

NO FLINCHING

OR A

PERSEVERING OPPOSITION

TO THE

M E A S U R E

OF AN

INCORPORATE UNION,

STRONGLY RECOMMENDED

BY AN

EMINENT BARRISTER.

Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.

HORACE.

Some praise the UNION, and extol the MAN
Whose comprehensive Mind devis'd this Plan
To crush fell DISCORD and her ruthless Train,
And give a bleeding Country Peace again —
Whilst others deprecate the bold Design,
And Heart and Hand against the Measure join:
See in the Plan the Source of future Evil,
And send its GREAT CONTRIVER to the Devil.

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1799.

Houses of the Oireachtas

P R E F A C E

BY THE EDITOR.

WITH much difficulty I have prevailed upon the Author of these pages (who is a very eminent Lawyer) to give me his manuscript and allow me to publish it.—He had determined to throw it into the fire, not from any fear that it would be thought very inferior in style or matter to several publications against the measure by the Gentlemen of the Learned Body of which he is so great an ornament, but to use his own words “because he was afraid he was offering his goods for sale the day after the Fair.”—But when I mentioned to him with what avidity the political productions of his Brother-Barristers had been bought up, and what deference had been paid to their opinions, and hinted, besides, that in the present state of the public mind it could not possibly do any harm, and *might do some good*, he gave me his work.—

work.—I urged him indeed very strongly to prefix his name to it, assuring him, that the Bar would think it *very singular if he did not*; this however he would not hear of, and I felt myself so well satisfied at being allowed to send it to the Press upon any terms, that I did not urge him any further, and if I am not very much mistaken, I shall receive the *hearty thanks* of every determined Anti-Unionist for becoming

THE EDITOR.

Dublin, Nov. the 14th, 1799.

NO

NO FLINCHING,

&c. &c. &c.

IT will certainly be thought not a little presumptuous in me to attempt to discuss the great measure of an Incorporate Union, after the very *able* and *eminent* men of my profession who have already obliged the good people of this Kingdom with their thoughts upon that momentous Question. I certainly should not obtrude myself upon the Public at present, (warranted as I might be by the example of the learned body to which I belong) were I not thoroughly convinced, that the labours of my Anti-Unionist Brethren have not produced those *lasting* impressions, which were naturally to be expected from such able and well-written publications, and did I not besides perceive, with *infinite concern*, that the Horror of the Union,

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The

The * KOINONIAPHOBIA with which so many were once affected, has considerably abated during the last very wet Summer; should it be suffered entirely to decline, *all will be lost*, and notwithstanding the opposition which has been made, The Union will be carried, (*I shudder at the thought*) with the approbation and consent of all the thinking and loyal men of this Kingdom.

I lament, very much, that I should be compelled through principle to step forward and oppose this *terrifying* measure, whilst so many gentlemen of our party, who are much more equal to the Task hang back; But when a very *ill-secured* house is beset by a bold and determined band, it is then no time for the family within to debate, which is the fittest person to run to the window and *alarm the neighbourhood*.

Considering it therefore of the utmost necessity to give a fillip to the *declining enthusiasm*

* This, although a new complaint in Ireland, raged last winter and spring in this metropolis, with as much violence as ever the Yellow Fever did in the West Indies.—Our medical people know very little of the mode of treating it, nay, have not ever a *proper name* for the malady.—They must feel infinitely obliged to me for finding a single term to express it, which I have composed of two Greek words ΚΟΙΝΟΝΙΑ, Union, and φοβος, to be frightened out of one's wits.

of

of my good friends the Anti-Unionists, and above all, to rouse the "noisy Legions of the Bar," to whom the country is already so highly indebted, I have resolved upon the most mature deliberation, to sit down and *recapitulate* for the information of my countrymen, the several very *solid* objections which have been offered, and to *refresh* their memories with the *Unanswerable* arguments which have been so ably urged against the measure of an Union, principally by the gentlemen of the Profession to which I have the honour to belong. So various are the arguments *upon our side* of this Question, that I am at a loss which to select first, I shall therefore state them as they offer themselves to my recollection without any methodical arrangement: And although some of them may have been refuted by our antagonists, yet, I have too good an opinion of those who are on my side to entertain a doubt, that they will continue to urge them in conversation and all private companies with as *much vehemence* as ever, for I trust they think with me, that it is as dishonourable to give up an argument because it has been refuted, as to desert an old friend in distress.

I repeat then with earnest warmth, a question which our party has *often* asked, "What security can we have that the articles of the projected Union will be inviolably kept? Did

not England break through her compact with Scotland? Was not the malt-tax an infringement?"—This is a most *triumphant* argument! These are puzzling queries to the generality of arguers whom one meets with in private societies, and therefore, I would recommend it to every enemy of this measure to have them at his fingers ends. Not every listener to conversations and debates upon the Union is a good historian. But if *unluckily*, any gentleman who had read and remembered Burnet should quote him as an authority, and insist, "that as the Treaty between the two Kingdoms stipulated, that no duty should be laid upon *malt during the war*," it certainly implied that a tax might be laid upon that article as soon as hostilities ceased between England and France—and that even the most violent of the Scots admitted, that "the Peace was as good as made, and was every day expected"—assert in answer to him with all the vehemence in your power, that the duty was laid on before the peace was *signed* or *proclaimed*, which was an infringement of the *letter* of the act, (the less you say about the *spirit* of it the better;—After this, to use the language of our good friends the French, can we ever trust the *perfidious* English? And altho' I know very well, that nearly a century has elapsed, and no other instance of violation of the terms has occurred, what does that signify to a *good* and *warm* arguer? one example is as good

good as a thousand, and from it a *candid* and *well-founded* conclusion may be *fairly* drawn, that these political zealots the English, will never keep faith with Irish Hereticks!

Another strong 'vantage ground upon which we stand is, " that Imperial Ireland will become an humble, dependant Colony." Is there a *true Irishman* whose mind does not revolt against a state of such humiliation? The advocates for this measure will *dare* to tell us our country is torn by religious factions, that Conspiracy and Rebellion have stalked through our land with gigantic strides, whilst our fields have been moistened by the blood of our countrymen, and the darkness of the night illumined by the blaze of gentlemen's houses, towns, villages and cottages on fire: That the Peasants of our country, *led astray* by religious enthusiasm, perpetrate *murder* and call it *war*; that had it not been for the assistance which we received from that very Nation with which we now refuse to unite, and stand or fall by her fortunes, * some of the

* Were we to remember the defeat of Bompert's Squadron off Tory Island by an English fleet, the assistance which we derived during the rebellion from the Scots and English Fencibles, and the gallant offers of service (some of which have been accepted) from the British Militia, we might be accused of departing from the *true* old Proverb, that " eaten bread is soon forgotten."

loudest

loudest declaimers against the measure of Union would not be conscious of what is at present passing behind this side-scene on the great theatre of Europe; and above all, that this ill-fated country has hitherto been “ a back door to the intrigues of France, * and that an Union alone can shut this passage and secure our safety.”— Answer these *visionary declaimers* in the language which Milton puts into the mouth of the great enemy of mankind, “ Better to *reign* in hell, than *serve* in heav’n.”

Let them tell you in vain, “ Scotland has ceased to be a turbulent, weak and divided Kingdom, and is now a part of the greatest empire in the world; that at this day she is eminent in men of letters, and flourishing in arts, her once restless Clans now fighting the common cause of the two nations, instead of cutting each others throats, that she enjoys her religion undisturbed, and that her sons are filling the highest civil, naval and military employments in the state.” Reply,—that to counterbalance these advantages, Scotland has ceased to be an Imperial Kingdom, that she has not any longer a separate interest, no separate PARLIAMENT, no stage for needy but enterprizing political adventurers to exhibit upon. Ask him also, with a look conscious of the triumph of your argument,

* Burnet.

can the peace of the Country or any commercial advantages which we may gain, compensate us for the Loss of the * TRADE OF PARLIAMENT? !!!

It may be expected, that as a Lawyer I should say something of the incompetence of our Parliament to enact this measure;—I cannot, therefore, however I may wish it, pass over this part of my subject.—Certainly, this is not the strongest ground upon which we stand, as there are to be sure some authorities against us; yet, even in a hopeless cause, a warm advocate will find something to offer upon the other side of a question.—I need not be told, that Sir Edward Coke, (an *obsolete* author, who lived in the reign of Henry VIII. at a time when the established religion and succession to the crown was altered) has asserted, “that the power and jurisdiction of Parliament is so absolute and transcendent as not to be *confined within any bounds*,” and that a modern of the name of Blackstone, (who was never yet set up as an authority) *talking* of the Parliament, says, “that it hath sovereign and *uncontroulable* authority, and that the

* This is a much more lucrative branch of business than the sugar or provision trade: nearly SIXTY Gentlemen of the Law are at present *doing very well* in this line, many of whom (upon the passing of the Act of Union) must be declared Bankrupts. — *Quis talia fando temperet a lacrymis?*

constitution

constitution hath entrusted it with *absolute* and *despotic* power," and lays down other such maxims, which will never go down in these *enlightened times*: In spite then of such authorities, I answer without any diffidence or embarrassment, that I care not a drop of Ink for these opinions, as the doctrine of representative legislation is much better understood *at present* than in the times of Sir Edward Coke or Mr. Blackstone, though he *did publish* his book after the Scots-Union took place! Besides, an ingenious Foreigner, Mr. De Lolme, who wrote upon the English constitution, has declared with some pleasantry, "that Parliament can do every thing, *but* make a man a woman, and a woman a man," which, I insist *upon*, is a proof that *its powers are limited!* and further, I contend, that "an Elector delegates his authority to his representative for a limited time, and that he (the representative) has no right to give it away for ever;" but even should not *this argument* satisfy, it is some advantage in conversation that every one has not a ready answer to it.—But after all, I recommend it as the *shortest* and most *prudent* way to deny point blank the competence of Parliament to enact an Union; and though an Unionist-arguer may overwhelm you with authorities on his side, is that any reason that you should give up your opinion?

"He that's convinc'd against his will,

"Is of the same opinion still."——

Having

Having passed in safety over this surface, which I confess, I was afraid would like one of our own bogs have sunk under me, with pleasure I feel myself once again upon *firm* ground.—Our arguments drawn from the encrease of Absentees are certainly most *powerful* and *convincing*.—Who can deny, that after the Union, at least thirty Lords and one hundred Commoners must spend their winters in London? What an amazing sum of money will be thereby lost to this country! Let no one pretend to tell me that most of these noble personages at present usually spend their summers, with their families at some watering place in England; and that the Union will only make a difference in the *time* not the *length* of their abode in that country; that as contests for seats in Parliament will be warmer than ever, it will be necessary for them by an occasional residence to keep up their interest in their several counties: That the tax upon Income must remind our Absentees (should they be inclined to forget their duty and interest) to return to their homes, and cultivate the good opinion of their constituents; and when religious factions and struggles for ascendancy are at an end, and the country enjoys the blessings of peace and security, then, and not till then, English capital, skill and industry, will emigrate to this Kingdom, and make ample amends for the temporary loss of a few members of Parliament. You will be told also, “ that

Rebellion has driven from every county *Hordes* of Absentees to England, who will never leave that secure and happy land, whilst the *present order of things lasts*; and that the total amount of what they are now spending in England is greater than the incomes of the members of our two houses of Parliament put together." Let these, and a thousand other arguments be offered to prove that these apprehensions from the increase of Absentees are owing to an heated imagination, let no Ante-Unionist who is warm in the cause, ever yield this point: This is our strong Fortress which we must defend to the last: This is the most popular subject of our various Manifestoes. The *Tocsin* of our opposition, the *Telegraph* by which we have communicated our sentiments of repugnance to the measure to the farthest part of the Kingdom,

A B S E N T E E S!!!

This my friends, is the counter-sign of our diminishing host—and let our *advanced guard*, the members of the opposition, disappointed and desperate Politicians, Physicians without practice, Coffee-house Statesmen, frequenters of the Libraries and Reading-rooms in the metropolis, United Irishmen, Orators of small Circles in the Four Courts, Members of the Irish Directory, as they value their interest and safety, pass it from one to another.

I know

I know not how to express the terror with which the prospect of *absenteism* fills my mind: I have thought again and again upon the subject, and am more and more convinced of its *criminality* and *terrible* effects. I have indeed been told by a friend that I push my ideas rather too far upon the subject; If, (as I have often argued) it is criminal and impolitick to spend ones income out of the Country from which it is derived, is it not *equally so* to lay it out in the metropolis, at a distance from the estate itself? and further ought it not to be spent upon the very spot from whence it arises? In short should not every patriotic country gentleman live at his mansion and keep up the good old hospitality of his forefathers, give his meat and drink freely to all his neighbours, and *never stir* from his demesne until he is completely eaten out of house and home?

I come next to consider, or more properly speaking, to *reiterate* the objection "that the British Minister has projected the Union with the sole view of having it in his power to quadruple our Taxes, and that immediately upon its passing, the people of this *happy* country will be burthened like the *unfortunate English*." Under the administration of such a *short-sighted* and *foolish* statesman as Mr. Pitt, this is a most alarming consideration. At present, heaven be praised!

We have the protection of the British-navy without contributing one shilling to its expence, and whilst their proud vessels are riding out the storms of winter before the harbour of Brest, to prevent the French from paying their compliments to us, we are sleeping very soundly in our beds—and although the brave and hardy seamen who navigate them, consume the surplus of our provisions, for which we receive an higher price than any other market could afford us, where I would be glad to know is the obligation? their sailors must eat, and should the English refuse to continue the provision trade with us, let them send to Russia for victuals for the fleet, they may certainly get them cheaper than we can possibly afford them, but in the present state of Europe we know how *dangerous* it would be for England to cultivate a *closer connection* with that power: in a word she is compelled by necessity to take from this country the necessary supplies for her fleets; at present (provided we should enter into a combination to eat three times as much animal food as we do now) we may refuse to supply them whenever we think proper; but when once the Union puts us in her power, we shall lie at her mercy: Then we shall be overwhelmed with taxes upon taxes, not laid on gradually, but at once; The great Financier of England is too *rash* and *hasty* to wait the slow operations of Time and lay on burdens as our commerce extends and in proportion

portion as we are able to bear them; *we* know him too well to hope for such prudence and have only to expect that like the foolish old housewife in the fable, he will kill the pullet to get at once all the golden Eggs.

The next argument which our opponents offer conveys a most insulting insinuation of our want of courage; they tell us “an Union will put an end to the civil and religious contests between the Protestants and Catholicks, and that the latter who are the majority of the people, will never rest satisfied without such a share of Political power, as under the present system it would be impossible to grant to them with any safety to the established religion”—Is there I ask a *zealous, red-hot* Protestant who will hesitate to declare (notwithstanding the horrors of the late rebellion,) that he is ready and willing to fight it over again? What! shall we be afraid of them because we have soundly beaten them? can the tranquility or prosperity of the country give us any satisfaction, if we must be obliged to share it with those, who some few months ago would with pleasure have cut our throats? No, let us rather come to blows again, after what has happened we never can, we never, will be friends.

“ Then

“ Then let this land no longer be a stage”
 “ To feed contention in a *lingering act*,”
 “ But let one spirit of the first-born Cain”
 “ Reign in all bosoms ; that each heart being set”
 “ On *bloody courses*, the rude scene may end,”
 “ And Darknes be the burier of the dead !”

If I have been betrayed into an unusual warmth the *subject* will I hope plead my excuse.—Let no moderate Catholic pretend to tell me “ that he acknowledges the crimes of the multitude of his profession have been very great, and that no excuse can be offered for the horrible cruelties they have committed, which affix an indelible stain upon the members of his religion ; but, that in the nature of uncivilized and semi-barbarous man, in his avarice for power and in the blood-stained page of religious Fanaticism the *cause* though not the *justification* may be found— to prevent a repetition of these calamities (which he sincerely deplores) he conceives an Union the only measure ; that his country to which he is bound by as strong ties as his fellow-citizens of a different religion, can never flourish in peace and wealth, whilst mutual jealousy and distrust nip the opening blossoms of her prosperity ; and that he would ask any candid and dispassionate protestant ; whether he would not if circumstanced as the Catholick is at this day, look forward with pleasure to a change, from which he hopes to derive future advantages ? Besides he begs leave

leave to ask whether, in the present state of the world, when christianity is openly assailed upon every side, it would not be prudent in its professors to make a common cause, forget all distinctive appellations and remember, that they are christians and friends to kingly government opposed to Atheists and Republicans?

Another equally *weak* argument has been drawn in favour of this measure from the present political state of Europe, viz. "that it has become necessary to strengthen the empire and make it as compact as possible to resist the formidable power of the French Republic"—I answer the Interests of England *are nothing* to us that she is not necessary to our well-being and that we are *perfectly equal* to our own protection; and I am sure no SEPARATIST in the kingdom will contradict me in this assertion. Besides I contend the numerous ports and havens with which nature has indented every part of our Coast, shew that we were intended to be a *great and independent* naval power; and were our parliament immediately to begin to encourage the plantation of trees, and enact a law to prevent our peasantry from cutting them down to make pike-handles, we should then in about an hundred and fifty years have timber enough to build ships of war, and by that time our great-great-grand-children may discover mines of Iron (though we have not
been

been able to find any as yet,) now under all these *promising* circumstances to use an expression of very high authority “ the greatest favour which England can do is to let us alone.”

Why then is it continually cast into our teeth that without the fostering aid of England we must sink into poverty, discord and insignificance, and become a prey to any power which will be at the trouble of taking charge of us? why is the loss of the provision-trade hinted to us? and why are we told that we are indebted to England for every glass of small-beer we put to our lips? a Gentleman who knows the resources of Ireland better than any other man in the Kingdom, *assures* us that it is entirely owing to our own folly and laziness that we send to England for Hops, which will thrive very well in this country, and surely after the fine *growing* summer, which we have had, no man who knows any thing of the nature of this plant *can doubt the fact*.

We have been told (and it has been repeated more than once *least we should forget it*) “ that the English market for our Linens (which constitute the wealth of the most flourishing part of our kingdom) is secured to us by a duty of thirty-odd per cent upon foreign Linens and were this to be taken off, the Germans &c. could sell the English shirts and sheeting, &c. at so much lower
a price

a price than we could possibly afford them for, that the immense quantities which we send every year to Chester and other places, would be *returned upon our hands*" and what then? how many expedients might be found out (if we were *put to our wits end*) to counterbalance this inconvenience.—

The Dutch used formerly to bring home great quantities of spice from the East-Indies and in order to keep up the price made annually a very fragrant-smelling fire of two thirds of it, and the remainder they sent to market on their own terms—and might not the Trustees of our linen manufacture be empowered to take an exact account of the precise quantity necessary for *this* Kingdom, fix a price upon this part equal to that which the whole quantity now brings in, and destroy the remainder? !!! The manufacturers would have the same profit as ever, and though their customers might grumble, what could they do? they must either buy or go without shirts, &c. &c.

The Unionists insist, "that when this measure has passed and the country becomes tranquil, English manufacturers with large capitals invited by the happy situation of this Kingdom for trade, will come over and settle amongst us" now let me ask, is it probable that an English trader who now pays one tenth of his income in a lump besides his other taxes will ever live in a country in which

he will not be called upon for above six-pence in the pound towards the maintenance of the state? These people are too much attached to *old habits* ever to give them up! besides a Gentleman who knows more of the matter than any body else has *assured* us, that of the numerous and extensive branches of manufactures now carrying on in England, there are but *four* worth following (of course the silly people who are employed in any other but these, are throwing away their time and labour,) and that of these four, which are (if I remember right) the woollen, cotton, iron, and pottery, not *one* can be carried on with any chance of success in Ireland: For although we have to be sure a little wool, and * pottery-clay has been found

* *These English* are a strange sort of people! They have actually established their great Potteries in a county (Staffordshire) which does not produce any of the *principal* materials for that manufacture! The earth of which their ware is made, is brought from Devon, Cornwall, &c. and some from this country: Flints a very necessary ingredient, are imported from the North of Ireland. *Luckily*, indeed for them, the common clay of part of Staffordshire is of a binding quality, and of this, they make their moulds, called by them SAGGARDS, (properly safe-guards) in which they enclose the ware to prevent the heat of the fire reaching it too suddenly.—Now, I *take it for granted*, for the sake of my argument, that neither this kind of clay, or *any substitute* for it, is to be found in any part of this extensive Island.—*Ergo*, We can never have Potteries in Ireland.—Q. E. D. !!!

in many parts of this kingdom, and although we can import iron, and labour and provisions are cheap and taxes low, what signify all such advantages? The Speaker has told us, "that these manufactures can only exist in *coal countries*,"—and although I may be asked, how it comes to pass (if this assertion be true) that these manufactures do not flourish at White-haven and Newcastle? I answer, that I cannot tell, but am sure the Speaker * *must be right*; of course the want of † fuel in this country is an eternal bar to their success; and as for the great plenty of Turf in Ireland, (as it has never yet been made a substitute for coal) it is of no use but to tantalize, and put us in mind of an irremediable impediment.

We have been told a great deal of the enormous ballance in favour of this country upon her trade with England. The Right Honourable Mr. F——r levels this mountain to a mole-hill, and has *proved*, that it amounts to the paltry sum of ninety-five thousand odd hundred pounds! and shall we, through fear of losing such a trifle, *sa-*

* This Gentleman is beyond a doubt a friend to Ireland; and all parties must allow, has been right *nine* times in ten during his political life.

† There are no mines of coal to be found in any part of this Kingdom!

crifice our Independence? an English Member has been much rallied for an expression which we may use upon this occasion without *any fear of ridicule*,
 “ Perish our Commerce, but let our CONSTITUTION live!!!

An anonymous writer (whose book I have been just now reading, and who *pretends* to derive his information from the Custom-house books,) states,
 “ that the Ballance in our favour is no less a sum than TWO MILLIONS ODD THOUSAND POUNDS.”
 —An amazing difference!!!

It is plain, that a great mistake must lie *somewhere*.—This Writer as well as Mr. F—— quotes also as his authority “ the accounts which Mr. Irwing the Inspector General of British Trade presented not very long since to the English Parliament,” but as the latter Gentleman is supposed to understand the Trade of Ireland thoroughly, and to be the best Arithmetician in the Country, we must not *dare* to attribute the error to *him*, but to this Pamphleteer, who has not thought proper to give us his name, although from his * Tract

* Entitled, “ Observations upon that part of the Speakers Speech, which relates to Trade,” printed by Burnside, Lower Liffey-street, and worthy the perusal of all red-hot Anti-Unionists.

throughout,

throughout, he certainly appears to be no very *contemptible* Accountant.

It has been objected against the Champion of our Party, (whom we ought all to defend whenever *we can*), “that the opinions which he held in 1785, upon the subject of a closer connection with England, are *diametrically* opposite to those which he has this year delivered upon the measure of an Union;” and this has been done with wonderful triumph, as if we were not all very well aware, that men *see reasons* to change their sentiments upon politicks and religion many times in their lives, and that if a Gentleman is of a different opinion upon any subject *to-day* from what he was *fourteen* years ago, it only proves to his honour that he is wiser *now* than he was *then*.*

I must not forget to address myself most particularly to my good friends and neighbours the Citizens of Dublin, who with so much reason are already *frightened out of their wits* at this terrifying measure; and although our party is certainly † strong

* If a man would *register* all his opinions upon Love, *Politicks*, Religion, Learning and the like, beginning from his youth, and so go on to old age, what a bundle of inconsistencies and *contradictions* would appear at last?—*Swift*.

† If it be objected, that Cooks, Milliners, Common-council Men, &c. from their very confined education and habits of life, cannot possibly be competent Judges of a question

strong in Dublin, yet it may not be amiss to *refresh* their memories with the many *solid* and *unanswerable* arguments which have been so ably urged to prove that this measure must be *certain destruction* to the metropolis. — Will any body pretend to deny, that a certain number of Lords and Commoners must spend part of their time in London when the Union takes place? And of course, those vast sums which are now laid out by their wives and daughters upon cards and dress, in milliners and haberdashers shops, upon Dunstable-hats, India muslins, French laces, &c. and by the Gentlemen themselves at the club-houses in the evenings, and at the fruit and ice-shops in the mornings, upon dogs, curricles, horses, &c. (to the infinite benefit and support of the numerous manufacturers in the Liberty) must be most inevitably lost to this city and gained to the capital of the United Kingdoms.—Will not all our Guineas which are now hid, but which will make their appearance after the measure passes, be carried off in rouleaus to England? I know the answer which the Unionists have ready in their mouths for me, “that money does

question of such difficulty and moment as the Union,—
BE IT REMEMBERED, that a flock of geese saved the Capital of the Roman Republic; that it was again preserved from Catiline’s conspiracy by a woman of the town: And some old author (whose name I forget, mentions an instance of a City being saved from surprize by the braying of Asses!!!

not

not constitute the riches of a country or its metropolis, that if it be a sign of wealth in one sense, it may be an indication of poverty in another, and that the circulation of gold and silver is no other way useful, than as it promotes the circulation of industry and labour." That if plenty of Cash made a people rich and great, the Spaniards must certainly be the most enviable people upon the face of the earth, and Madrid the most flourishing capital—Whereas on the contrary the quantity of specie which is annually brought to it from Peru and Mexico, has banished industry and manufactures, and made that people the most beggarly and contemptible nation at this day in Europe.—They will tell you also that the common citizens of Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, &c. cities which are the resort of the fashionable and gay, are in as great rags and poverty as our own; nay, without travelling so far, they will shew you an example *nearer home*, that the quantity of money spent in a place, expensive and luxurious living, and the desirable residence of people of figure and fashion, do not contribute to the *solid* wealth or prosperity of that place. For, although above twenty-thousand strangers resort to Bath during the seasons for drinking those waters, and notwithstanding its situation for trade is as happy as any other in England, yet not one manufacture has raised its infant head amidst all these *encouraging* circumstances.—They will further insist, that when a Parliament was held
at

at Edinburgh, its citizens were poor, whilst at this day they are most opulent ; that its extent is greater and its buildings more elegant than ever, and if we ask how this alteration has been brought to pass, we shall be told, that Edinburgh was very poor when devoted to pleasure and dissipation, and full of people of birth and fashion, (as Dublin thank heaven is at present) but upon their going off to London, then Edinburgh became the residence of rich merchants, extensive manufacturers, and industrious mechanicks.—Fine comfort indeed ! and will any body *seriously* pretend to tell me, that the happiness, prosperity and increase of the mercantile part of our Citizens, can be put into competition with the loss of some part of our nobility and gentry, during even a few months of the year. For my part, I am determined never to suffer myself to be persuaded that it will not be the ruin of Dublin.—Indeed, Limerick, Cork, Belfast, Waterford, Galway, &c. &c. as they have never been honoured by their residence, will not feel their loss, and will continue to thrive, but Dublin, the handsomest City of its size in Europe *must be destroyed*.—And let no body make me lose all patience by telling me that “ the Court of the Lord Lieutenant, the numerous followers of our public tribunals, the residence of the military and students at the university, and above all, the extension of our commerce, and the prosperity of all those cities must influence, and support the

the capital : That all commercial bills, &c. will be drawn upon Dublin, which must ever be the center of exchange between the two countries, and that the metropolis of a kingdom is like the heart of an healthy human body *through which* the current of prosperity must flow to the extremities of the Island and back again." In spite of all that has been or can be urged in favour of the Union, I never will change my opinion, and should I live to see its beneficial effect upon this country, I will doubt the evidence of my own senses, nay, an Angel from Heaven shall not convince me, as I am determined never to relinquish my opposition to the measure, but with my life.*

I am provoked beyond all patience, when I reflect upon the thoughtlessness and apathy of my worthy fellow-citizens, who with *all this mass of ruin* staring them in the face, and ready to tumble upon their heads, are going on exactly as if they expected that things were always to remain upon their present *excellent footing*—at this moment (it is almost *incredible*) new partnerships are forming, new shops opened, and new buildings carrying on, with a spirit and to an extent never surpassed under our most *promising* circumstances—A Builder

* I am indebted for the whole of this *fine* period to several violent and *argumentative* Ant-Unionists of my acquaintance.

D

(who

(who is one of the most eminent in his trade) has assured me, that he has paid within this week fifty-four shillings a thousand for *stock-bricks*, such as three months back he bought for thirty-eight, and that he could not now get in Dublin an hundred of seasoned twelve-feet, three-inch thick planks, under thirty-six pounds sterling, for which he never before in his life gave more than sixteen or twenty pounds—Such is the demand for these articles at this present time! Such *thoughtless indifference* and *want of apprehension* can I believe only be equalled by the Citizens of Paris, who I am told were dancing and singing and as merry as ever, at the very time that the Guillontine was at work from morning till night! Let no one so far *insult our understandings* as to insist, that these are proofs that our citizens see in the projected Union, the sources of future wealth, **THE INCREASE, NOT THE DECAY OF THEIR CITY.**—Alas! alas! what are these but the fatal symptoms of approaching dissolution, the last convulsive struggles of an expiring metropolis? !!!

I have heard it asked by our enemies the Unionists, how We, the descendants of English settlers, who are now in possession of the greater part of the lands of this kingdom, won from the original proprietors by conquest or obtained by grants, &c. &c. propose maintaining ourselves in the enjoyment of them without the strong arm of England?

England? We have been also reminded, that she may think proper to leave us to ourselves, or (should it come to a struggle) espouse the interest of that party which proves strongest and best able to support her influence in this country. We have been desired also to recollect, that at this moment, we have on one side the great mass of the people ready to fall upon us, and deprive us of what they consider usurped property, and on the other, the French, anxious to step in and tear away the bone from the contending mastives. Our answer to this is *spirited* and short; at present we disregard all other enemies but the Union, when we have conquered this, it will be time enough to look about and see what other work is next on our hands; and besides, we desire them to understand, that all considerations of prudence or regard to future times and events are beneath the consideration of the red-hot and hearty Anti-Unionists!

If I have gone so far in my work, without addressing myself in a particular manner to the members of my own profession, I assure them it is not from any neglect, or forgetfulness of the interests of the learned body to which I have the honour to belong, but from a conviction, that in the great army of the Anti-unionists, they are the troops most certainly to be *depended on*; too many of them are well aware of the effects which

this measure will have upon their *particular* interests, to want incentives or exhortations to animate their zeal.—Oh! altered Profession! how short-sighted were those parents who have chosen thee for their sons! The forbidding obstacles which once stopped thy high road to eminence, had been just removed; twenty years of study had ceased to be necessary for the attainment of thy dark mysteries! Fifteen hundred or two thousand pounds at command (the price of a Seat in the Legislature) a moderate stock of assurance, and an excellent case of duelling pistols gave the *lucky* possessor a fair chance of attaining the highest offices in thy gift! Oh! altered Profession! thy short cuts and bye-paths in one fatal moment will be blocked up; no man of *spirit* will hereafter devote his life to thy pursuit! The present studious and laborious practitioners of thy hall, who pore over the *black-letter* pages of thy volumes, note-takers, the first to enter thy dome in the morning, and the last to leave it, will toil their way to thy soft cushions, and sit as Judges in thy Courts.*

Having most *feelingly* apostrophized my Profession, I must next with *earnest* zeal defend its followers from those imputations which have been so *unjustly* thrown out against them.—*We* have been

* What a melancholy prospect to men of real Legal Knowledge, who at present have neither friends, interest, or money, to push them forward!

accused

accused my Brethren “ of connecting ourselves in our opposition to this measure with men, to whom formerly we were ashamed to return the common salutes of good-breeding ;” But are we singular in this respect? Do not Politicians often employ instruments to carry a favourite point, which when gained, they immediately throw aside? and may not men though Bankrupts in name and character in private life,† be very *honest* and *useful* Public-men? But further, we have been charged with “ raising by our manifestoes and resolutions the uproar of opposition to this measure throughout the kingdom, which but for our exertions had never been heard; and that we resist it, not from public-motives, but the private and selfish consideration of the loss of that Parliamentary Influence which we at present possess, and which such numbers of our body hope one day to turn to account.* But the heaviest charge against us is, “ that

† An author of some antiquity was not exactly of this opinion —

Ουδε γαρ ὁ ἰδία πονηρος, οὐκ αὖ ποτε γενοῖτο δημοσία χεῖρος.

Æschines.

* The Chiefs and other Judges are I admit strong friends to this measure, but have we any reason on that account to give up our opinion upon a question, which we are full as good *judges* of? The caution and experience of age can never be put into competition with the fire and fancy of younger

“ that we formed ourselves into a Convention-Parliament with a view of pronouncing a final decision upon a question, which the Legislature of the country was alone competent to accept or reject.—In answer to this, I maintain it, that we had a right to defend our own *interests* by every means in our power, and that with regard to the meeting of the Profession, at which we entered into very strong resolutions against the measure, we had a PRECEDENT of very great antiquity for our guide; and as I conceive it to be a case *very much in point*, and as the BOOK in which I found it, is very seldom to be met with in the Libraries of Gentlemen of my Profession, I hope for their indulgence, if I should quote it at some length—

“ After these things were ended, Paul purposed in the Spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, after I have been there, I must also see Rome.”

younger heads.—Besides, most of these Personages are unworthy of imitation --The head of the Supreme Court in this country from the line of conduct which he pursued upon the *famous* Regency-question, and from the part which he then took, so very *opposite* to that pursued by the majority of his *friends* in Parliament, has proved to us beyond a doubt, that he has been always a man very SINGULAR in his political line of conduct.

“ So

The same persevering spirit and similar motives now actuate the British Minister in proposing an Union with this Kingdom ;

“ So he sent into Macedonia two of them that ministered unto him, Timotheus and Erastus, but he himself stayed in Asia for a season.”

“ And at the same time there arose *no small stir* about that way.”

We all remember the alarm which took place in our profession, upon the first rumour of the intended measure.

“ For a certain man named * Demetrius a

* I should be extremely uncandid, nay more, I should be unjust, did I not declare that I am thoroughly convinced, there was ONE man (who took the most leading part at this meeting) who acted from the purest and most disinterested motives, and an honest conviction that the measure would injure this country. I would tear this page into a thousand pieces before it should be supposed, that I alluded to him. I need not declare what all the world knows, that he is no Demetrius. But as I believe there are to be found in the profession less-venerable characters, whose opposition to the Union is neither more nor less disinterested than the *worthy* silversmiths, I am contented to let the page stand in its place.

silversmiths,

silversmith, which made shrines for Diana brought no small gain unto the craftsmen."

" Whom he called together, with the workmen of the like occupation, and said, Sirs—ye know that by this craft we have our wealth."

" Moreover, ye see and hear, that not alone at Ephesus, but almost through all Asia, this Paul hath persuaded and turned away much people, saying, they be no Gods which are made with hands."

" So that not only this our craft is in danger to be set at nought, but also, that the Temple of the great goddess Diana should be despised, and her magnificence destroyed, whom Asia and the world worship."

" And when they heard these sayings, they were full of wrath, and cried out, saying, great is Diana of the Ephesians."

" And the *whole city was filled with confusion*, and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus men of Macedonia, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the Theatre,"

I remember running myself as well as many others out of breath from the Four Courts to the Exhibition-room in William-street !

Some

“ Some therefore cried one thing and some another for the assembly was confused, and the more part *knew not wherefore they were come together.*”

The first part of this verse is not quite as applicable as the others which I have quoted: We were tolerably unanimous, and considering all things not very *riotous*—the last part indeed, to use a very vulgar Phrase, fits us to a T.

“ And Alexander beckoned with his hand, and would have made his defence unto the people.”

“ But when they knew that he was a JEW, they all with one voice about the space of two hours cried out, great is Diana of the Ephesians.”

There were certainly one or two *Alexanders* at our meeting, who wished to be heard; but when we found out that they were UNIONISTS, we soon stopped their mouths, by roaring “ Question, question, question.”

“ And when the Town-clerk had appeased the people, &c. &c. Acts of the Apostles, 19th chap.

Here the case becomes no more applicable: For I must in justice declare, that no one Magistrate

trate offered to *interrupt* our proceedings ; and at seven o'clock we all went home *quietly*, and with excellent appetites for our dinners !

After this precedent which I have quoted at some length, and commented upon with so much care and exactness, let no one any longer presume to accuse us of *Novelty* in our mode of proceeding upon this momentous Question : I hope I have *defended* the Anti-Unionists of my profession to their and the public * satisfaction, and I trust, my labours will not be in vain.—Our party will learn from these pages, how to resist this measure by arguments, before they have recourse to the *ultima ratio*, (which some of them very *properly* threaten if forced to) and the Government will see the folly of ever proposing it again, in opposition to all the rank, the greater part of the landed and mercantile interest, and no small share of the talents of the kingdom.†

* If I have compared the opposition to the Union with that made by the *worthy* silversmiths to the introduction of Christianity, I hope for the pardon of all serious Divines.—Certainly many grave and thinking Laymen look upon this measure as the only means of salvation left for this kingdom.

† See the *few obscure* names subscribed to the Declarations in favour of an Union from Counties, Cities, Towns, Corporations and Boroughs, &c. &c.

Friends,

Friends, *Brethren*, Citizens, Countrymen, Anti-Unionists “lend me your ears.” After the *glorious uproar* which we have raised, let us not relax our exertions. Our inactivity during the Summer has *abated the ardour* of our friends, already vast numbers of our troops have gone over to the other side.—OUR CAUSE is in danger! Raise then again the standard of opposition, let every man run to his post, let the *parole* be given to distinguish our ranks, and all our *Leaders* cry, Soldiers, NO FLINCHING. !!!

F I N I S.

Friends, Brethren, Citizens, Countrymen, Anti-Slaveryists, "lend me your ears." After the "re-formation" which we have witnessed, let us not relax our exertions. Our industry during the summer has cleared the way of our friends, already vast numbers of our troops have gone over to the other side. Our Cause is in danger! Here then stand the standard of opposition, let every man run to his post, let the power be given to discipline our ranks, and all our enemies, Soldiers, No Tyrants!!!

THE END

Houses of the Oireachtas