and a hero -had won three kingdoms, and deferved to wia them.

Between fuch men it was not fortune that decided; the courage of James fled at the battle of the Boyne, and even his hopes expired in the treaty of Limerick-by conqueft and by capitu169 g : lation the triumph of William was complete-as complete as he defired-Ireland indeed was not tranquillized, but his throne was fecured-with war enough at home, fhe had none to invade the
fhores of her neighbour-William feized her as ant outwork of England, as he took Namur for the fafety of Holland.
VI. Repreffion might have fatisfied his gloryhis prudence required fubmiffion. Though James had abandoned the Irifh, the Irifh had not abandoned James: Againft his undifturbed predeceffors, they had maintained defultory but implacable war-to him expelled and outlawed they exhibited, as were their character and cuftom, a perverfe loyalty-like their perverfe rebellionblind to its object, atrocious in its meafures.
1689. While James and his power lingered in Ireland, he affembled a preudo-Parliament : he had chofen the members; he chofe the meafures-the att of repeal, juftifying all rebellion, breaking all faith -the act of attainder profcribing thoufands by name, and millions by inference-the act for liberty of confcience, licenfe to the papits, hardhip to the reformed-the whole clofed with the fubverfion of eftablifhed inftitutions-dilapidation of churches-fpoliation of bifhopricksdenunciation, plunder, and oppreffion of the whole proteftant community.

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VII. From the papit-thus lately tyrannical, now fubdued-the proteftant thought it juffifiabe to fubtract all power. Obfolete penalties were revived; and new reftraint enacted-of their ambition from the fenate-their partiality from the magiftracy-their force from the field; that influence, often mifured, fhould not be regained, poffeflions were forfeited-acquifitions forbidden : that difaffection-as it was naturalfhould be impotent, weapons of offence were fricken from their hands, and the means of refiftance removed, as its caufes were multiplied.

The retaliation was complete : not fo its juftification. William had ratified the articles of Limerick, and broke them; a policy ufeful to him and his near fucceffors, fatal to us, enfuring temporary tranquillity, and lafting diffenfion.Contempt would have extinguifhed the catholic fuperfition, profcription has perpetuated it.

The fword had failed, while both had fwordsthe law had failed, while it exifted but for onethe alliance of the law and the fword effected fomething. It has been called a peace, and a truce-it was a paufe-" to the catholics" faid

Mr. Grattan cloquently, " a fad fervitude,-to "the proteftants a drunken triumph,"一but, had James prevailed, it had been to the proteftants neither fad nor fervitude-but death!-to the catholics a triumph, not drunken, but bloody !This experience deduces from the ferocious bigotry of that fect at that day-this, hiftory writes or warrants-this, Mr. Grattan, in his candour and intelligence does not doubt.
1698. VIII. Where the warfare of the nations ceafed, that of the parliaments began: The Englifh to affume new, or to affert ancient fuperiority-the Irifh to deny the latter, and to refift both. Then Molyneux wrote his "Cafe of Ireland," - valuable for its matter-important in its effect-interefting as the dawn of political difcuffion. It fhook the prefumption of one parliament, and fortified the confidence of the other. Hence a more modern policy: The feat and Ayle of the difcuffion was changed; the conteft was no longer between the fenates themfelves, but between the adherents of each in the Irifh parliament.

A fupremacy more complete than fhe dared to claim as of right, England now eftablifhed by

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influence - a courteous name for profligacy on one fide, and proftitution on the other. Hence a degraded population, a hireling ariftocracy, a corrupt government-hence the low intrigues, meannefs and mifery of three generations.

From the reign of William to that of George the IIId.-a long paufe in the aunals of our tur-bulence-during two Jacobite invafions, while half England was bafely hefitating, and Scotland had
1715. 1745. treafonably decided between the proteftant prince and popifh pretender, Ireland was tranquil-in allegiance, fullen perhaps, but unbroken. But this is all the hiftorian has to tell-the reft was the fquabble of petty pretenders to power, unimportant even in its day, contemptible in ours; youth became age, and age fank into the grave in filence and ignorance; for our glory nothing was atchieved, for our improvement nothing attempted: almoft a century is almoft a blank.
IX. With one great exception.-On this gloom one luminary rofe, and Ireland worfhipped it with Perfian idolatry: Her true patriot-her firt, almoft her laft. Sagacious and intrepid-he faw, he dared; above fufpicion he was trufted;

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above envy, he was beloved; above rivalry, he was obeyed. His wifdom was practical and prophetic -remedial for the prefent, warning for the future: He firft taught Ireland that the might become a nation, and England that fhe might ceafe to be a defpot. But he was a churchman. His gown impeded his courfe, and entangled his efforts-guilding a fenate or heading an army he had been more than Cromwell, and Ireland not lefs than England: As it was, he faved her by his courage-improved her by his authorityadorned her by his talents-and exalted her by
1724. his fame. His miffion was but of ten years, and 1734. for ten years only, did his perfonal power mitigate the government ; but though no longer feared by the great, he was not forgotten by the wife; his influence, like his writings, has furvived a century, and the foundations of whatever profperity we have fince erected, are laid in the difinterefted and magnanimous patriotifm of Swift.

This is not digreffion-it is inftruction ; juftice to the dead-example to the living;-it is the debt we owe, and the precept we fhould incul-

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cate ;-when he is emulated, his country is redeemed.
X. The acceffion of George the IIId. is to 1760. Ireland an æra, not of her independence, but of the diffufion of principles, which twenty years after effected, and, in twenty years. more, de, ftroyed it.

Of the injuftice of England towards America, the retribution was fignal, and the refult univerfal. Ambition was foiled, obftinacy fubdued, and oppreffion on one, conferred freedom on both fhores of the Atlantic. While her right arm was employed in fcourging or curbing America, the reins and rod of Ireland were forced from the other; and diftrefs, refigned, what generofity would never have beftowed. Ireland thought that he had attained the maturity, at which the pupillage of a people fhould ceafe, and the undertook, in the pride of heart, the management of her own revenues, the regulation of her own family, and the maintenance of her own rank in the fociety of nations,

Of this revolution-bloodlefs, or only bought with American blood-Mr. Grattan was the
leader. His hiftory is now identified with his country's, and even his character may be affimilated to her's. A mind impetuous and determined -views not always correct, but always generous -an eloquence peculiar and popular, in a delivery fomewhat fantaftical but moft impreffivegentle manners, a feeling heart-undaunted fpirit; in private moft of what is amiable-in public much of what is great.- Flattered and reviled alternately and intemperately, he has been worfhipped and branded, as faviour and traitor-that exaggeration, this falfehood. What he fought for Ireland he did not always obtain - much of what he obtained has reverted-much of what has not reverted is injurious-this is not falvation. True to his party, he too warmly oppofed in days of peril whom he thought the authors of that peril, and denounced in the fenate whom he thought the aggreffors in the conflis-when all had failed, he injudicioufly retired. This was not treafon. But thus living characters are drawn.

The lifetime of our independence was fhort; its author is fill living-his meafure already dead-" He fate by its cradle-he followed its " hearfe," Murmurs againft this difpenfation

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of Providence have arifen-but unjufly. The being "from its mother's womb untimely ripped," was faint and feeble; the diffolution, though fudden, was natural-though early, not presmature.

Totally feparated from England, an independent exitence was, perhaps, poffible-I do not decide-but while the connexion, however modified, fubfifted, it was vifionary. The claim of right was extinguifhed-but the activity of influence was fubtilized and invigorated. It was in nature that the greater thould rule the less; it was in nature too, that intoxicated with fancies of freedom, Ireland floould revolt at the reality of dependence; too powerful for a province -too weak for a rival -the consequences were inevitable -Rebellion and Union.
X. In force for nearly a century of quiet, the popery laws had been lately mitigated. Elated at this favour, while independence was in progress, the catholics expected to be trimplant, on its eftablifhment-not unreafonably. Of Great Britain and Ireland they were an inconfiderable fect-of folitary Ireland an importan majority; in its narrow fcale of politics,

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they hoped for place, perhaps preponderance; in vain-the independence was nominal, the connexion real. Difappointment enfued, and diffatisfaction. Nor were thefe confined to the catholics. The volunteers, a great body of all religions, heated by popular difcuffions in military affemblies --confiding in their arms and numbers -bold in their impunity, and infected with licentious politics, they wihed what they dared not fpeak, and would gladly have taken, what it were treafon to demand.
1783. XI. In this tumult the catholic was again exigent, and the proteftant indifferent, or favourable; further relaxation enfued, and more general tumult.

Minds became unfettled-the fate feebleinfurrection ftrong; in the north, an armed parliament difcuffed and defpifed the laws; but confined itfelf to fpeculative treafon.-In the 1784. fouth there was actual war: midnight infurgents feized whole counties; at the clofe of the day, the populace rofe-and all was confufion, and cruelty, flakes of fire and ftreams of blood, till the dawn; evils real or imaginary, the excufes-evil monftrous and inevitable, the

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confequences. They evaded the law-they efcaped the fiword; at laft they defied both. The nights were nights of plunder-the days of punifhment -and both of horror.

Then, as now, the difeafe was referred to the feverities of the popery code, and tythe fyftem the remedy fuggefted in the repeal of both. But the alleged grounds of Irifh infurrection are feldom real. The rebellion is raifed firft, and the grievance found afterwards: as between individuals of our nation, the quarrel often precedes the oftenfible offence.
XII. While further indulgences to the 1792. catholics were granted, and others in progrefs, the French revolution, having filled its own country brimful with mifery, began to overflow upon ~ ours. Much of that event Ireland had already anticipated-for the reft fhe was prepared. She had had her national convention-her national guards-her reform-and her conftitution ; fhe too was doomed to have her rebellion-her defolation. The courfe fomewhat lefs bloody the event more fortunate-but neither totally diffimilar.

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1793. 

Again, the claims of the catholics, and again, the conceffion of the government; the offenfive code repealed in more than they defired-almof all that it contained; nothing referved but the command of armies-the dignities of the law-the fenate and the throne.

And thus the queftion now flands!-where will it reft ?
XIII. In obtaining thefe conceffions, Mr. Grattan was aided by the Lords Mountjoy and O'Neil, the earlieft friends of the catholicsthe firft victims of the rebellion. Againft them ftood-fometimes alone-Fitzgibbon, EarI of Clare: a man not to be omitted in even a Retch of Irifh hiftory. Of extraordinary endowments, great acquiftions and tranfeendant arrogance. Bold and voluble in his fpeech, daring in his counfels, and fixed in his refolves, the fature of his mind overtopped his affociates, and collected upon him the eyes of all-the fhafts of many: an humble origin could not moderate his pride, though fuccefs, and almoft fupreme power feemed to temper it. In wrath, lefs violent-than fudden; in revenge, not frequent-but implacable; he deferved more political friends-fewer

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enemies; but there was fomething in him that would be obeyed, and his opponents fled, and his party fell before his victorious and envied afcendancy. As chancellor,-like Shaftefbury-he had no enemy, and adminiftered juftice with undivided applaufe. In private, he was amiable; -to his family, his friends and his followers-indulgent, faithful, generous, and kind. In peaceful times, he would have been beloved-and loft.- In days of ferment, if a demagogue, he would have fubverted, as, when minifter, he fupported the pillars of the ftate.

The popifh religion he thought unfavourable to freedom and knowledge-its profeffors hoftile to the government and conftitution. Hence, his oppofition to all indulgences of that fect; always confiftent-often imprudent.

As Mr. Grattan is called traitor-fo is Lord Clare-tyrant; with equal falfehood: When prejudices fhall be buried in the graves of both thefe illuftrious rivals, we fhall probably confefs that both were fincere-both fallible; both honeftboth miftaken; human in their errors and parties -immortal for their virtues and patriotifm.

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1798. XIV. The hordes of petty rebels, that for twenty years, under twenty barbarous names and pretences, had haraffed the land, now fank into one great union againft all civil and ecclefiaftical in-ftitutions-the legacy of the American conteft paid by France. The conflagration was general : war on every fide-in Uliter of politics-elfewhere of bigotry. The diffenter fought-the papif maflacred-the loyalift cut down both. Some provocation there may have been-much vengeance there was; but where moft, if any provocation, leaft flaughter, no cruelty; where no previous oppreflion, moft blood, much torture. The details of this rebellion-realizing all we read of 1641 -I bequeath to the bigotry of both parties-its objects however are interefting to the enlightened; that of the diffenters-a republic; that of the papifts-popifh afcendancy; of both connexion with France, feparation from England: Its refults too are important; union with England, feparation from France, and both, it would feem, eternal.
XV. From the principles of 1782 fprang inevitable connexion with France, or union with England. The late atrocities decided and acce-
lerated the choice-not without hefitation. A haughty ariftocracy and a proud people did not eafily refign their power and their name; nor an afpiring gentry their hopes; all about to be loft in Britifh afcendancy. The averfion was almoft unanimous, and twice victorious. But Mr. Pitt was undaunted: enlightened and intrepid he faw that this vital meafure, once propofed, muft be carried or the country loft. On the object he was fixed, and of the means not fcrupulous - deceit of the good-intimidation of the weak - exafperation of parties and a wide corruption.

Nor did his opponents, while denouncing, decline to imitate his practices; both parties, let us own, addreffed themfelves to the beft paffions of mankind, and to the worft; but with different fuccefs-the honeft preferred England to France, the bafe, poffeffion to expectancy, and the act of union was paffed-ftrange to add, without bloodfhed. But the parties had been rather enthufiaftic than cordial. Each feared its own fuccefs ; the oppofition their's, as dangerous-the unionifts, their's as degrading-to the country. The victory was without triumph, and the defeat without dejection.
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XVI. The Earl of Hardwicke's fucceeded the union adminiftration. His manners were gentle, but infincere-his mind elegant but vindictivehis intentions, if pure, perverted. His councils, by his friends alleged not to be his own, - were, towards the end of his adminiftration, weak and double. By his public and private gentlenefsfome oftentatious charity and the univerfal purchafe of the prefs, the fhadow of popularity was acquired-and by this fhadow he was contented, and England deceived, and Ireland darkened. Inactivity on the one part, was mildnefs and con-ciliation-fullennefs on the other, content and gratitude. On this calm of conciliation and content 3803. burft forth another rebellion-fhort in its dura-tion-contemptible in its actions-but ferious in its unfounded depth and unknown extent. The policy of that day under-rated the danger-and the peril of Ireland was forgotten in a fquabble between the Governor and the General,
XVII. In aid of the union the catholics had been courted-but the minifters had promifed what they could not perform, and abfoonded from their offices to fave their credits. They had now returned to power-and the holders of the pro-

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mifes demanded their amount. The minifter did not refufe, but afked time, to pay. He would have temporized, but England is not tolerant of popery, nor Ireland of fufpenfe; both parties haftened on to a difcuffion, in which the catholic was fuccefffully oppofed by fome, who had, two 1805. years before, favoured-and violently fupported by others, who, two years after, facrificed him. Such are the inconfiftencies of faction.

Ireland fank back into her filence-and all again was mild and grateful and hollow, till the departure of Lord Hardwicke, bequeathing to his fucceffor infurrection in five counties, and difcontent in twenty.
XVIII. That fucceffor was John Duke of Bed- 1806 . ford, amiable and honourable, but by party connexions unfitted for the fation of viceroy. He was the heir of the influence of his brother Francis, the inconfiftent Duke, whofe democratical folly Burke has immortalized; he inherited likewife his politics and party; that party Mr. Fox -that great and weak, that amiable but mifchievous man-conducted in England, and the Ponfonbies in Ireland. In oppofition at the time
of the French revolution, they naturally and unfortunately connected themfelves with the friends of that event. But that event was too ftrong for them and for itfelf. Revolution became fubver-fion-entangled in its anarchy they could neither reftrain their affociates, nor difengage themfelves, and Europe faw with wonder a Britifh ariftocracy interchanging praifes and principles with the democrats of France.
XIX. Heartily they repented, but in private ; and, until they had given minifterial proofs of their converfion, they poffeffed the difgraceful confidence of the difaffected in both countries. At their exaltation, the intemperance of their late affociates in Ireland knew no bounds: The advent of the Whig viceroy was hailed by the voices that had before hailed the coming of the French. To his firft levee crowded, in the levelling audacity of their joy, perfons of every rank, except the higheft-of every defcription but the loyal: From their concealment or exile fuddenly emerged the unexecuted patriots of $179^{8}$, bearding and infulting the very magiftrates before whom they had been convicted: Some indifcreet legal promotions, fome ill-advifed civil
appointments raifed to confidence the hopes of thofe fanatics; but raifed only to overthrow. The viceroy, awakened to his fenfe and dignity, and the chancellor, * illuftrious by his birth and talents, were difgufted at the vulgar fellowfhip, and alarmed at the traiterous infolence. They did fomething, and fhould have done more, to the repreffion of both; but they wifhed not, or dared not to exafperate an unforgiving faction, and by their want of decifion loft one party without gain. ing the other: all were difaffected or diffatisfied.

May I here indulge a private fentiment, and hope that the ancient and eminent houfe of Ponfonby has finally refumed its pride and ftationthat bafenefs and ingratitude have not fhown themfelves in vain-that delufion private and political has vanifhed for ever-that the tranquillity of our native land may again be its triumph, and the hatred of our enemies its popularity.

XX . The intreaties and intrigues of the miniftry, their late partizans, and the adverfe opinion of many of their own fect, could not diffuade the catholics from another parliamentary

[^0]appeal for indulgence. I cannot blame their refolution; I did not think it untimely; I can never think it unjuft ; but I blame, I denounce, as traiterous to the conftitution, and ruinous to their caufe, the fpeeches then publifhed by their pretended and pernicious friends-fatal advo-cates-if, indeed, their object was catholic emancipation, and not catholic infurrection.

To ftifle this appeal, that threatened it with diffolution, the miniftry propofed a fubflitutean expedient-to buy the catholic cheaply, to deceive the king fafely, to eftablifh themfelves permanently. It had a double face, this meafure; and I fcarcely know by which to defcribe it: It was reprefented-to the catholic, as opening to him every rank of military honourto the king, as giving nothing new, but merely raifing the Engli/b catholic to the Iri/ß level: In Dublin, it was a triumph to Ireland; at Windfor, it was juftice to England:-but the fraud met its fate; the Britifh king refufed to decorate the Roman triumph. Scorned by the fovereign, the catholic, and the proteftant-the miniftry were driven from the cabinet, and at the enfuing
elections hardly found their way into the fenate.

I regret, not the lofs of this bill, but that itor a more liberal - was not candidly propofed, and honefly carried. I lament, not that the minifters have loft their places, but that their deferved failure has difgraced and endangered a good caufe, and difappointed and difturbed an unhappy people.
XXI. Thus far we have walked in the footfteps of time, and heard the voice of hiftoryEvents lead us to experience, experience to improvement; there remain then for inquiry the prefent evil-the future remedy.

Nations have moral as well as phyfical climates, and no good is practicable-no inflitution can be permanent, that is not fitted to the national temperament. The plant of the eaft withers in the weft, the animal of the north degenerates in the fouth. We have but lately and imperfectly learned, that political modes which exalt one country may debafe another.

The felf-confidence of England in her fyftem, is wifdom at home and folly abroad: fhe would have Corfica and India, like Wales or Devon, and has loft one, and rifked the lofs of the other. France, by a contrary fpecies of the fame madnefs, introduced foreign principles into her government, and loft herfelf. Humanity rejoices that the has arifen from the grave of democracy, and thofe even, who think wort of her Deliverer, affent to my reafoning, by attributing his fuccefs to the wife congeniality of his inflitutions.

Ireland-and in a greater degree than other countries-has feelings that muft be flattered; and prejudices and habits, that, to be conquered, muit be foothed. She muft not be ftretched on the procruftan bed, or lopped or lengthened to an iron fcale. Thofe that legiflate for her fhould know her, and their fyftem fhould be elaftic and accommodating.

Thus impreffed, I trace the outline of our manners, freely, and if I can, truly.
XXII. Its popular character and cuftoms diftinguifh and difincline Ireland from England.

Varieties have been fought in the national difpofition, referable to the double origin of the people: in vain: however differing in rank, party or anceftry, they bear the indelible mark of a common nativity. Reftlefs yet indolent, fhrewd and indifcreet, impetuous, impatient, and improvident, inftinctively brave, thoughtlefsly generous; quick to refent and forgive offences, to form and renounce friendfhips; they will forgive injury rather than infult; their country's good they feldom, their own they carelefsly purfue, but the honour of both they eagerly vindicate; oppreffion they have long borne, infolence never.

With genius they are profufely gifted; with judgment fparingly; to acquire knowledge they find more eafy than to arrange and employ it : inferior in vanity only to the French, and in wit fuperior even to the Italian, they are more able to give and more ready to receive amufement, than inftruction; in raillery and adulation they freely indulge, and without malignity or bafenefs. It is the fingular temper of this people that they are prone equally to fatirize and to praife, and patient alike of farcafm and flattery.

Inclining to exaggerate, but not intending to deceive, you will applaud them rather for fincerity than truth. Accuracy is not the merit, nor duplicity the failing of a lively but neglected and uncultivated people. Their paffions lie on the furface unfheltered from irritation or notice: and cautious England is glad to recognize the Irih character only by thofe inconfiftencies and errors, which her own novercal government has produced or perpetuated.
XXIII. In their domeftic life, the gentry and traders differ from the Englifh of equal rank, not in effentials, but in modes. Here are lefs neatnefs and œeconomy, more enjoyment and fociety. Emulative profufion is an Irifh folly. The gentry would rival the nobility; the merchant affects to furpafs, and the fhopkeeper to approach, the fplendour of the gentry. Hence patrimonies are dilapidated; hence capital is diverted from bufinefs to pleafure; the profit of one enterprize is not, as in England, embarked in another, but funk in a villa or an equipage. The Englifh trader bequeaths, the Irifh enjoys; but his enjoy= ment is not often elegant, nor always fecure.

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The nobility and affluent gentry fpend much, or all of their fortunes and time in England; leaving their places to be filled, in the country, by hired agents - in the city, by a plebeian ariftocracy : the former, folely engaged in encreafing and collecting rents, can have little conciliatory power with the people; and the influence of the latter tends rather to encreafe than diminifh the political danger.

A great evil. Not becaufe the country is drained by remittances, but becaufe the is widowed of her natural protectors : the lofs is, not of money, but manners-not of wealth, but of civilization and peace.
XXIV. The condition of the peafant was of late utterly, and is ftill almoft, barbarous. What the Romans found the Britons and Germans, the Britons found the Irifh-and left them: neglect or degeneracy of the colonifts, and obftinacy of the natives have preferved even to our day living proofs of the varacity of Cæfar and Tacitus: Of this, many will affect to be incredulous-of the Irifh, left it diminifh the character of the coun-try-of the Englifh, becaufe it arraigns the wif.

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dom and policy of their fyftem. But the experienced know it to be true, and the impartial will own it.

The cultivator of the land feldom holds from the inheritor; between them fland a feries of fub-landlords and tenants each receiving a profit from his leffee, but having no farther intereft or connexion with the foil; the laft in the feries muft provide for the profits of all-he therefore parcels out, at rack rents, the land to his miferable tenant. Here is no yeomanry-no agricultural capitalift; no degree between the landlord and labourer; the words "peafantry" and "poor" fynonimoufly employed.
XXV. Their dwellings are of primitive and eafy conftruction-the walls and floors of clay, the roof of fod or thatch : within are too unequal divifons; in the fmaller, filthy and unfurnifhed, you will hardly fuppofe the whole family to fleep; in the larger, on a hearth, withour grate or chimney, a fcanty fire warms rather by its fmoke, than its blaze, and difolours whatever it warms.
Glazed windows there are none, the open door amply fufficing for light and air, to thofe

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who are carelefs of either. Furniture they neither have, nor want; -their food and its preparation are fimple, potatoes or oaten cakes, four milk, and fometimes falted fifh. In drink they are not fo temperate: of all firituous liquors they are immoderately fond, but moft of whifkey, the diftilled extract of fermented corn. In many diftricts, by an ingenious and fimple procefs, they prepare this liquor themfelves, but clandeftinely, and to the great injury of national morals and revenue. Were they allowed, by private difillation, to indulge their tafte for inebriety, their own vice would more effectually fubdue them than centuries of war.
XXVI. Their drefs is mean and fqualid; particularly of the females, whom you would not always diftinguifh from men by their attire. Of perfonal cleanlinefs they have no care. Both fexes wear, in winter and fummer, long woollen coats or cloaks, derived from, and fimilar to, the fagum of their anceftors. The children are generally half, and fometimes altogether naked, living without diffinction of fexes in dirt and mire, almoft with the cattle. Yet from this nakednefs and
filth, they grow up to that ftrength and fature for which they are admirable.
XXVII. The peafantry of Ireland are generally of the Roman Catholic religion, but utterly and difgracefully ignorant-few among them can read, fewer write. The Irifh language, a barbarous jargon, is generally, and in fome diffricts exclufively fpoken: and with it are retained cuftoms and fuperfitions as barbarous. Popifh legends and Pagan tradition are confounded, and revered: for certain holy wells and facred places they have extraordinary refpect ; thither crowd, the fick for cure, and the finful for expiation, and, their priefts, deluded or deluding, enjoin thofe pilgrimages as penance, or applaud them, when voluntary, as piety. The religion of fuch a people is not to be confounded with one of the fame name profeffed by the enlightened nations of Europe. - The Univerfity of Paris has fume tenets, in common, perhaps, with the Irih papif, but does it believe that water reftores the cripple, enlightens the blind, or purifies the guilty ?
XXVIII. In agricultural purfuits they are neither active nor expert: hereditary indolence
would incline them to employ their lands in pafturage, and it is often more eafy to induce them to take arms, for their country, or againft it, than to cultivate the earth, and wait upon the feafons. Even at this day the fons of the old inheritors are fufpected of being more ready to regain their poffeffions by their blood, than by their labour. Their very amufements are polemical ; fighting is a paftime which they feldom affemble without enjoying; not, indeed, with iron weapons, but with clubs, which they always carry, and frequently and fkilfully ufe. When not driven by neceffity to labour, they willingly confume whole days in floth, or as willingly employ them in riot; ftrange diverfity of nature, to love indolence and hate quiet-to be reduced to flavery, but not yet to obedience.
XXIX. Who will call this people civilized, or wonder that they are turbulent? -Who confide in the empiric promifing to cure fo complicated a diforder by a fingle feecific ?-It is but too plain that there is fomething to be lamented, and, if poffible, changed, in the character of the nation - much in its habits-more in the accidental circumftances in which it languifhes; and it is

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alfo evident, that no individual remedy can reach and reform evils fo heterogeneous. Party indeed is blind, and ignorance adventurous; but when the ftate of Ireland is hereafter difcuffed in the Imperial Senate, we truft that few may be found of the prejudiced, and none of the ignorant.
XXX. Friendly-on principles and conditions hereafter to be developed-to catholic emancipation, I cannot believe it panaceatic-alone be-neficial-alone neceffary. It will be a partperhaps great-probably fmall-of any enlightened fyftem of Irifh policy: but it is not itfelf a fyftem.

Who can be emancipated, and from what? At moft fix Lords-one hundred and fifty commo-ners-and twenty ecclefiaftics-from four or five difabilities, which reach not-intereft not the mafs of their community. Theorifts trace from the political exclufion of the peer, the mental debafement of the peafant-truly, perhaps, in a people affluent and enlightened;-truly, in fmall and polifhed ftates; falfely in a great mafs of penury and ignorance. Difpel the gloom-enrich the penury, the crowd may then-and not till then -

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become fympathetic to the feelings of honour and ambition : Hence, I reafon, that to mere emancipation there are previous paramount duties ; that enlightening two millions of catholics is more important than indulging two hundred.

But the Irifh proteftant, has he no grievancelabours he under no difability? has he no caufe, or taint of difaffection? Your proteftant tenantsfew in numbers;-your proteftant artizans and manufacturers, a great and pining populationafk them, for a defcription of their exclufive paradife. In all that regards happinefs and power you will find them to be catholics, reading the liturgy ; as the catholics are proteftants, finging the mafs. Emancipate them, emancipate all ; vivify your country-not in details, but in gene-rals-not in extremities, but at the heart.
XXXI. To catalogue and clafs the difeafes and remedies would be a treatife. I only fketch happy if what I write haftily, be read at all.

Compendioufly, then-the fprings of our miffortune are five-fold :-1, the ignorance- 2 . the poverty- 3 . the political debafement of the infe.

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rior orders : 4. the catholic code : 5 . the provinciality of the government.

1. Domeftic œconomy, agricultural improvement, the love and knowledge of the laws, the detection and expulfion of fuperftition, the growth and influence of true piety, who can expect them among a people utterly dark and blind? Of four millions-the probable populationone million perhaps can write and read-of this million, three-fourths are proteftants and proteftant diffenters:-there remains a folid mafs of dangerous and obftinate ignorance-not all-but chiefly-catholic. The laws of God they take on truft-of the land on guefs, and defpife or infult both. The Government publifhes proclama-tions-the rebel chiefs manifeftoes-the rebel foldier reads neither-his fpiritual or fecular leader he follows into implicit treafon; incapable of difcuffing motives or being enlightened by refults: and thus the folly and defeat of one infurrection do not deter from another.

In all our perils-it is an important truth-the real danger is in thofe who cannot read, the true fecurity in thofe who can. Superior knowledge

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is one caufe and branch of the Proteftant afcen-dancy-from which the Catholics muft emancipate themfelves.
XXXII. The remedy of this evil muft be fought in its caures,-a narrow and fectarian plan of public education, - the miftaken policy of the Popifh priefthood,-the abfence or indolence of the eftablifhed clergy,-fources of more and greater evils than Ireland thinks, or England would believe.

To the Government, I flould fay, "Educate your people;"-I care not by what fyftem, if it be capacious, nor at what coft, if it be productive.

Between fyftems of public inftruction I will not decide; that, however, muft be preferable, which acts moft by incitement, and leaft by force. I fhould even-not unhefitatingly-venture to propofe, that thofe only fhould vote at elections, who could write and read their own affidavits of regiftry. This principle is not novel in our conflitution; our wife anceftors promoted learning by granting, even to criminals, the benefit of clergy.

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Would it not be as efficacious, and more juft, to extend to a certain proficiency in letters, not pardon, but privilege-not impunity in crime, but advancement in political power? Is it not monflrous, in theory as well as practice, that the groffeft ignorance flould influence the choice of a legiflator, as much as the moft cultivated under-ftanding-that the enlightened fhould be overborne in the higheft exercife of rational liberty, by the rude and barbarous? Yet thus it is, and the primary affemblies of Ireland are fwayed by brutal ignorance and profligate perjury.

We have feen in fome counties the majority of conftituents driven, like cattle, to the huftings. We have feen them-unable even to fpeak Englifh-attempt to poll in Irifh. We know that thefe miferable creatures are weapons wielded by the gentry againft each other at elections, and by demagogues againft the gentry in rebellions. Is this to be borne?-From fuch turbid and poifoned fources can the ftream be pure and falutary ?

To the Catholic priefthood I fhould fay, "You profefs to be minitters of light, not of darknefs,
you fould advance learning, you shacl not impede it-your tenets fhall not be invaded, but your flocks shall be inftructed-the ointment producing blindnefs fhall be ufed no longer. If you will not co-operate in a generous fyftem of national education, expect no favour from the nation ; you fhall have none."

But to the eftablifhed clergy what fhall I urge? The times, momentous to all, are critical to them; their flocks turbulent, their revenues invaded, their very hierarchy affailed;-thefe are not days for floth. Ireland is divided into 2500 parifhes, melted down into 1200 benefices, on which there are but 1000 churches; the 1200 beneficed clergy of thefe 2500 parifhes, where are they? one-third of them are not refident-abfentees from their duties-mortmainers upon the land! The catholic prieft, the diffenting minifter, the methodift preacher, are they fupine or abfent? Are they without profelytes and converts, without intereft or influence with the people? A friend to religion, I am an enemy to falaried idlenefs. To 2500 parifhes I would have 2500 parfons; no curates at fifty, nor abfentees at two thoufand pounds a year ; no ftarving zeal, no lazy

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affluence. The eftablifhment, which laymen are invoked to defend, churchmen fhould fupport by their prefence, dignify by their piety, and extend by their example.
XXXIII. 2. Of the exactions of the owners, and the indigence of the cultivators of land, miferable are the confequences. Landlords without friends or influence-a peafantry, without intereft, almoft without livelihood in the country nothing to defend-nothing to love-defpairing and defperate-ripe and ready for change.

The evil is plain, the remedy not fo evident.
The price of the ufe of land, can-at leaft fhould, never be reftrained by law-free competition is the life-blood of commerce, and the relation of landlord and tenant, in the matter of rents, is purely commercial. The appeal therefore is to the good feeling and good policy of the landholders.

In England, the law of public opinion, as well as the law of reafon, terrifies a landlord from the plunder of his eftate-much of it is at
his will ; but his will is wifdom, or the wifdom of others reftrains his will; and he is glad-or obliged-to content himfelf with juft profits ftrictly paid, by a thriving tenantry. Where there is a protection on one fide, fidelity on the other, and confidence on both, the fairelt tenure is at will : rents then fluctuate with the price of produce, and the refults are profits duly apportioned. Thefe refults theorifts propofe to obtain by conditional leafes, and claufes of furrender and redemption, but unfortunately it is ftill a theorem.

In Ireland, tenure at will, is indefinite oppref-fion-tenure by leafe, oppreffion by leafe; rents are, not the proportions of, but nearly the whole produce. The actual cultivator feldom better paid then by fcanty food, ragged raiment, and a miry hovel ; nothing faved for exigencies-nothing remitted for capital. - The peafant and the land alike neglected, impoverifhed and ftarver.

The theorift fays, this, like other commerce, will find its level.

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Experience fays to the theorift, it will not. The peafant's fpirit is broken-he thinks not of independence, - dreams not of property, unlefs in dreams of infurrection. His wifhes have no fcope; he is habituated to derive from his landand his labour, only his daily potatoe : and we know, that competitors offer the whole value of the produce, minus that daily potatoe-fometimes more than the whole value is promifed, and nothing paid; the tenant, for a few months, appeafes his hunger; quarter day approaches, -he abfconds; and the abfentee landlord in Dublin or London, exclaims at the knavery of an Irifh tenant.

In the mere fipirit of trade, what can landlords expect from tenants without capital or credit? From impoverifhing the fountains of their wealth? From denying their factors even a commiffion on their profits ?

But a landlord is not a mere land merchant; he has duties to perform, as well as rents to receive ; and from his neglect of the former, fpring his difficulty in the latter, and the general mifery and diftraction of the country. The combinations of the peafantry againft this fhort-fighted mono-
poly, are natural and fatal. Whoever affembles the Irifh, difturbs them ; difturbance foon coalefces with treafon, and the fuicide avarice that drives the peafantry to combine, precipitates them to rebel.
XXXIV. Tythes-the pretence therefore and caufe of an hundred infurrections-belong to this part of the fubject. A tax more vexatious than oppreffive, and more impolitic than either : vexatious, becaufe paid directly and in kind, at unequal and fluctuating rates: impolitic, becaufe it is vexatious-becaufe a people, unanimous in this alone, declaim againft it-becaufe it might be replaced by a more equal, certain, and fatisfactory impofition.

But they are not unjuft-not even oppreffive-rather profitable to the tenant, computed as a tenth in his bargain, feldom amounting to a twentieth in his payment. Nor are they levied from the popifh peafant, for the protefo tant parfon. By the peafant, popifh or proteftant, they are not in fact paid; for his head-rent

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is always diminifhed by more than their amount. Thofe who occupy tythe-free lands, pay, in the encreafed rent, a double tythe hence follow, that tythes are really the contribution of the landlords ; and that to abolifh them, without condition or fubftitute, would be a direct donative to the rich, at the expence of the clergy and the poor.

If abolifhed, they muft be replaced, or the church eftablifhment overthrown-the latier alternative I difmifs from my thoughts : and fhall only confider of the fitteft fubftitute. I difre-gard--as an obftacle--the divine origin of tythes; and difallow the claims of the church to them, as the hereditary property of thofe, whofe clerical character is not itfelf hereditary. In Levi's family, it might be juft, that tythes fhould defcend, becaufe the priefthood did; but here they areas they fhould be-the property of the ftate, that pays its ecclefiaftical, as it does its civil, military, and fifcal officers, with equal powers of change, modification, and controul.

It has been propofed to replace them-by " $\approx$

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commutation for glebe," impracticable from its complication ;-" a corn rent," more oppreffive and vexatious than the prefent evil ;-" an acreable land-tax," lefs objectionable, but unfatisfactory and unequal, as computed on the unalterable meafure, and not on the various and fluctuating values of land.

I propofe a fyftem-not perfect perhaps, but preferable. A poundage upon all rents; not of a tenth, perhaps not a twentieth, probably of a thirtieth or fortieth.

The clergy, in great towns, are amply and cheerfully paid, by a rate on the eftimated value of each houfe. My propofition would improve and extend this fyftem over the whole country.

In 1787, an intelligent prelate computed the average of each clergyman's annual income, at 133 l . 6 s . I will fuppofe it now to be 2501 . the benefices fewer than 1200 -the ecclefiaftical eftablifhment lefs, therefore, than 300,0001 . But 6d. in the pound-one-fortieth-on the rent-roll of Ireland, would produce 500,0001 . A
fum adequate to the payment of all the clergy, proteflant, catholic, and diffenting.

I pafs over the details, I truft practicable, to arrive at the refults, certainly beneficial-the peafantry relieved, at leaft appeafed - the landlord fecured - the proteftant clergy amply indemnified - the catholic priefthood, the fervants of the Britifh empire, not of Rome, their power of good encreafed, of evil deftroyed, and their prefent precarious and illegal livelihoods replaced by a conftitutional and honourable provifion-a chief caufe of animofity eradicated, and the country indulged, improved, perhaps tranquillized, by the extenfion of a principle already familiar and approved.
XXXV. 3. The practical debafement of the lower orders of fociety, is compounded of their ignorance and poverty, already examined-of the injuftice or contumely of their fuperiors, to difculs which, might exafperate thefe, inflame the others, and injure all,-and laftly, of the dearnefs and difficulty of legal redrefs, not to be paffed over unlamented-unreprehended,

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The law has never thoroughly mingled itfelf with Ireland ; there lately were, perhaps ftill are, diftricts impervious to the king's writs-caftles fortified againft the fheriff, and legal eftates invaded by force of arms-contumacies, not frequent indeed, but from which an enquirer will deduce, not unfairly, ordinary difrefpect for the law. This in civil cafes. In criminal - how large a fhare of our jurifprudence-witneffes not unfrequently fuborned, intimidated or murdered juries fubdued-Selons acquitted-In common. tranfactions, the adminiftration by juftices of the peace, fometimes partial-generally defpifed, and unfatisfactory. The body - in England fo effec-tive-of mayors, bailiffs, and conftables, unknown, or known as a jeft. Parifh offices, finecures: The great man and the ftrong man executing, the poor and weak fuffering, the law.

The blame is not eafily apportionied -much is in the pride and folly of the gentry : much in the native perverfenefs of the people : much in the indifference of the government : fomething in an indifereet nomination of magiftrates: more, and moft of all, in the exorbitant taxation of legal
proceedings, by which the law has become, not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The courts are open to the indigent, only as feectators; the peafant, oppreffed or defrauded to the amount of rol.-cannot buy even a chance of redrefs in the lottery of the law for lefs than 601. By victory or defeat he is equally and irremediably ruined. This fyftem muft be amend-ed-abandoned.

I confider the habitual weaknefs of the law, as the firft caufe of the habitual weaknefs of the land, from Henry to George.

The thoughts of thofe who read for ideas, not words, will fill up my outline. Let us hope that the wifdom of the legiflature will foon erafe it.
XXXVI. 4. On the fubject of catholic emancipation all men fpeak and write, but few can-didly-its fupporters and its opponents are equally injudicious or unjutt ; the reafon is, that the parties of the ftate have divided the queftion between them; and conteft it, not for its fake, but their own: it is the means, not the object of the war.

The Roman empire was divided into two factions, and the green and the blue diftracted the civilized world. Did the civilized world bleed for the colour of an actor's coat, when they feemed to do fo? No. They bled for their party, not for its Symbol. Catholic emancipation is the green and blue of Ireland, the colour of the divifion, not the caufe. This, Emmett and Mc. Nevin, liberal, fagacious, and well informed, have admitted: though Keogh, Newport, and Parnel, furious, fhallow, and bigotted, deny it.

How elfe could half a nation fo pertinacioully feek, and the other half refufe an almoft empty privilege ? How elfe can it have happened that every conceffion has produced commotion, and complaint encreafed as the grievance difappeared? Twenty years ago there was much to defire, and to refufe, and the catholic code was fcarcely thought of: there now remains, unconceded, nothing in which the people are concerned. Yet to the catholic code is attributed all our misfortunes. The truth is, the parties have made the queltion, not the queltion the parties.

XXXVII, Let us review and refute the fophifms of both; and the firf of the emancipators. I. 'The merits of the catholics.' What merits? They have been loyal in 1745 and 1797; perhaps in 1798 and 1803; but if they were-as they were not-unexceptionably loyal, what is the merit? Is it a virtue not to be criminal; is, not to rebel, fupererrogation? Admit, however, the merit; has it not been already rewarded? A century of pe. nalties remitted in half a feore of years, is it no boon? Admit, ftill, that the reward was inadequate; We then ank, was the catholic fo much more loyal than the proteftant, that the patter fhould be ftripped of his afcendancy to clothe the former. The conclufion is, that he, who vaunts his loyalty as a merit, has little meritin his loyalty, and that when catholic merit is pleaded againft the afcendancy, proteftant merit fhould be pleaded for it, and a balance ftruck. 2. The emancipators allege ' the force and power of the catholic body,' and apply the argument doubly; offering affiftance-or threatening oppofition. What new affiftance can we have? Two-thirds of our military are already
catholics ; becaufe two-thirds of our population are fo. If the proportion of catholic foldiers and failors be greater, it is and will be fo, becaufe they are the poorer fect; poverty, in all countries, takes refuge in the armies; nor would catholic emancipation make one man in Ireland a foldier, who had wealth enough to remain a citizen. Thus vanifhes their promifed aid. Their hoftility I do not fear. The catholic force can never be united againft the prefent eftablifhments of law and property ; and, if it fhould, it would find that phyfical ftrength is not the beft part of power. 3. It has been alleged that ' all our difturbances have fprung from the hardfhips under which the catholics labour ;' What is this, but to fay, that they are not patient and loyal-that the rebellions and maffacres, which we hoped were political, have all been catholic ; the works of a perverfe and peftilent fect, incapable of gratitude, unworthy of indulgence, unfit for toleration, Such is the falfe and deteftable allegation of the partizan, efpoufing the catholic caufe without affection, and calumniating his friends to dupe his opponents. But let $u s$ not charge upon the catholic as a crime, the frenzy of his advocate.
4. ' The moral unjuitice of the catholic laws' is vehemently urged but not eafily proved. The papifts, when able, proferibed the proteftant: the victorious protefant copied the papift ftatate againft its enacters. We may doubt that this was wife, but not that it was juit. Who pities the inventor and victim of the brazen bull ? ' But it is unjuft,' the catholics add, ' that the minority of a people fhould reftrict the majority, which majority we are.' True, numerically, as two exceed one. But if rank, property, education, induftry, fkill, manners, in-telligence-the effences of a nation-be eftimaed, they are, of Ireland even, a weak minority; as, both numerically and morally, they are of the empire at large.

Finally, their plea fhould be, not of their force, nor of their numbers, but of their moderation, liberality, and innocuous tenets; if they prove the former, without the latter, they prove againft themfelves,
XXXVIII. Their adverfaries have but little advantage over them in the argument. The fear

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of the proteftant, like the complaint of the papift, comes too late. It ftrains at the gnat, having fwallowed the camel.

I can well conceive why L ord Clare would have ftrangled papift privilege in its birth; why he feared to make the firft plunge down the declivity of conceffion; why he refufed power to the numerous and dangerous. But I cannot conceive, why, we fhould now feel this afteralarm; why having rufhed down precipices, we ftop fhort at a flope; why we indulge the populace, and reftrict the few, the rich, the noble, and the loyal.

If we fear the revengeful bigotry of the papift, let us not exafperate, without difarming him. The influence of the gentry and priefthood, let us conciliate or unnerve; we are in a practical dilemma. We mult refume all that we have granted, or grant afl that we retain.

I, confidently, advife the latter courfe.
XXXIX. Before the union, this perfect tole-
ration was impracticable. No fate religion has ever dared to indulge a fectarian majority. France perfecuted the proteftant; England the papitt ; and Scotland both; and all fucceeded. Scotland becoming predominantly prefly-terian--France, catholic, and England, proteitant, perfecution ceafed, and toleration began. Ireland is almoft the only country in the world, which has not had the difgrace and benefit of active perfecution. There was enough to exafperatenot extinguifh. But what early intolerance might have effected, the union has accomplifhed. The eftablifhed now out-number the fectaries, and the catholic affertion of 'force,' and the proteftant of 'danger, are equally abfurd.

Do we fear a papift parliament?-All the freeholders of the empire mult firf become papifts, and then, emancipated or not, the parliament will, and ought to be, papitt :-a papift king ? it cannot be, till parliament and people are papit; then fo fhould the king-papift judges and generals ?-Why not; if upright and fkilful. Their talents we may employ, but their bigotry we cannot fear, till the king is papift, and in that

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event, however we now decide, there mult be papift generals and judges.

Hiftory is called in to deceive us, not to enlighten: to bear witnefs of the popifh tyrants John and James--and to omit Harry and Charles. We forget, too, how we did fubdue John, and expel James, and would again, the imitator of either. Every thing is forgotten, but paffion and party, and a great nation waftes its ftrength and reputation in antiquated follies and differences about nothing.
XL. I conclude, that the catholic lawyer, foldier, gentry, priefthood, and nobility, fhould be admitted to all the honours of their profeffions and ranks : That one torch of difcord at leaft fhould be extinguifhed : That a nominal but degrading diftinction fhould be abolifhed in a nation that fears the name of degradation, more even than the reality: That this fhould be done, becaufe, in politics, words are things-becaufe wifdom relieves real grievances, and policy, even the fictitious:-becaufe evil cannot refult from this good, or, if it can, is counter-balanced, or

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if not counter-balanced, may be remedied, as before.

Trade, when free, finds its level. So will religion. The majority will no more perfiftwhen it is not a point of honour to do fo,-in the worfe faith, than it would in the worfe trade. Councils decide that the confeffion of Augrburg is herefy, and parliaments vote that popery is fupertition, and both impotently. No man will ever be converted, when his religion is alfo his party.
XLI. But expedient as catholic emancipation may be, I think it only expedient, and concede it, not without the following conditions: I. That no violence be done to the conftitution, by forcing from any of the three eftates a reluctant confent. If obftacles arife, they muft be furmounted by time, by patience, and by the law. 2. That the priefthood be catholic, but not popih :-paid by the ftate-approved by the crown-and independent of all foreign controul. 3. That a wide and liberal fyftem of national education be adopted by the legiflature, and promoted by every fect. 4. Either

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that my former propofition concerning voters at elections be adopted, or that 40s. freeholders be disfranchifed altogether, left numerous ignorance overwhelm education and wealth.

But if, at laft, this meafure be found impracticable, others more important and effective may be carried. I have enumerated them : and, I folemnly affert, as my moft mature opinion, that without them, catholic emancipation would not tranquillize the country; and that they, without it, would. From thofe whom the penal laws would ftill affect, we have nothing to fear : from thofe whom poverty, ignorance, and oppreffion brutalize, we have nothing to hope.
XLII. 5. On the defects of the Government of Ireland, this is not a feafon to dilate. Some of them are inevitable, and the correction of the reft cannot be accelerated-may be retarded by difcuffion, what in other times might affuage, would in ours inflame.

Three fources of danger may, I think, withouk encreafe of danger, be noticed.

A quickfand government, that fwallows in its fluctuations every venture of reform. In feven years we have had four Chief Governors and eight Chief Secretaries of different principles and parties, each ftifling the abortive fyftem of his predeceffor by a fyftem as abortive.

In Abbot's active and indefatigable conduct and labour, not intending only, but attempting-putting months to more profit than others years; the Commons may have found their beft Speaker, but Ireland loft too foon her ableft Minifter.

And Wickham, Neapean, Vanfittart, Long, and Elliott, what, in a few months could they attain of information, or accomplifh of reform.

With all their varied and various talents they were impotent ; and years have elapfed and adminiftrations reigned, without any change to Ireland but of years and adminiftrations.

Do we think either that local knowledge is unneceflary to an Irifh Minifter -or that the King can confer it as he does a title ?

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Wavering is weaknefs-weaknefs, in Ireland, wickednefs. Leave with, or fend to us, minifters, knowing us, whom we know : coolly plan-ning-fteadily executing: not a fecretary with every feafon, and a fyitem with every fecretary.

Not to be forgotten is the madnefs or malice of parliamentary factions-furviving one fenatedifturbing another; brandifhing Ireland againit the minifter, not the enemy. She complains not lefs of the neglect of adminiftrations, than of the notice of oppofitions-their falfe friendfhiptheir inflammatory pity-their hollow and hypocritical help.

But a more preffing danger impends from thofe who have as their object or pretence, the repeal of union : to many of the loyal an object : to all the difaffected a pretence.

When the friend of Ireland, the partizan of France, and the enemy of England may coalefce, the coalition is alarming, however fpecious the pretest. Treafon will fhelter itfelf under its loyal affociates, till it dare to caft them off. It will ufe and dupe them.

My opinion I have already delivered, that in our circumftances, the union, whether good or evil, was inevitable. The prefent pofture of politics ftrengthens that opinion. Whatever is not England, muft be France.

Will thofe even who may diffent from this, dare to promife, that the repeal would place us, where we originally ftood; that popular commotion can be put under fettlement-that 1808 will ftop fhort at the unfatisfactory and litigated boundary of 1782 -that the rebellions in Ireland, the revolutions in France, and the fubverfion of Europe, are without confequences phyfical or moral?

If any believe thefe things, they dream: for them there is the bareft poffibility, againft them all the probabilities of reafon and experience.
XLIII. Here I fhould conclude, but I dare not; a folemn impreflion urges my pèn. I have, perhaps, miftaken much-I have omitted much, but that which I cannot omit is the novel and tre-

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mendous peril which furrounds us, moft tremendous becaufe its novelty does not feem to furprize, nor its terror to alarm. The fword and feeptre of Europe are in one hand. Hofts more numerous than the Crufaders-an empire more powerful than the Roman-talents and force, fuch as never before were united-all affociated againft us! The boundaries, the thrones, the laws of nations are changed; all is changed, and fill all changes, and every change is intended for our ruin. This is not our crime-it may be our merit, but it is our crime, and our folly, and our danger that we are not united to avert the ruin-that our rulers are miferably fquabbling about places, and our people difputing about dogmas. The inftinct of brutes unites them in a common danger, the reafon of man feems to render him an eafier prey.

The miniftry has exafperated the oppofition, and the oppofition the miniftry. The Proteftant is not blamelefs with regard to the Catholic, nor the Catholic with regard to the Proteftant. England has not been guiltlefs towards Ireland, nor Ireland towards England. On all fides there
is fomething to be forgiven, and great caufe that it fhould be forgiven. If our internal difcords aid the enemy, we fhall foon have neither parties, religion nor countries.

And let us not deceive ourfelves; all our united force againft that enemy will not be fuperfluous. Let us not hope for external aid; for revolts amongft his tributaries, or rebellion in his empire, whilf he lives, there will be neither ; the obedience of France he has infured by peace, and the fubmiffion of Europe by war:-gratitude and fear will keep peace at home, while he tries his fortune and his talents againft his laft and greateft enemy.

If we are unanimous I do not defpair of the event-if we are not, a miracle only can fave us: our navies alone cannot-our armies cannot, but our navies, and our armies, and union, and toleration in politics and religion, may-I do not fay they will; but if England and Ireland are true to themfelves, and to each other, either their triumph will renovate the world, or their fall leave in the world nothing worth living for.

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Thoughts crowd on my mind, wifhes on my heart, and words to my pen ; but to thofe who think I have faid enough, and to thofe who feel I am afraid to fay more-

FINIS.

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[^0]:    * George Ponsonby.

