

A
L E T T E R

TO HIS

EXCELLENCY

CHARLES MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

Houses of the Oireachtas

A

LETTER

TO HIS

EXCELLENCY

CHARLES MARQUIS CORNWALLIS:

IN WHICH THE

LEADING MEASURES

OF HIS

ADMINISTRATION

ARE CONSIDERED.

BY A FRIEND TO IRELAND.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, No. 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

LAWYER

OF

THE

GENERAL

IN WHICH THE

STATE

OF HIS

ADMINISTRATION

AND

BY A FRIEND TO IRELAND

DUBLIN

PRINTED FOR J. MURPHY, No. 13, GREAT BRIDGE STREET

1831

Houses of the Oireachtas

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L E T T E R, &c.

MY LORD,

HAD it been possible to foresee the difficulties you were to encounter, it would have required even more fortitude than your Excellency possesses, to undertake the administration of this distracted Kingdom. You were in the calm enjoyment of prosperity and fame; You wanted neither wealth nor power; You were master of every thing, which the retrospect

active and successful life can impart to the well constituted and honest mind.—You might have pleaded the “*Spectatum fatis & donatum jam rude,*” but you relinquished your repose for turbulence, for prejudice, for envy and ill-humour.—You voluntarily abandoned the most desirable and embraced the most embarrassing situation. Let vulgar calumny interpret as it may the motives of your conduct, I am persuaded, it originated in obedience to the orders of your Sovereign, and in attachment to the interests of his empire.

Had you been sent for the mere purpose of suppressing the rebellion, your name, which carries conquest in its train, would have been a sufficient security to us and to your warmest friends.—But your arrival was postponed, 'till its violence had subsided, and you found us in a comparatively tranquil state. The principle, however, was still vigorous, and the abettors of it were busily

buſily employed.—Some local diſturbances continued to exiſt, the inevitable embers of ſuch a conflagration; but they were not of a deſcription nor a magnitude for an *army* to extinguiſh. The advantages, we ſhould have derived from your military talents, were no longer to be looked for, and not having occaſion for your prowels in the field, we reposed with confidence on your wiſdom in the cabinet. No common exerciſe of reſolution, no ordinary ſhare of talent were demanded there. It was no eaſy taſk to reconcile the jarring elements of this tempeſtuous climate. On one ſide, a deſperate and deep-laid conſpiracy had inſtigated the rebel to the moſt enormous outrages, whilſt on the other, what had begun in reaſonable reſiſtance, had grown into a cruel and indiſcriminate perſecution, ſo that the peaceable and unoffending who were alike detached from both, knew not which to dread, the bayonet or the pike.

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Here then was a line of much nicety to be drawn. Punishment to the convicted traitor was obviously at once your duty and your inclination; but, I insist, my Lord, that in restraining the excesses of the soldiery, you were obedient to the dictates of humanity and wisdom. Had your heart been silent on the subject, your understanding must have argued, that it was better to reclaim than to exterminate a people, and that doubtful as the event might be, it certainly was well worthy of the experiment. Enough of blood had been spilt to satisfy the most sanguinary, and you saw, that it was high time to stop its melancholy effusion. You thought the burning of a cottage reflected no lustre on your castle, and you forbid the continuation of that mischievous and wicked practice. You were convinced, that houseless hordes of women and of children were far from an accession of respectability or riches

es to the state, and you permitted them to enjoy the comforts and *luxuries* of their cabins. In a word, my Lord, you judged it necessary to relax the severity of the system, which had been acted on, and unappalled by the outcry of the cruel, the bigoted and the weak, you had the magnanimity to persevere in what you felt to be your duty.

Such were your sentiments; such, was the foundation of that lenity, for which you have been so grossly, and I will add, ridiculously calumniated. Attempts have been made to whisper away your reputation, and it has been said, that your intention was not to terminate but to encourage the rebellion, to keep alive the anxieties, the uncertainties and the apprehensions of the loyal, to disgust them with this country, its constitution, and its inhabitants, and finally to force them on a solicitation of that UNION, which is asserted to

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be the grand aim and object of your mission. From aspersions, such as these, even to me, who am in private life a stranger to your Lordship, it will be painful to vindicate your character. What then must your sensations be, filled with the conscious pride of innocence, and knowing yourself incapable to harbour for a moment so flagitious a design! For a long time, I could with difficulty be induced to believe that the charge was seriously preferred. I was willing to ascribe to thoughtlessness and folly, what I had hoped could not be traced to the malignity of man's heart. They, who had been afflicted by such recent and terrifying calamities, should have considered well, before they listened to the possibility of your replunging them into the horrors of rebellion. But in estimating your conduct, all reference to human nature has been capriciously rejected. On the wildest conjecture and without the slightest proof, have you been arraigned as
such

such a monster, as to the honor of mankind, I say, does not disgrace the species. Unfounded as the calumny may be, its circulation has been general. Let me then appeal to the good sense and candour of my countrymen, and ask, do they really imagine that you or the Sovereign you represent would risk the inundation of the land once more with the blood of her own citizens, even for the accomplishment of the most desirable event? have they the common feelings of humanity themselves, and can they think, you would deliberately tear open the wounds, which had begun to heal, and glut your eyes with the incalculable miseries, that flow from civil discord? No, my Lord, in the volume of history, it would be vain to seek a parallel or precedent for such prodigious cruelty.—In forming an opinion of mens' actions, experience is a safe and good guide.—Assuredly then, a reign of uninterrupted benevolence should have exempted the Father of his

people from so severe an imputation. — Scarcely can the base ingratitude to Him be expiated. But to you, my Lord, atonement may be made. I entertain the hope, that whenever those questions shall be proposed and weighed, your much injured and hitherto unfulfilled name shall meet the only reparation its libellers can offer—acknowledgment of their error. Indeed it were a singular and unhappy depravity of mind which would have driven you to our island to blast those laurels, under the shade of which you lay, the pride, the envy and the admiration of your countrymen.

But waving such considerations, conclusive as they may be, and for the sake of argument allowing, that an Union with Great-Britain was the primary object of your administration, I do maintain, that keeping alive the rebellion, so far from having a tendency to expedite and advance, would have endangered, if not totally defeated

defeated its accomplishment. In a measure of such importance, it is well known, that a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland must have acted under the direction of the British Minister. His adversaries may have some suspicions of his disinterested affection for this country, but they can have none of the sincerity of his wishes for the power and integrity of the Empire at large. He has not yet forfeited the reputation of a wise and able statesman; and I cannot comprehend the wisdom, which to strengthen the connexion between the two kingdoms would hazard their entire and eternal separation. The professed object of the rebel, I speak of the leaders, is that separation, is to establish an independent Republic. The professed object of the minister is to prevent if not the possibility of the attempt, at least the probability of success in future. By what strange inconsistency, can it then be argued, when their ends are diametrically opposite; that their means shall be
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so exactly correspondent? that the Government shall have protracted the rebellion, and tolerated the traitor with a view to the projected measure of an Union; that time shall have been designedly afforded to the rebel for recruiting and rallying his forces, for making and distributing his arms, for disseminating and maturing his sedition, when the avowed aim of his activity is the counteraction of that measure, and even the subversion of the Government itself? Really, my Lord, the absurdity of the charge is too glaring for the mind to dwell upon with patience. The situation of this country would alone suffice to shew the dangerous and wicked folly of such conduct. But this is not all. It is not enough, that the intestine treason continued to be formidable, and only waited its opportunity to break out with renovated vigour. The terror of invasion was impending still, and was deferred, but till our people had recovered from their first defeat and were in

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a condition to co-operate with the enemy's design. It is too soon for us to forget what we so lately were exposed to. We are indebted to a varied combination of occurrences for our escape. Were it not for much accidental good fortune at one side, and as much unforeseen ill fortune at the other, Great Britain would not now be occupied in recommending the adoption of a salutary measure, but in rescuing us from the tyranny, the plunder and the cruelty of France. Let then the consequences of rebellion to the Empire at large and to this Kingdom in particular be reflected on; let the intrigue, the vigilance and the power of the enemy be taken into consideration; and what rational or honest man can solemnly declare himself of opinion, that for the attainment of an Union, you would have invited the renewal of a civil war, aided and invigorated by the invasion of a foreign foe? The unnatural alliance may present itself ere long, then shall we have
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too much of melancholy proof, that no man could be solicitous for the situation in which you, my Lord, must necessarily be placed, that no Minister could wantonly have provoked a contest, in which every success would be national misfortune, and every triumph, national degradation.

That so great a military force should have remained here unemployed, has given rise to an infinity of conjecture and an abundance of abuse. The ingenious politician must account for every thing, and cares not at the expence of whose character and feelings, his difficulties are solved. Because the army has not been actually engaged in hostilities, it is concluded, that they are detained, for the purpose of intimidating the people by their presence, and if necessary, establishing the Union by their swords. If they have operated as a preventive body, and by deterring the rebel from insurrection, have saved the country from revolution, so far from being indignant at the armistice,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

night's repose his own; can count upon the honest earnings of a life of industry, unless protected by the vicinity of a military force? The answer is obvious; the wit of man could not devise a project to tranquilise Ireland, circumstanced and situated as she is, but an incorporated legislative Union with Great Britain. You see, my Lord, I entirely reject as an alternative, Catholic Emancipation, and for these simple reasons, that I am firmly of opinion, its consequences would ultimately lead to revolution, and dismemberment of the empire. Its immediate effect might be the restoration of tranquillity, and I doubt not, the press would teem with what it has long been a stranger to, resolutions of Catholic allegiance, and the most solemn pledges of attachment to his Majesty and his government. But, my Lord, to come to my conclusion, we must extend our prospect to a distant day, and consult the history of ages long since past. We might not live to see the representation

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transferred

transferred from the Protestant to the Catholic, but contemplating their wealth and numbers, he must be ignorant or obstinate, who would dispute the certainty of the fact.

The more slow the operation the less dubious the event.—Suppose then a Catholic House of Commons with the purse of the nation in their hands, and it will be no strained deduction, that all the places of emolument and trust will be filled by individuals from that body; it matters not, that the King and House of Lords continue Protestant; the strings of that purse will easily bind them in subserviency to the wills of those who hold it; what then must be the inevitable consequence? The forfeited estates, of which the title deeds and maps are carefully preserved, would be wrested from the present and restored to the descendants of the ancient proprietors; and ample remuneration would be exacted for the enjoyment of them, which we shall be accused

cused of having acquired by usurpation, retained by force, and relinquished with reluctance. Let not this be called a visionary fear ; it is derived from the first principles of human nature. The Indians from their woods will naturally make inroads on cultivated America. A Catholic Parliament would as naturally forget the barbarity, the wretchedness, the poverty, the ignorance, from which their ancestors were rescued by the civilization, the wealth, and industry of English Protestants, and batten and gorge themselves upon the produce of their virtuous and peaceful habits. Power and property are and must ever be inseparable ; the surrender of the former is a donation of the latter. If therefore we emancipate the Catholic, we concede to him our authority and dignity in Church and State, we place him at the head of our armies and our laws, from him we take our Bishops, our Generals and our Judges, we make a silly and perhaps irrevocable transfer of our opulence

lence and pre-eminence, in one word, we revolutionize the Kingdom. It requires not a laboured proof to shew the fatality of this measure to British connexion. It follows from the observations just now made, as a clear and necessary inference. Protestant Great Britain and Catholic Ireland could not remain amicably allied; new and foreign friendships would immediately be sought after and readily procured. Spain continues constant to her faith, and France, tho' she may have discarded all the forms of Religion, still is, in the scale of nations, to be reputed Catholic. Indeed, to go no farther back, from the reign of Elizabeth to this hour, massacres and rebellions, supported by assistance from Spain and France, have been repeatedly resorted to. The uniform purpose of the bloody business was severance from England. There is a rooted antipathy to the English name, which the longer it exists, the more widely it extends, and the more inveterate it becomes. It would appear to be

be inculcated as a tenet in the religion of the Irish Romanist. So long as it shall be possible, he will not peaceably abandon the design of publishing and evincing that abhorrence. Intervals of tranquillity and assurances of contrition have ever been deceitful; they have but served to renovate the strength of one party, and to impose on the credulity of the other; when opportunities for insurrection did not offer, they were with ease created, and every struggle was avowedly or secretly directed at an entire and final separation. Warranted as these assertions are by the concurrent testimony of historians, they need not the confirmation of modern events; but in our days the leaders of the Catholic rebellion with matchless effrontery have openly avowed their object, to be the dissolution of the British connexion, and the establishment of an independent republic. If we refer to the dispatches to the National Convention, the harangues at Francis-street Chapel, and the
declarations

declarations before the Secret Committees, they all are fraught with "damning proofs" of enmity to England, and partiality to France. What formerly was cherished as a distant hope, is now encouraged as an immediate expectation, and the kingdom is actually organized at this moment, on the model of its monstrous revolutionary friend.

Such, my Lord, are my reasons for utterly rejecting, as an alternative to Union, what is termed emancipation. They are derived from the nature of man, and the history of ages; and on that account, after mature deliberation, have carried with them conviction to my mind. I have written unreservedly on the subject, without intending to exasperate the rebel; my wish was to arouse the Protestant and Loyalist to a recollection of their danger; and here let me take occasion to remark, that an unaccountable degree of delicacy has been observed to the Catholic, on the discussion of the Union.

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He has no claim to compliment from the Parliament of Ireland. His machinations and his conspiracies, have reduced the kingdom to her present situation, and have generated the necessity of that measure, which may probably be productive of much further embarrassment. I know that among that body, there are many of the most high respectability, who have been foremost in the service of their King, when the rebellion raged, and are ready to take arms when called upon again:—They will not be offended at the freedom of my observations; when they reflect dispassionately, they will subscribe to my opinions. Should this conjecture be fallacious, I must then reluctantly pronounce of the indignant, that though prudence or timidity may have arrayed them, still treason lurked beneath the garb of loyalty. I have not conjured up this question, as the creature of my prejudices or alarms. The popular, democratic cry is, the country never can be quiet, until you emancipate the Catholics.

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It has not been specifically presented to the parliament of this year, but sufficient allusions have been made, to justify the apprehension of its revival. The period may not be remote, when it will be forced upon our fears, and therefore am I the more anxious for the adoption of the measure, which was submitted to our understandings. On the merits of that measure, I have declared my motives for declining to descant; to shew that a Union is indispensable to the protestant ascendancy, and consequently to a continuance of the British connexion, is all my argument demands. That, my Lord, is so obviously deducible from what has been already stated, that I shall spare you the trouble of a needless prolixity. It has been often ascertained, that the Catholics of Ireland, compose about two thirds of its entire population; it is equally true that they of Great Britain, cannot be estimated at so much as a two hundredth part of its inhabitants. If then all the subjects of our

Sovereign

Sovereign were to constitute one common people, the proportion between the members of the two persuasions, would be nearly as six to one in favour of the Protestants. The Catholics, it is presumed, would be satisfied with a participation of the power of the state, and a monopoly would be no longer necessary to the security of the Protestant; the causes of disquiet being once removed, a community of interests would be established, and the jealousies of centuries be buried in oblivion. A mutual confidence would be happily maintained, controversy would be confined within its proper channel; it might serve to stimulate ingenuity, but never to unsheath the sword. What though the hierarchy and establishment be Protestant, the Catholic pastor will cheerfully submit, and will be recompensed deservedly for the propriety of his demeanour, by a competent and well secured provision. The imperial parliament will be open to all denominations, and all will have an

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equal

equal opportunity of representing their riches and displaying their abilities. Every invidious distinction will be abolished, and the universal emulation will be to perpetuate the connexion between the sister kingdoms, and to eternize the glory of the empire at large.

This, my Lord, is a delightful prospect, on which the imagination of every good and honest citizen must dwell with pleasure; it is one which the enactment of an Union is adequate alone to realize. It would be loathsome now to look on the reverse; let it be remembered, that things cannot remain as they are; let the political posture of those islands be considered; let the consequences of Catholic emancipation be weighed, and let it not be forgotten, that the decrees of nature are irreversible—and where is the loyal Irishman who will not fly to incorporation with Great Britain, as the only refuge from rebellion, and the certain purchase of prosperity?

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You see, my Lord, I take not into calculation, the anxious apprehensions entertained by some of accumulated debt, additional taxation, contracted commerce, and reduced revenue; nor yet the frantic rhapsodies, which would convert the capital into a desert, and its inhabitants to beggars. I pass these by, because if they were even founded on probability, with me they vanish as subordinate and secondary considerations; I had rather contribute the last guinea I possessed, to the general exigencies of the empire, than exist thus upon sufferance, in momentary terror of plunder by the Irishman, or requisition by the French. The democratic dreams of independence disturb not my repose; I thank my God, my intellect is unheated by such phrenzy; for phrenzy I pronounce it. It is the opinion of a learned writer, that on some one subject, every man is liable to mental derangement: In the present instance, I declare it my opinion, that they who argue the possibility of

Irish separate independence, are, so far, afflicted by maniacal hallucination, and ought to be treated as delirious patients. Instead of irons, I would confine them by strait-waistcoats, and I would send them to Bedlam not to Botany-Bay. Without naval protection, we cannot look to commerce, and for that we must pay: is it not better then as an ally, to cast into the common treasury of the British empire, than as a province, into the selfish and rapacious coffers of the directory of France? The interest of the former would be to uphold and invigorate our resources; the policy of the latter would be to impoverish and drain them. If once united to the former, she would presume upon a permanent connexion, and her conduct would be regulated by motives of reciprocal advantage: but if dependant on the latter, convinced of their precarious tenure, and knowing its terminable duration, they would proceed with that unprincipled and ferocious robbery, which has characterized

terised their march through Europe; and after having appropriated every thing that was worth removal, would leave us to deplore the devastation of our once prosperous and happy Island. If we accept the invitation of a sister, we become immediate partners of her power, her glory and her wealth; but if we fraternize with France, most meritedly we perish, the guilty victims of an unnatural embrace. Can we then hesitate how to choose? The day may arrive, when we shall solicit as a boon, that which we have rejected with such contumely. It were well to consider, before it be too late, whether at all times and under every circumstance, such an application will be attended to. The Irish name at present is far from being immaculate; and it is not a very wild supposition, that our rapid advances in atheism, assassination, rapine, and every species of savage barbarism, may shortly by a fastidious Englishman be deemed, no mighty acquisition to a civilized state.

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From the nature of the opposition to a Union, both in and out of parliament, for one, my Lord, I must indulge the hope, that it will not be so formidable, nor so steady as it at first appeared. That the measure is against the sense of the people, I am prepared to acknowledge, and am not in the least astonished. Unfortunately, the people of this country are only to be considered, as an anarchic multitude and a rebel mob; and therefore their disinclination to it is no insignificant argument in its favour. It would defeat the object of their ambition, and interrupt the progress of their rebellion: hence their abhorrence of it; hence the industry, with which the numerous concealed, and temporising traitors in the land, have framed and published resolutions. That desperate band of renegades from all professions, have seized this golden opportunity of propagating their principles; imposing on the honest unsuspecting zeal of hundreds, in one paragraph they have concurred with them

them in sentiments of loyalty, and in the next, committed them with their lives and fortunes to resist a measure, which, by the exercise of a constitutional prerogative, came recommended to the Parliament from the Throne. Had this artful duplicity been in time detected, we should not have been offended by the curious combination of loyalists and democrats, that so lately has cooperated in a common cause. But, I can by no means admit, that the majority of the well-affected and enlightened part of the community are adverse to a Union; the contrary, I am assured, is the truth. Of the representative body, it is impossible to speak with disrespect; without injury to them, or danger to myself, I may remark, that they are men, and as such, the recantation of error cannot be a reproach to them. *Humanum est errare*. If influenced by an honourable enthusiasm, when they thought the liberties of their country were invaded, they waited not to study the slow deductions of
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the understanding, it was a pardonable omission. But it is not yet too late; the primary office of the head is to rectify the delusions of the heart. When next the question shall be submitted to their decision, I trust they will transmit a memorable example to posterity, of how much the noble soars above the vulgar mind, and proudly own themselves to have been mistaken, when obstinacy shall be found fatal to the interests of their country.

You are about, my Lord, to be constitutionally invested with supreme and perfect powers, and to be released from a difficult and perplexing situation. Persuaded of your disposition to assert yourself with vigour, I congratulate the loyal on your ability to act. You had recourse to gentleness and clemency, and have found them ineffectual to extinguish the rebellion. It has again begun to rear its head; you will resort to arms and severity, and your exertions cannot fail to be

be crowned with success. Your Excellency must be prepared then to hear your name reviled for cruelty by the very men, who were most violent in condemnation of your lenity. The same Protean verfality, which distinguishes their conduct, will be attributed to you—the same inconsistency—the same want of method. Let them learn, however your means may have been varied, the unity of your end has at no time been abandoned. The sole and constant aim of your administration here has been, the immediate and permanent restoration of tranquillity to Ireland. You had flattered yourself, that mildness and mercy might have won upon the Rebel and you appeared the messenger of peace—His obdurate heart is deaf to your intreaties—he avows himself irreclaimable—Let him beware the minister of justice. The avenging sword is drawn and bitter retribution will be exacted. What, wisdom tempered by humanity has been unable to accomplish, the anger of in-

sulted moderation and calumniated forbear-
 ance must rapidly effect---Proceed then, my
 Lord, with the wishes and the confidence
 of every truly loyal subject---Under the
 auspices of your protecting arm, Religion
 shall once more be venerable, property shall
 again be sacred---civil subordination shall
 be restored---the laws shall be placidly ad-
 ministered, the expiring glory of the nation
 shall revive, and frightened peace and exiled
 happiness return to our shores---No small
 reward awaits you---The blessings of a
 grateful people and the applause of an ad-
 miring world.

A FRIEND TO IRELAND.

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