

P I T T ' S

U N I O N.

“Up men—be valiant” THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The King's chief Counsellor came forth cloth'd in Orange,
and returned bound and in Sackcloth. THE AUTHOR.

—D U B L I N :—

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Houses of the Oireachtas

P I T T 's
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WHILST the public mind has been busily employed in discussing the merits and demerits of an incorporate Union of the British and Irish Legislatures, I have hitherto remained a calm observer from an idea that the measure would not be pressed, but finding that not likely to be the case, I can no longer continue silent. The subject has been so very copiously and ably handled, that little is left to be said, however, as there are some few objections which appear to me very material not yet insisted on by those who have given their opinion, I shall

proceed to state them as briefly as the nature of the case will permit.

At first sight an investigation of this subject previous to the disclosure of the Articles may appear extraordinary; the want of the specific conditions has been supplied, however, by the publication of a Pamphlet, said to be the production of one of the English clerks belonging to the Castle, and my reasons for believing him to be the Author, are founded upon the ignorance of the writer, appearing through every line of the work, and the insolence of the language, in which the sentiments are delivered.

As there can be no doubt that every benefit, that could possibly accrue from the Union to the Irish nation, has been set forth by the English painter in the most flattering colours, we may conclude *all* the advantages have been placed in a very conspicuous point of view, whilst *all* the evils have been skilfully kept in the back ground. Let us examine the benefits proposed.

Without condescending to pay attention to the flattery, much less threats held out to the nation, as divided into sects; we learn the

the advantages to the Protestant, to be, that the Protestant Establishment, one of the worst evils to the Protestant himself, is to be upheld, the Protestant Ascendancy maintained, and that the number of his sect taken imperially will be considerably increased.

The advantage to the Dissenters will arise from the circumstance of there being a great number of Dissenters in Great Britain.

And the Catholics are amused with a prospect of (what he humourously terms) total Emancipation, and the possibility of gaining political power, through the channel of Protestant Ascendancy, at a time when the monopoly of that power shall have been so considerably narrow'd, as nearly to exclude the whole Protestant body itself: and are not these cogent reasons for an Union?

He next takes a geographical survey of the Island, and informs the citizens of the metropolis, that Dublin will be the residence of a Viceroy, the seat of the revenue, and the head-quarters of the army; as if this was not the case already; but all commercial

cial improvement he defers, till canals are to be cut through the heart of the country, of which we may make some calculation by the time and money, heretofore bestowed upon the one cut to the Barrow.

Ulster is to be secured in a market for linens, and Munster is instantly to rise into opulence, *by the building of a dock-yard at Cork.*

* Of Connaught he is silent, that province being in his eyes either above or below all improvement.

Are not these weighty arguments in favour of an Union?

He next addresses himself to the interests of the nation, by falling foul of the Bar, and whilst he endeavours to make himself popular, and utters the most foul libels on the Bar and Parliament, by representing the former a set of unprincipled hirelings, and the latter a scandalous trade; the only ad-

* Perhaps the province of Connaught has been considered as wholly unworthy of the sublime contemplation of an Englishman, as more purely Irish than any other part of the island; the Irish people having been transported to the other side of the Shannon by Oliver Cromwell, and left to grow there as chance might direct.

vantage he holds out to the people from the reformation of the law, is, *that justice will be administered after the Union as AT PRESENT*, which is a most consolitary reflection, and a conclusive argument in favour of an Union.

As to our morals, it moves not my wonder, that the Author of the Pamphlet in question should have painted them in the most hideous forms, when I consider the company he has kept; we cannot be astonished that the master of the ceremonies to spies and informers, the pot-companion of the redoubtable Dutton—the bosom friend of the immaculate Newell—the confidant of Mr. Bird—the sworn friend of O'Brien, Magan, Hamilton, M'Aully, &c. &c. &c.—the panegyrist of *citizen* Armstrong and *governor* Reynolds—the marshall of infamy should represent the Irish people in the blackest colours. But be it remembered that he took not his drawing from the nature of Irishmen; from a knowledge of his own heart he designed the picture, from a view of what passed under his own eye, and his own direction, he drew the piece.

Good Heavens! learn morals from the mercantile part of England! men whose god
is

is gain, we may indeed learn to eat beef or bacon from them, had we such commodities to put into our mouth, and we may learn from them to swig porter and ale, had we wherewith to buy these articles to quench our thirst, which our gallant wooer will take especial care shall never be the case, and as to manners, good breeding prevents an Irishman from making a comparison.

With regard to the incorporations and Unions of other country's, as arguments drawn from districts on the same Continent, do not apply to the present question, little boots it to take up time in speaking of them. In Scotland we find the nearest resemblance to our own situation but as no one can tell what the state of that country would be at this day, had not the Union taken place, no parallel can be drawn.

As to the story of the Roman lads and Sabine lasses; kissing and friendship was certainly preferable to broken heads, and bloody noses; but as that may be better compared to a quarrel at a fair or a pattern, no great stress in my mind can be laid upon it to maintain the necessity of an incorporate Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

For

For the general improvement of commerce and agriculture, we have but our Author's assertion, to counterbalance which there are two weighty arguments; the unvarying ill-treatment of England to Ireland, and the quarter from which the assertion comes.

Whilst our Author is in a fanciful mood, he compares the Union to a partnership in trade. "If," says he, "a merchant finding from circumstances of situation, want of credit or capital, he cannot carry on his business alone with advantage, will he not be wise to unite himself, if possible, to an extensive and wealthy firme, and to become a sharer in proportion to his contribution of industry and capital, in the secure profits of an established house;" which I will answer by putting another question, first premising *all is not gold that glistens*. If a poor fellow, with only capital or credit sufficient to drive a trade in rags, in the dirtiest lane in Dublin, but who by the profits of that trade was able to support himself and family, would he be wise to unite himself to an extensive and fashionable firme in Bond-street, London, which was to become bankrupt in a day or two.

Or to put another case, would it be wisdom in a young man with a competence, to listen to the pressing and continual solicitations of an old, debauched, besotted gambler, and notorious spendthrift, who had been borrowing every year upon usurious contracts, and had been obliged to put his family on short allowance for the four last years, would it, I say, be wisdom in the former to enter into a partnership with the latter, and embark his competence on such a crazy bottom? In my mind I could never liken the Union with England to any thing but the marriage of a young good-natured poor Irish gentleman, to an old, emaciated, painted English bawd, by whom the poor fellow was inveigled with a promise of a large fortune but *unfortunately* after the indissoluble knot is tied poor Paddy finds himself disappointed with a bag of bones a load of debt.

The Secretary having given many examples of the good effect of Unions; furnishes one instance of the necessity of total separation, how he came to stumble on it I own amazes me. The part of the history of the Spanish Netherlands to which he alludes is thus told. The Spanish Netherlands, under the

the government of the Duke of Alva, being grievously oppressed, humbly petitioned for a redress of grievances, and were answered by an addition of cruelties, which were so often repeated, in the shape of tenders, burnings, rapes, tortures, massacres, free-quarters, military butchery, and legalized slaughter, as to occasion the people to unite as one man, determined to be free or perish in the attempt; and God saw their work, and saw that it was good, and blessed it, and the people were triumphant, separated from the Spanish tyranny, and speedily rose from an impoverished, abject, and insulted province, to the rank of an opulent and powerful nation—and the Secretary approves the *separation*; but what makes his mentioning of this circumstance the more extraordinary is, that all the disciples of Pythagoras now on earth, are agreed that the soul of that identical Duke of Alva in its transmigration has taken up its abode in the body of William Pitt.

He next proceeds to give us an idea of his deep skill in the arts of government, and logic, and in describing a firm and steady administration, *such as the Irish administration for these last twenty years*, wherein he has been

an underling, though he affirms "that it
 "tended to the increase of the nation in
 "population, its advancement in agriculture,
 "in manufacturers, in wealth and prosper-
 "rity, in a degree unknown to the world
 "before;" yet does he acknowledge "that
 "all her accession of prosperity has been
 "of no avail," he says, "discontent has
 "kept pace with our improvement, discord
 "grown up with our wealth, conspiracy and
 "rebellion have shot up with our prosperity."

n.

Minipity for him, and *justice to the people*, I
 will endeavour to solve the enigma by the
 explanation of the monosyllable "*our*,"
 and read the sentence thus, discontent has
 kept pace with *our* improvement, that is,
 with the improvement in the situation of
 the Author and his co-partners, discord has
 grown up with *our* wealth, that is, with
 the riches of the English Clerks, conspiracy
 and rebellion have shot up with *our* prof-
 perity, that is, with the prosperity of the
 Secretary and a rapacious faction.

Conceiving contemptuous silence to be the
 best answer to his insolence, and his own
 pamphlet the best reply to his ignorance, I
 do not purpose to waste your time, or tire
 your

your patience by more comments on this Author, but shall apply his own observation on the gentlemen of the Bar to himself and his work, that the very reasons, which make the Secretary advocate an Union, are good motives for our rejecting it, and that the reasons set forth in his book to induce the Irish to embrace the Union, are conclusive arguments against the measure, for which assertion I appeal to the work itself; in aid therefore of his arguments I shall submit a few considerations to prove how little short of madness it would be in all ranks and degrees of Irishmen to consent to a surrender of Irish independence, which, *such as it is*, may peradventure presently be exerted to the advantage of the country, in doing which I shall not follow the example of the English Secretary, and presume to insult your understandings by flattery, nor your spirit by exciting alarm: to your uninfluenced good sense alone I appeal for the counter-action of this ruinous project.

The greatest grievance Ireland labours under is the absentees: without much sagacity we may venture to foretell that not one of that class before will take up his residence in Ireland after the Union, and that in addition

dition to the Lords and Commons attending Parliament, great numbers of stragglers will emigrate to England, and as every emigrant would render the society of Ireland more and more disagreeable to those remaining, we may fairly conclude that none who could bear the expence of living in England, would stay behind, add to this list, all who sought advancement or pleasure, especially the pampered and highly paid clergy (there being no men of more fashion, or who delight to bask more in the sunshine of a court) would take wing to London, on two inducements, as being the fountain from which preferment would flow, and the place of all others where they could spend with most comfort and luxury, the fruits of poor deserted Ireland's toil and labour. The drain of absentees being always open, it requires no great skill in political economy, to conjecture how it must fare with a country, labouring under such a weight; a weight more than sufficient to counterbalance any advantage derived from commercial regulations, were such in the contemplation of the projectors, which trust me will never be the case, unless, you pay more than they are worth for them by additional taxes.

It

It may be objected, that in a national point of view, the absence of such men, as I have described, would be attended rather with advantage to a state. I allow their room would be preferable to their company, as men in as much as we should get rid of so many debauchers of the morals and scoffers at the first symptoms of public spirit in our youth. But when it is recollected that these drones carry off, and annually exhaust the honey of the laborious Irish bee, and that they will be replaced by other drones called soldiers, as debauched and more vulgar, the objection vanishes like a shadow, whilst the evil stands confessed.

Commercial aggrandizement in general terms is supposed to be the consequence of of an Union. Is any Irishman so absurd as to imagine that (if such really was the case) taxation and improvement would not go hand in hand. If any man ask himself, why Ireland should not enjoy the benefit of her situation, as well without, as with an Union—the commercial jealousy, and the governmental apprehension of England are the answer; how the Union which holds out no advantage to the commercial interest of England, will remove the jealousy, I am at a loss to

to conceive; and as by the incorporation, Ireland is flattered with the hope of becoming more powerful, the difficulty of subjugation, more particularly in the absence of so many men of influence, would be considerably increased, *but the number of additional English forces poured into Ireland, will correct that inconvenience*, and lastly; let us suppose that all the arrangements touching the Union were agreed upon, and the surrender signed in due form, how, or by what means is Ireland to enforce the obedience to, or punish an infraction of the treaty.

As every one knows, that the people of Ulster, are not to be diverted by the argument, of protection and security for their Linen trade, convinced as they are, that it never was *permitted* by their English step-dame for their advantage, and as the stationary situation of that trade is the only boon tendered to that province, we must be excused from insulting the understanding of men, for whom we have an unfeigned respect, and a sincere affection, by offering any thing by the way of answer to so ridiculous a proposition.

As Leinster is promised more *leisure* for the Merchants, Court, Revenue, Army, and
Manufacturers,

Manufacturers, to cultivate the arts, sciences and *amusements*, the proposal speaks for itself, and cannot fail to meet with a ready and cheerful acquiescence from *such stupid, ignorant dolts as the citizens of Dublin, and the men of Leinster.*

In Munster a vulgar idea has been conceived in ignorance, and strengthened by prejudice, that an Union with England would be highly beneficial to the interest of the South ; this error has been founded upon the illiberal notion that it would ruin Dublin, and therefore must serve Cork. That Dublin would be ruined is certain, how Munster was to be advanced was always a secret till now, that it seems the building a dock-yard at Cork is not only to raise that city, but the whole Southern province, in a twinkling, into opulence. A few English agents may be served, but that the dock-yard will work these miracles, I have not faith to believe. The county of Cork, the most extensive in Ireland, containing the greatest number of good harbours of any district of double its line of coast, and the best organized district, as to political monopoly, in the universe, may seem to approve of the measure of an Union if one or two governmental leaders order a certain description of men amongst them to do so ; but as these are only as a drop of water compared with the ocean, to the

people, adverse to the measure, should this business come to dragooning*, which is not at all improbable, *the resolution* of the addressers will avail but little. The people of the county of Cork, (from the very circumstance of the uselessness hitherto of their commanding situation for trade, by means of the tyranny of England) have the best practical reason of any part of Ireland, for putting no trust or confidence in the professions of Britain—they well know their advantage never was, and they were convinced before they heard of the dock-yard, it never will be considered—they know, that not their interest, but the inclination of the mercantile interest of England will be consulted. That this *mighty* scheme of the dock-yard would be of the least service, even to Cork and its immediate neighbourhood remains to be proved†. How it will serve Limerick, Waterford, Youghall,

* It is probable that recourse will be had to the bayonet—It is acknowledged by the Author of “*Verbum Sapienti*,” (the same Castle Clerk to whose work I have heretofore appealed) that the only obstacle to making use of force to cram this cake down our throats, is least “it may be ill-relished by England:” beside, why the necessity of pouring foreign troops into Ireland at this juncture, but on the emergency of force. We have had intelligence of a Secret Expedition being planned in England—Where to think you?—What for think you?—The Author of Coercion has declared within these ten days, that 40,000 English soldiers should be in Dublin at the time of agitating the question of the Union.

† Cork is at present a great commercial city—was a dock-yard *really* to be built there, if we may be allowed to judge of the future by the experience of the past, we may venture to affirm, from the examples

Clonmell, Kinsale, Bandon, Carrick, &c. &c. we have not been informed, and it baffles all conjecture. On these considerations, I ask the people of Munster, if they are satisfied to have every chance of future aggrandizement left to the charity of five hundred and thirteen Englishmen, forty-five Scotchmen, one hundred of the most corrupt of the Irish nation; but whose will, for their benefit, supposing them otherwise, would avail nothing; and though last not least, the charity of the English cabinet, by which Ireland has been invariably insulted, and impoverished, and which must humour in future, as heretofore, the passions, prejudices, and illiberality of the mercantile interest of Britain.

As for Connaught, it has not entered into the contemplation of the projectors.

The gentlemen of the Bar have answered for themselves: and as it is not my intention to harrow up sectarian feuds and distinctions, I shall be silent on that head.

Having now said so much, and proved, I trust, that commercial regulations for the benefit of Ireland, form no part of the intended plan, I shall endeavour to account

of Portsmouth, and Plymouth, that commerce would soon desert that port as long as the expedient is to be sorted to of impressing seamen to man the British Navy. A Naval station must prevent merchantmen from entering its precincts. It will operate to frighten away the commerce now possessed by Cork, instead of inviting an increase.

for the project in another, and I think the true way. When the present condition of the empire, the peculiarly critical situation of Ireland, the tremendous war in which England is engaged, are considered, one is naturally led to think, that an extraordinary time has been chosen for effecting a design, which should more properly be the work of peace, harmony, mutual trust and confidence—those who at such a time as the present, could ever provoke a discussion of the subject, must conceive that an incorporate Union of the two Legislatures of the two countries would work like magic, and in a talismanic manner, heal all our differences and animosities, and scatter content and plenty over a gloomy and impoverished land, but I shall show you that the time has been made so horrible as it is in Ireland to accord with the horrid deed, Pitt has made the time, Pitt has planned the deed, and will not “take the present horror from the time that now suits with it;” mankind have different modes of working the same ends, Pitt’s manner of working an Union is to be found in the annals of the Irish Parliament since the *question of the Regency*, wherein the acts committed by *his management* at, and since that period, are recorded.

In the year 1793, the proprietors of the Irish representation, having conceived puny

hopes, of being able longer to usurp a power incompatible with the interest of the people; had it seriously in contemplation, to yield a moderate reform, to the temperate wishes of the nation: accordingly we find a committee was appointed to take the measure into consideration. About this time happened the defection of Dumourier, which caused so great an alteration, in the disposition of the Irish Commons, as to induce them to change their plan, and hold fast their power, committee after committee, to the number of ten or eleven, being appointed to examine the state of the representation, made no progress, and the Parliament was prorogued after having first passed the notorious convention-bill. The cup which was raised with no good grace, and held for a while in a tantalizing manner to the lips of the people, being dashed to the ground in defiance, and with insult, mutual jealousy, and mutual disgust, between the people and Parliament unhappily took place. By the convention-bill, the meetings of the society of United Irishmen, which were heretofore public, henceforward became concealed, but with so much increased ardor, that the body of the Union soon swelled to an enormous size, in such rapid succession did sanguinary acts of Parliament, and ille-

gal military and magisterial outrages (which were regularly indemnified) follow each other, and so utterly did the people feel themselves bereft of all hope, by free quarters and the burning of their houses, that no longer able to endure the weight of their accumulated burthens, suffering their passions to get the better of their prudence, they unfortunately broke out into acts of open insurrection—to this height Pitt was enabled to bring matters, by a passage in the test of the United Irishmen, binding the members of that society, “to persevere in their endeavours, to procure a full, equal, and adequate representation of all the people of Ireland,” which, militating so directly against the borough owners, determined them, with the aid of the machinations of Pitt’s Irish coadjutor, the Author of Coercion, to resist every measure tending to conciliation. The insurrection being the unequivocal proof of cordial hatred, kindled and fanned into a flame by Pitt and his accomplice, between the people and the Parliament, was deemed the most proper time for proposing this scheme of the Union, the proprietors of the representation were told, and felt the full force of the intelligence, that they must exterminate or reform; the former being tried and found an unprofit-

able game, and the latter being deemed not only inexpedient but inadmissible, in as much as they were given to understand, by one good-natured friend or another, who dreaded a conciliation between the people and the Parliament, that any concession would be considered by the former to proceed rather from the fear than the justice of the latter, an incorporate Union is therefore to be resorted to as a means of putting demand out of the reach of the people, and concession or rejection out of the power of the Parliament.

This is the real state of the case—on this basis and this only, does the Union stand—I conjure the Parliament to consider well, before they surrender, (without the possibility of recal) even their nominal independence, which may become efficient whenever they think proper to exert it, and let not that Belial, that apostate Pitt, who never spoke but to deceive, nor smiled but to betray, succeed to our undoing, though parties have risen to such an alarming height in Ireland, good humour and harmony may speedily take place of discontent and discord—some plan of moderate reform, agreeably to the wishes of all parties, may be adopted——

“ Better bear those ills we have,
 “ Than fly to others we know not of.”

There are two kinds of revolution, calm and tempestuous; of the former we may entertain a reasonable hope, by *avoiding* the insidious snares of Pitt; to prevent the latter, which is inevitable, should the consummation of the intended Union take place, I now raise my warning voice—

Countrymen, the English minister has unhappily but too well succeeded in drawing your attention from the Parliament, by which he hoped you would be glad to get rid of them on any terms. Should the present system of barefaced venality and corruption continue, it signifies but little whether the Union does or does not take place, in the conviction that it must shortly cease—I deprecate the measure.

Let me then invite all orders, ranks, degrees, and parties, to lay aside all senseless, stupid feuds, and animosities, to cease to cut one another's throats, to the unspeakable delight of our step-mother, to discomfit Pitt and his projects, to uphold our metropolis, to prevent our provinces from being desolated by Bastards, tythe-gatherers, and tax-gatherers—and poor Ireland from becoming a military station for English soldiers.

THE END.