

KEEP UP YOUR SPIRITS,

OR

HUZZA FOR THE EMPIRE!!

BEING A FAIR, ARGUMENTATIVE DEFENCE

OF AN

U N I O N,

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

BY A CITIZEN OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

“ And at the end of this time, there will be stillness and
“ calm; and every one *may gain*, though every one *shall lose*.”

MOTHER SHIPTON'S PROPHECIES.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MOORE, No. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN,

1799

KEEP UP YOUR SPIRITS

IN THE EMPIRE

AND UPGRADE THE DEFENCE

UNION

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND

BY JAMES M. SMITH

And in the end of this time, they will be killed and
sold, and every one of them, though they may not believe
it, will be sold to the enemy.

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1799

Houses of the Oireachtas

KEEP UP YOUR SPIRITS!

“**T**HERE is no situation in which the human Mind, can be placed, so difficult either to consider dispassionately, or decide with impartiality as when it is made a *‘judge in its own Cause.’*” Was the observation of the great Lord Mansfield in a debate in Parliament, when a part of the Privilege of the House of Lords, and the general Liberty of the subject were discussed; an opinion I most humbly subscribe to and the conviction of the truth of which has forced me from a retired situation of Life, in a more retired spot of the Empire to advance what I hope will be received as the *argumentative* and *unbiased* Opinion of one who can receive neither *benefit* nor *injury* by the adoption or rejection of a question that in all probability will very soon agitate the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and which is no other than the Question of an *Union of the two Islands*. I have read much of what has been written on this subject, and fancy I have considered more *calmly* and perhaps more *profoundly* its real merits than any Person who has heretofore obtruded his opinions on the Public. Having so far premised, it may

not be amiss to let the People of Ireland know who I am, and what are my pretensions and proofs that I am perfectly *impartial* and therefore duly qualified to make a rational Enquiry into a subject so *national* that an *Englishman* or an *Irishman* cannot examine it without the interference of a prejudice that must in a great measure mislead the minds of the most upright, for such minds are always the most *Patriotic* or *National*.

I am a native of the *Isle of Mann*; in this small Island I have received my youthful Education and established the opinions of Manhood: My Property is inherited from my Ancestors, and consists of *Lands* that are equally productive whether the *Stocks* are *high* or *low*, I never have been in *England* and my knowledge of *Ireland* is confined to what I have heard and what I have seen in *Books*, I feel myself equally attached to both Kingdoms, for although we are *legally* subject to Great-Britain yet we have always considered ourselves as physically counter-tyed to Ireland in opposition to our allegiance, by the nature of our Air and Soil, for no *venomous* Creature can live in the *Isle of Man*. In addition to the foregoing reasons which I trust will strongly plead for my *impartiality* on the subject in Question, I shall trouble the Reader with a short remark on the claims of *my own Island* for the seat of Empire. *Claims* which if I forego for the general prosperity, I trust no possible doubt can remain of the disinterestedness of my opinions.

If I had not already confessed myself a Native of the *Isle of Man*, the darling of the Irish Sea,

Sea, I might without immodesty expatiate on the exclusive and almost innumerable blessings of Air and Soil that are peculiar to it. But in the Question of *where shall be the Seat of Empire* our Island has claims of a higher nature. It is situated between the two Kingdoms with an access equally convenient to both, and seems formed by nature in such a position that the two independant Islands might readily confer on mutual welfare and devise and execute the general good without disparagement to the imperial consequence of either. Those who are acquainted with History know how tenacious independant states and generals have been in the adjustment of the *ground* on which it was necessary to hold a conference, or make a treaty. Nothing was more usual in such cases than to hold an *imparlance* in the middle of a River, or sign a Treaty on the centre of a Bridge that divided their respective possessions, and we have a remarkable instance of this *territorial delicacy* even in latter times; for in the famous *Pyrenean Treaty* executed by Cardinal Richlieu on the part of France, and Don Lewis de Haro on that of Spain, the scene of the compact was a little Island in the centre of a small River that runs through the *Pyrenees* and divides France from Spain, and which circumstance gives title to the Treaty.

I know this hint for the Benefit of my own Island may be treated by some of the natives of Great-Britain and Ireland as unworthy of serious attention, nevertheless it is a project that is not unbecoming a Patriot and not wholly devoid of that reasonableness that may one day

day (if the present plan of Union is given up) attract *imperial* notice, for the *Head* that is diminutive is placed between the shoulders and governs unwieldy Limbs, and the Heart that is still smaller, by its central situation gives *life* and *heat* and *fire* to the loosely connected system of the human frame. But, notwithstanding what I have been here saying in favour of *Mann* as the natural seat of Empire, I shall not longer trespass on the public attention by recommending it further, as it is more than probable if I said ten times as much, and ten times better than I am capable of saying it on so *unexpected* a proposition, my patriotic ingenuity and industry might turn out to be only labour in vain. I shall therefore give up the hopes and the claims of my native Island, and consulting only the good of the Empire, treat the subject of an *Union* between Great-Britain and Ireland with that fairness which as I said before, I fear a *native* of either Island from the very circumstance of such nativity, is disqualified from discussing.

And now, having so far premised, and taken such pains to make it appear that I can have nothing in view but the general good, I shall proceed to shew to the people of Ireland *only* by plain *unsophisticated Argument* what are the *solid advantages* that *Ireland* is certain of receiving by its Union with Great-Britain, should the Parliament of the former Kingdom wisely adopt so *salutary* a measure: for, as to the concurrence of the English Nation to what must so manifestly benefit the Sister Island, the wonted *disinterestedness* of that People leaves me no doubt.

doubt. But here a difficulty arises in the very outset, and this difficulty is no other than that which the enemies of Union have proudly insisted on as an ESTOPPEL,—to wit. *The incompetence of the Parliament of your Kingdom itself legally to effect such a measure without the concurrence of the Freeholders and Freemen convened in their primary Assemblies.* I am certain this objection to the competence of Parliament must have been started by some young Lawyer whose head (if I am indulged in the expression) has been *Democratized* by his recent study of the Irish Constitution. But this young Person, (for young he certainly must have been) who originally suggested this difficulty, seems not to have formed a proper notion of the *potency* of Parliament, and the independence of the Commons House on the commonalty to whom it is *indebted for its existence*, for should it be directed by the *will of the People* after the People had *willed* it their faculty of thinking it would recognize in its constituents the possession of an *intellect* which they had most solemnly resigned: 'tis true indeed this delegation of power is limited to a certain number of Years. But it is also as true that during the continuance of this specific time the *House of Commons is omnipotent* and if *omnipotent*, concurring with the other members of the constitution, controllable only by its own *vote* in general Parliament. The Commons of England prolonged its deputation from *three to seven Years* without thinking of consulting its Electors, and the same reasons might have continued it for the lives of the then Representatives. 'Tis true indeed there is an *implied* compact between the *Electors* and the *Elected*, but if this compact can be broken in
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upon in the article of *time* I see no difficulty in a similar infringement in the matter of *place*: for if a man pledge himself to pay me a certain sum in a certain *time* at a certain *place*, and I suffer him to enlarge the time to more than double its stipulated duration *without complaint*; he will naturally think he may discharge a debt which he sees me *indifferent* about, *where he will*. In fact there is no Law maxim more true than this, that *Liberty* depends upon *vigilance* and when the People are guilty of *laches* in calling their Representatives to an account for their Parliamentary conduct at the conclusion of their public service, they cannot justly complain of being served *not altogether* to their wishes. If therefore the Commons of Great-Britain could legally enlarge its ancient duration without consulting its Electors from *three* to *seven years*; the Commons of Ireland can transfer its *place of sitting* from the proper *dominion of Ireland* to any other place it may think proper to prefer even to new Holland, and of course may treat and resolve on the subject of an *Union* with the Parliament of England independent of any *Electorial consent*. Having thus I hope flatly levelled the *great impediment* to the desirable measure of an *Union*, I shall go on to state the advantages that may arise to Ireland from the incorporation of its Parliament with the legislative Assembly of the Empire, and first.

A Parliament, I mean that part of it which represents the People is a member of the Constitution, which though of the highest Importance in every Nation that has enjoyed freedom, yet has certain *drawbacks*
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on the freedom it secures which the lovers of Liberty are seldom fully aware of. An election, particularly a general election is attended with certain ills that heretofore have baffled all remedy. It encourages idleness, forces the common people into excesses frequently of long continuance, too often strikes at the root of morality by inducing perjury, and never fails to interrupt private friendships and generate public discords, not only among the mean but the most respectable families. Now, the measure of an Union, I may safely say will in a great degree prevent those *democratic evils*, for not more than one fifth of the present representatives will be returned to serve in the *imperial Parliament*, which in the first instance will put an end to four fifths of the disorders attendant on elections, and if we add to this, the *upright indifference* that in all probability will direct the suffrages of the people in the *new order of things*, we may securely pronounce the inconveniencies of a general Election to be reduced to at least *an hundredth part*. I will indeed confess that the eagerness of Candidates, and the *interest* which the people take in supporting former favourites who have brought forward or supported measures of national good, may be productive of no small public advantage; but what public advantage can compensate for general discord and general dissipation? then so far as public quiet and harmony are superior to confusion and intoxication, an *Union* will be preferable to an *independant Parliament*.

Again, it has been loudly lamented that the Parliament of Ireland has long stood in need

of Reformation: but how is it possible for a Parliament so defective as to need Reformation to be able to reform itself?—it is out of the nature of things. What remedy then must be applied? why, to treat this high assembly like a single man in a similar situation. The single man is advised to keep *better company* than himself that the example of others may amend him. Now the Parliament of England has always been allowed to be the wisest assemblage of Sages in the world; and if that wisdom, which is in itself *moral perfection*; can bring about that reform of our representatives in Parliament which has been so long *devoutly wished*, I think the incorporation of the two Parliaments will undoubtedly effect it. And as nothing can tend to give a man so just a knowledge of what is the business of Legislation so much as the observation exercised in travel, so, no legislative assembly will be able to boast of equal knowledge with that which ventures over *seas* in search of it.—I have been obliged to make this remark on the near approach of Parliamentary reform to satisfy some *malcontents* who have long been in despair of it.

As I have ventured in the above with all humility, to compare the Body Politic with an individual Body, I am induced to continue the similitude with a view to prove the advantages which your *Legislature* itself may receive by the adoption of an *Union*. Nothing is better known among physicians than the inadequacy of the *head* attached to a *diseased* body, to *prescribe* for that body; and therefore no persons more frequently *ask advice* than those who acquire their
liveliness

liveliness by *giving it*. This paradox they explain by simply stating, that what affects the *body* operates also on the *mind*. Now, the People of a country are the sociable body, and their representatives in Parliament the national intelligence or *public mind*. It has been long known that very dangerous disorders have afflicted your *national body*, and it has been nearly as long known that the *national mind* has been heretofore unsuccessful in applying salutary medicines to those disorders: what is then to be done, but to ask advice of some other *national intelligence*, and what national intelligence will deliver it with more impartiality than the *imperial parliament*.

But another difficulty presents itself to impede this *desirable Union*, which is the strong objection which peers and country gentlemen who have the patronage of Boroughs, may feel at resigning what has so long contributed to their consequence in the country perhaps to something more than mere *consequence*. The fee-simple of a Borough in Ireland, if I am rightly informed is £.10,000, and the odium which vulgar prejudice may attach to the sale of one in favour of an *imperial Parliament* may, at a high calculation be valued at £.5000 more, and this is a very extravagant calculation indeed for *personal danger*, when men hazard their lives every day for *nothing*, and great minds have always looked with contempt on the resentment of the *vulgar*. Then the sum of £.15,000 may be allowed to be the value of a Borough disposed of on *imperial considerations*; a sum which the *honor* of Ministers will immediately discharge and which

(*furious* as the resentment of the people may *prove*) should fully satisfy every such Borough proprietor who ought to forget *himself*, and even his *country*, when the good of the Empire is concerned.

Again, it is *stoutly* and I confess *plausibly* asserted, that, “*a kingdom which subjects itself to the will of another, from that moment becomes its slave.*” Now that this is altogether false, I shall prove by the domestic example of man and wife; for the *woman*, instead of losing her natural liberty by uniting herself with her fellow-creature *man*, immediately participates in the latitude of his demeanour, to the great envy of *virgins*, the great rage of *widows*, and the great *gam* of practitioners in the *spiritual* courts.

On this principle the *Scots* consented to their Union with Britain, and although *disaffected Persons* affect to insinuate that England would have compelled their *Union*, if the *Caledonians* had not judiciously consented to it before *coercion* would have *forced* them, yet, it must appear plain to every lover of *British Ascendancy*, that the Scots acted *wisely* as they *always do*, and though it may be urged that two *Rebellions* have desolated that country since the *Marriage Knot* was tied, every man knows, who knows human nature, that no Union can be constituted so entirely felicitous, as not to admit of *occasional heart-burnings*.

But the *Welsh* united, and are now so *happy* in their junction that not a murmur is heard in that whole Principality. 'Tis true indeed, Edward the 1st. taught them some lessons in-
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troductory to *passive obedience* to the will of England, which they hold in *grateful remembrance* to this day. But Ireland has no gratitude of so *indelible* a nature as the *Welsh*, and no pretences to the wisdom of *second sight* as the *Scots*, to urge her to an Union; her Union must be *voluntary*, and surely Great Britain must regard such a contract as the highest act of love, when no *power of Arms* or *contiguity of Territory* can be looked upon as motives to the alliance.

Other enemies of an Union object to the *time*, as improper for the discussion of so momentous a subject, stating that the opinion of the country cannot be taken, on account of the violence of the *passions* of the people; this indeed is a truly *Irish* reason against an Union, and in fact, is the identical motive of the British Minister, in bringing it forward, for an Union, as I said before, is like *marriage*, and can never be heartily contracted, if the passions of the people are not *all alive*.

I have indeed been very uneasy at hearing some very well-intentioned people express sober fears that the taxes of Ireland might be greatly increased by resigning the power over their own purses into the hands of *Strangers*, who might not be exactly acquainted with what they would *wish*, or indeed what they may be *able* to pay. But this uneasiness ceases, when it is recollected that *one ninth* of the Imperial Parliament will be *Irishmen*, whose business there will be to give a true account of the wealth of their own country, and respectfully request the other *eight ninths*, (who may possibly have the interest of another nation

nation in view, in preference to that of Ireland) to respect the circumstances of their constituents and manage their moneys with the same *æconomy* that distinguished the Irish Parliament previous to the Union. And no doubt their remonstrances (for they certainly will unanimously remonstrate) must be duly respected, because it would not be consistent with the magnanimity of the *Imperial Parliament* to take advantage of the *paucity* of Irish Representatives, or to oppress a poor Nation because that poor Nation had *constitutionally*, and irrevocably *bound itself* not to resist such oppression.

Nothing has been more grievously complained of by many very honest Irishmen, with whom I have conversed, than the unnecessary multiplication of *places* with which every official department is overloaded, and that very many Irish Families indeed who till of late were *unknown*, now occupy almost every lucrative and honorable post in the Kingdom. Now, if this be true, it is certainly a grievance which should be redressed; and a main argument for an *Union* is, that nothing but an *Union* can redress it. I admit however that there may be reason and policy in giving the chief employments of an independant Nation to the *natives* of it, and that the *number* of those employments cannot possibly be restrained in opposition to the *spirit* of its government. But the reason that establishes this claim to *official preference* is the specious one, *that the business of a Nation ought to be managed by the People of it*. Now an *Union* alters the case, for then the *Empire* will take place of the *Kingdom of Ireland*, and the
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majority of the Empire who will evidently be the *English* will then *possess*, and have a *right* to possess, every Office of *honor* and *emolument* in the Irish Nation. The unnecessary increase of office too will also find a quick remedy in the salutary effects of an Union; for the reason of *excess* in the number of the new created employments is certainly to appease the avidity of a party that might otherwise impede the career of the executive branch of your government,—but should an *Union* be effected *that Party*, and indeed every other Party in your Kingdom, falling at once into *contempt*; the public employments will be all managed by *Englishmen*, and the *Imperial Minister*, freed from the little jealousies of colonial disquiet will regulate your *revenues* and your *revenue offices* without once thinking of the *people* or the *bashaws* of your country. Now here is an argument in *substance*, the People with their *eyes* shall see the *degradation* of their Rulers. They shall see the *high* and the *overbearing* fallen! fallen! fallen to low estate and odious even in their *own eyes*—a gratification to the vulgar that must more than make amends for even the *greatest of political evils*.

The same spirit of, perhaps well meaning uneasiness, has alarmed a great many persons in your Country who are not altogether ignorant of the comparative, or relative opulence of the Nation: for say they, “shall we unite our Kingdom which is free, or almost free, from the incumbrance of *National Debt* with a *bankrupt People* whose revenues are mortgaged for 500,000,000 of Pounds Sterling, a sum greater than the fee simple of all the Taxes existing

isting or that can by possibility exist, together with the full value all the *real* and *personal* property of Great-Britain?"

I know this objection to an Union has had great weight with those persons who have not depth to fathom things to the bottom. But this is merely the reasoning of comparison—people having in their eye the situation of an individual, fancy the country is lost! because its *debts* are far beyond its *property*—but the case is altogether inapposite; for the individual suffers only because he can be *imprisoned*, or his *credit* ruined by the operation of the statute of *Bankruptcy*—here the comparison is absurd, for what power could *imprison a Nation*, or what Lord Chancellor would dare to make it a *Bankrupt*?

But the general cry is “Dublin with all the neighbouring Counties will be inevitably *ruined* if an Union is suffered.”—It is not at present convenient to argue against such *old-fashioned* fears; but admitting the truth of this popular prediction, does it follow that the country will be injured because its *capital* will be *desolated*? the farthest from it possible. I shall here beg leave to ask those doleful prophets what they mean by ruin? they will probably answer,—“The destruction of *Trade* and *Houses* and other *improvements*.” But I say this is not in any degree *ruin*—but *ruin* is the deterioration of the morals of a People, and if the destruction of any great City will tend to reform the minds of those whom its crafts and luxuries have debauched, such destruction must prove a national

national gain. 'Tis true the *living generation* will severely suffer indeed! but what is the living generation to the millions of posterity! our reason is always duped by affections within grasp, but wisdom dives into the depths of futurity, and I will pledge my credit on this, that more *national wisdom* will be derived from looking at the *grafs* with which *your Streets will be covered*, in the event of an *Union*, and the Ivy that will then unite the fragments of your *now boasted Parliament House* than ever has been heard in your public walks; or been uttered in that senate house, the magnificence and elegance of which is deservedly *the pride of your Nation*.

Another cry is raised, "that your two great Canals will be rendered useless, and the funds, properly enough, said to be sunk in these national undertakings, will be lost to the proprietors when the market of Dublin is vanished in consequence of an Union; but shall the palpable good of Ireland be retarded by considering the proprietors of Canal Stock? These men should have well weighed the matter before they had, as it were, *thrown their money into the River*. But such kind of projectors are a species of gamesters who run their idea of extraordinary gain against all chances, and are therefore unworthy of *national concern*. 'Tis true they will lose by the dereliction of their *toll emoluments*, but then, is it not possible that another kind of gain may succeed that of Navigation? Might not these immense ponds of unruffled waters be converted into repositories of *Fish*? a most profitable trade! while navigation continues, this end cannot be effected on account of

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the surf made by the passing vessels. But if the waters, in consequence of an Union, become *stagnant* as they will be, their produce of eels must prove invaluable; as this fish is one of the very best correctives of *vicious humours* in the human habits, and as these *canals* run through districts of your Country where it is said there is yet MUCH BAD BLOOD, the new purpose to which they may be applied, will more than balance even in the pockets of their proprietors, what they shall lose by their entire loss of *tolls*.

As I have been led into the subject of medicine by the above remark, I feel it my duty to address a line or two to the gentlemen practising physic in the capital of your Nation. This description of Men, I understand, toil under great uneasiness lest the Union by the annihilation of the *luxury* of your great City, may strike a more terrible blow than even *death* itself at the profession of the *healing art*. But let not the good Doctors despair, but rather let them animate their hearts by the greater gains that will succeed the abolition of luxury: for who is a Physician and does not know that *poverty* is a more fatal enemy to the human frame than excess? I acknowledge the *Union* may abridge their list of gouty patients to insignificance indeed! but how will the scroll be lengthened by the diseases of *inanition*!!! Then let the *profits* of the profession sink! How can the doctor complain when he has no loss of *practice*?—I feel it necessary by this *comfortable* argument to quiet the minds of this useful order of men; for I have long observed that the gentlemen of the faculty, from their superior learning

learning and reflection, have no small influence over the public mind.

As I feel happy at being able in this manner to rectify any erroneous opinion that those respectable gentlemen may unguardedly fall into, from an hasty consideration of an Union; I congratulate also the well wishers of this measure on the dispersion and final oblivion of a *hugely numerous discontented and idle* class of people, who crowd all your public places, and are called *Politicians*. Those anxious loungers, affecting, forsooth, an uneasiness for the public interest, infect many otherwise sensible and worthy people with their own restless madness, but the day is coming, and with it the *Union*, that will muzzle these Coffee-House babblers; for the Union will cast the *irrevocable dice*, and then ends all discussion on *political chances*,

But the greatest of all advantages that will possibly attend an *Union*, must be the complete *extinguishment of Popery* in your Country.—Here is a benefit that can ballance, and more than ballance every possible inconvenience that may arise from this measure. I know there are many persons, even *Protestants*, who pretend to believe that those dangerous People are a good-natured, and for the most part a charitable class of Men, who only wish to be *free* to make the Country at large *happy*! These persons affect to laugh at the childish apprehensions of the established Church, at a moment when the religion of Rome is almost flatly renounced by 47 millions of its former devotees, and the Pope's temporal power so miserably contracted

contracted that the poor old man has scarcely wherewithal to lay his head. But what reasoning is this? Does not every one know that the dominion of *Religion* is never so formidable as when it is most *persecuted*, and that danger is never so much to be apprehended as when it can be least *seen*? The Pope therefore is now more *terribly dreadful* to the Protestants of Ireland than when 7 eights of all Europe were at his devotion; and who knows but at this moment, when infidelity has not only robbed him of his *Tiara*, but prophaned the very *Vatican*, that this forlorn fallen person is on his way to take proud possession of the *Island of Saints*. Now, therefore is the time to unite against Popery.—But even this great majority of your People, whom *Ascendency*, contrary to all the *charities of Religion*, and the unalienable rights of mankind has shut out of all *political communion*, are not destitute of comfort, for that *Ascendency* which has so long and so grievously oppressed them, and with them, the *Nation*, will, by supporting an *Union*, all at once take *vengeance on themselves* for the wounds they have inflicted on *Liberty*; and those people *their countrymen*, who have so long been despised by them, will feel no common gratification (for a *gratification*, though a dismal one it will be) at seeing every *Irishman without exception*, treated with equal contempt by their *military masters of a foreign*, but an *United Nation*. To add still more to this comfort the Roman Catholics of Ireland, are informed by the *highest authority*, that that grievance so palpable to every one, and so distressing to those poor people who endure it, *the supporting the Clergy of their own and the established church*;

church; will be a good deal mitigated by a provision in aid of the Roman Catholic Priests that will be granted by government in consequence of *an Union*. Every Roman Catholic of candour will not hesitate to acknowledge that this is a liberality that must make amends for every thing. What a kingly government! that exists only by the support of an *established church*, to establish I may say the *ancient enemy* of that church!! impossible—and it is literally impossible *spiritually* speaking; but the Roman Catholics must be taught to know that this thing is by no means impossible speaking *politically*: for, if the Priests receive a *support* from government, it must be on the *implied contract* of supporting government; and it will then be as necessary at Easter to consult the *Castile* as it is now necessary to examine the conscience of each individual to know who shall be put to *penance*, and who shall be *absolved*.

The *Presbyterians* have also received comfort from the same high authority; and indeed it is but right they should; for that body of men who have been uniformly the lovers and supporters of Liberty should have some compensation when they are to part with it *for ever*. Their clergy too will be still more benefited by an *additional stipend* in consequence of the *modus decimandi*, or *commutation for Tithes*, and the dissenting church in embracing this benefit acquires almost a certain hope of the *abolition of the Episcopacy*; for as it was judiciously predicted that the *Papacy* would fall by the suppression of the order of *Jesuits*, the *Episcopacy* may be forewarned of its dissolution if it adopts
such

such an *innovation*. This is comfort indeed! but then it is but justice in an impartial enquirer as I am, to acquaint the Presbyterians that this addition to the salaries of their teachers, will, like that of the Roman Catholic priests, be paid them on the *implied contract* of faithfully reporting at the *Castle*, the *political opinions* of their respective congregations.

Thus the various sects of Christians in your country will be recognized by the *blessed Union*, and *Church and State* indeed go HAND IN HAND, to the great edification of the people, and the great comfort of the Protestant clergy; for they will surely reap the profit. Then, what is it to them the enjoyment of *overgrown* and *luxurious livings*, in comparison to the general peace that an Union will produce? I say, what is it to them if the highest of the beneficed clergy be reduced to £.200, a year, when they will know that the *surplus* money arising from this *contraction of their income*, will be applied in aid of the poor sectaries; for they certainly cannot entertain a thought that this additional public expence will be paid from *any other fund*.

In this manner the clergy of the various *sects*, being provided for, and in a certain degree, *established*, their Pastors being paid by government for the double purpose of easing the *burdens* of the people, and directing their *political opinions*, you will have nothing but passive obedience in the country, for what man, who is not divested of the first feelings of gratitude, would sanction *resistance* to that power by which he is *well paid*?

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But the *Union* will be of imperial and general benefit, by the new arrangement that will take place in the army in consequence of it. It is well known that nothing more emboldens insurrection and rebellion, than the popular opinion that *Militia*, or *native troops* will not turn their arms against their country, without *examining the motives* that have urged their *fellow citizens* to such violence; and, convinced of the truth of this, most of the Kings of Europe have entertained *foreign Troops* to crush that demand of *justice* which domestic warriors could not resist: and the late example of France proves the policy of kings in the practice; yet, it was a practice of some expence, for those forces were always better paid than native foldiers. But the *Union* will obviate this objection, for the troops of England being *foreigners* in Ireland, and those of Ireland *foreigners* in England, any insurgents in either country, however specious their motives, though they might be impelled even by that *just resistance to Tyranny*, to guard against which, the *Constitution* allows the use of *Arms* to every freeman. I say, though even this should be the case, those soldiers who will be *no citizens*, will obey their orders, be those orders *what they may*.

But I am informed that the poor landholders of Ireland are greatly alarmed by the thoughts of an *Union*, lest the *emigration* of the great men of the country should destroy their market: now, this is downright stupidity, for these great men, who are certainly *good* and *just*, will most assuredly send to Ireland for whatever their families may want in *London* and *Bath*, which will multiply the tonage of your shipping, and encourage

courage inland carriage; besides, by their residing in the best cultivated country in Europe, they will send you over every improvement in agriculture, by the *middle men*, who will crowd your land, and teach your peasantry how to do the greatest quantity of work on the smallest quantity of *Potatoes*; and your farmers the *invincible necessity* of *paying their Rent at quarter day*. In this manner your country being *mastered* by the *politest* people in the world, your *Irish brogue* will at once be dissipated by the impressions of the various *rural accents* or *dialects* of Great Britain, and your nation be taught *elegance* and *hospitality* by the introduction of foreigners of the most *companionable description*. Thus, by an *Union*, your gentry will be improved by travel, by what, in effect, will prove a *bounty on emigration*; and your laborious people of all descriptions, be *imprisoned* in their native Parishes by the introduction of the *English Poor Laws*.

I should be very defective indeed, in this address to the Irish nation, if I neglected to say a few words to the inhabitants of the North. The people of Ulster have long, with much success cultivated the manufacture of *Linen*, and at length brought it to a perfection unequalled in any part of the Empire:—a perfection that has thriven almost into a monopoly. Your country, from its soil, male, but above all, *female* industry, great population, and great frugality of living, assisted by the very particular attention of your *legislature* in a most judicious regulation of your staple trade, stands thus high,—on an height which no British Minister *dare* to humiliate, because your Parliament,

ment, much as it is possible it may want reformation, would not suffer it, for no influence could balance the loss. But an *Imperial Parliament* might act otherwise. The restless spirit of Britons, and the political errors they have imbibed from the study of their darling *Locke*, might make it necessary to correct English turbulence by Irish soldiers. In this case what has the *Imperial Minister* to do, but to take off the duty on foreign Linens, and this simple measure, in one month, will give him the command of half a million of the boldest men in Europe, who will vindicate the prerogative without thinking of the *Constitution*; thus, in a twinkling, the Irish Manufacturers will become *Pretorian Bands* to the Minister of next year, and, as the end of government is the security of the People, the inhabitants of these Islands will be the most happy, as they will be the most powerfully secured.

One word to the towns of *Cork*, *Waterford*, and *Belfast*, and I have done—These places have gained much by the present constitution of things, and are likely to receive very little additional benefits by an *Union*; for the provision trade in time of war is nearly monopolized by them, not so much from their exclusively producing the articles of Navy and Army Victualing, as from the before hinted desire of attaching the Irish Parliament to *british warfare* by a sense of exclusive benefit from a trade next in value to that of your Linen; and both constituting the sum total of Irish wealth.—Now, should an *Union* take place, there will be no political necessity for this limitation of the provision market, for then

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there will be no Irish Parliament to assert the rights of their Country, and the imperial minister freed from any energy of federal jealousy, may deal, without scruple, in any market where a pecuniary saving can be effected, or where political views* may direct a preference. Thus in case of an *Union* the beforementioned towns will certainly enjoy a competition with the great *Russian Empire*, in almost the sole articles of their commerce: a competition, the honor of which, must incalculably exceed any gain, however extensive that this great trade might have yielded; and, as in commercial places, *fame* has ever been found an article of greater value than *profit*, these three great marts will gladly accept of an *Union* that must secure to them so splendid a partner in their gains.

I have reserved my *mighty argument* for the last, which is, that although Mr. P— had *vowed vengeance* against your Country for your treatment of him in the affair of the *Regency*; yet having since *repented* on the sick-bed of *fright* occasioned by Mr. T—n—ys fring at him in that *doughty duel*, he is resolved to do you *irreparable good*, and you are bound not to reject the *Union* as it is his sure pledge of *reconciliation*.

However,

* The conquests of the Republic of France having destroyed the old balance of power in Europe, the British Government has thought it advisable to court a fond connection with the *Russian Empire*, in order to fix a new ballance by overhanging the *South* of Europe by the bulk of the *North*,—much of the Beef provision for the British Forces, last year, was ordered from *Russia*!

However, after all I have been saying, an *Irishman* may still say, *keep your Parliament*, and an *Englishman* may not say *give us your Parliament*, and *trust your Country to our mercy*, but as I am of neither Country, I say, **KEEP UP YOUR SPIRITS, and HUZZA FOR THE EMPIRE!!!**

F I N I S.

However, after all I have been saying, an
 I mean may still say, keep your Government, and
 and I mean may not say give us your Government,
 and I mean your Country to our master, but as I am of
 neither Country, I say KEEP UP YOUR SPIRIT
 RITS AND HUZZA FOR THE EMPIRE!!!

THE END

Houses of the Oireachtais