

Fourth Edition, with Additions and Corrections.

NO UNION!

BING

AN APPEAL TO IRISHMEN.

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DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY H. FITZPATRICK, NO. 2, UPPER ORMOND-QUAY.

1798.

Houses of the Oireachtas

P R E F A C E.

I HAVE this instant learned that the Lawyers Corps are summoned “to take into consideration business of the first importance,” and I am given to understand that AN UNION is the object of their consideration; which, it is not only understood is in agitation, but finally to be agreed upon on the meeting of the ensuing session of *the Irish Parliament*, by Commissioners from England! I also understand that a pamphlet shortly, perhaps while I write, is published, and written by an Irishman in defence of an Union; I have not seen it, and therefore this cannot be supposed to meet it.— However, I lose no time in thus publicly expressing my sentiments thereon, convinced that it is the duty of every subject, and *his birth-right, by the Laws*, to make public his sentiments; the more especially so, as now is the time for the nation to express its disapprobation of the measure; and when our country’s interests are at stake, it were more than treachery and pusillanimity not, as far as it is in the power of every individual, manly to come forward and oppose a measure so fatal to the interests of our country. Under

der this impresson I make this appeal, and add my signature to it ; perhaps it may not be prudent to do so, when party spirit runs so high, and to be possessed of an independent mind is almost considered as a crime ; however, aware that anonymous productions never attract the public attention, that a name however humble, produces that effect ; and wishing to call the attention of my country to this measure, I have not concealed my name ; convinced that an Union is fraught with injury to our beloved Sovereign, and big with danger to the empire ; under this conviction, that it is the duty of every Irishman to remonstrate and petition against an Union, and express his detestation of it as a measure in itself so tyrannical, and *so ungenerous on the part of England, when she has an immense military force in the country* ; let then the capital lead the way (the example will be followed by the rest of the kingdom) and petition “ The Father of his People” against a measure so replete with calamity and destruction to Ireland !

Dublin, December 1, 1798.

N O U N I O N !

&c. &c.

BEFORE we enter upon a subject of such importance to Ireland, it may not be amiss to make a few remarks on the effects an Union had on Scotland, and see whether, and how far they apply to Ireland.

S C O T L A N D.

IT may be asserted, "an Union was highly advantageous to that country," yet, admitting the assertion, how does that apply to Ireland, different as to their local situation? Scotland separated but by an ideal line from England, and as it were, a distant county of the same country; if then, the effects of an Union on Scotland, so contiguous to Britain, have been prejudicial to her, we may infer, *a fortiori*, from the insular situation of Ireland, how much more detrimental an Union would prove

prove to her than it has done to Scotland. Although the Articles of Union between England and Scotland were not carried into effect until the reign of Queen Anne, yet that country was united under James VI. of Scotland, to England: "Destined by *their situation* to form one grand monarchy."* But will this hold good with regard to George the Third? No——James VI. of Scotland was by birth a Scotsman, and at length effected, (or at least endeavoured so) by his inheritance of the two crowns, the union of the *Rose* and *Thistle*. Not so with Ireland, whose king is resident in Great Britain, and whose legislature is independent: separated from that country by her insular situation, you can never unite the *British Lion* and *Irish Shamrock*, without the depression, if not destruction of the latter!

If no Union had taken place in Scotland, the natural progress of civilization throughout Europe might possibly have raised that country to a far more prosperous state than it is in at present. The pretended felicity of Scotland is completely contradicted by the strong description of Churchill, the sarcastic observation of Johnson, and the cutting reflection of Macklin; fated to perpetual sterility, that miserable country had nothing to lose by a connexion with any other; and there was no danger that her agriculture
would

* Vide, Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland.

would be injured, *or could*, by the exclusive attention to manufactures, which British avarice introduced: But Ireland, nature has blest with a fertility of soil, which might render her the granary of Europe; she can gain nothing by the emigration of a few manufacturers from England, and let me ask, when the very name of Englishman has been so obnoxious to the late insurgents; what English settler would risque his person or capital, at least for centuries to come, in this country? and manufacturers, even if they did come over, would probably deem no workmen sufficiently skilful, unless imported from England; at all events, they would only withdraw the peasantry from the production of solid agricultural wealth, to a precarious dependance on fancy and fashion: add to this, that when England vouchsafed to ally herself with Scotland, it was a relief to both countries, from a long continuance of a predatory war, inevitable between conterminous countries

England, previous to the accomplishment of the Scottish union, was a rising country, the envy, the admiration of Europe, formed for the enjoyment of that opulence, and the resources which civil liberty ever produces: Is that her present situation? with taxes amounting to a hundred pounds a minute, and a debt of above four hundred millions!!!—The causes of the
 Scotch

Scotch union * being accomplished, were, that the Scottish representatives in the Parliament of Scotland were bought; || Sawney bow'd, and bow'd, until he kissed the minister's footstool, and was his implicit slave: an Union took place, which laid the foundation of two successive rebellions in Scotland, † and which beggared and depopulated Edinburgh.

But you may be told, "an Union is your interest," "you shall obtain some few concessions," "some few trifles to divert and take

* Lord Godolphin, Queen Anne's, Treasurer, prevailed on her majesty to grant £20,000, for purchasing the Scotch Nobles and Gentry, to consent to the Union; and there is subjoined a list of those *Worthies* in Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's England, given in on oath, by the Earl of Glasgow.—Vol. III. p. 777.

|| Even at the time the Scots Parliament were deliberating on an Union, so unpopular was the measure, that the common people of Scotland enraged, threatened to come to Edinburgh, and dissolve the Parliament.

Tindal's Continuation, Vol. III. 776.

† Since the Scottish Union, that country is cursed with a *Paper Sign*, for sums however small—they have Three-penny and Sixpenny Bank Notes! Has not Ireland already sufficiently suffered from Paper Signs—from the difficulty of obtaining change of Guinea Notes, and the numberless forgeries committed? But in the Machiavelian ideas of a profligate Minister, those are strong proofs of *encreasing prosperity!*

take off your attention from the effects that will flow from such a measure." Look to the sad history of what resulted from the Union of Scotland with England, and judge: you will perceive it is written in Scottish blood!!! Look to the act of the 1st of Geo. I. c. 54. entitled "*an act for disarming the Highlands of Scotland,*" and "all such persons as, on being summoned to give " in their arms, refused so to do, were taken and " enlisted as *common soldiers*, to serve beyond the " seas." This is a proof of the *prosperous* effects of the Scottish Union, and how really disgusting and oppressive it was to the nation at large! And will you believe it, Irishmen, *there were natives of Scotland found base enough to act as commissioners, and acquiesce to those terms with England! they sold their country for gold, and for ever execrated be their memories, dyed in the blood of their fellow citizens slain in the Scotch rebellion which their corruption and infamy brought about!* You may perhaps enquire, were the articles of the Scotch Union kept inviolate, when signed and effected? They were not! *Magnanimous, generous Britons* broke through them ere three years had elapsed from the accomplishment of the Union! when it was maintained, "that no parts of the Union were unalterable, except those of the Kirk Government and quota of taxes;" not only this language was held in the senate, but the articles of the Union were broken through by the passing of the Malt Act, violatory and sub-

versive of those articles! Can then Ireland expect that inviolability that was denied to Scotland?—impossible to look for it. If, when Ireland with a Parliament, cannot secure the independence of her trade from British monopolists, or the exemption of that trade from commercial restrictions, is it to be supposed she can preserve the one, or counteract the other, when she shall have *no Parliament*, and perhaps but 100 representatives *at most*, in the British senate? if we are to judge from Scotland *they will ever inviolably vote against their country*, as no one yet has been hardy enough to accuse a Scotch representative of ever consulting, by his influence in the British senate, the interest of his native land; Do Irishmen wish for an union on those terms? If they do, let them look to Scotland, and then let them express appropriately if they can, their detestation of the effects of an Union! How, let me ask is Ireland calculated, from her insular situation, to be united with England? if it was intended by nature, why did the Almighty throw his seas between England and Ireland if his divine will had been that the two countries should be united! had that been the intention of the Omnipotent, the Irish sea had not presented itself an eternal barrier between the two kingdoms. What, I ask, is the intention of Ministers *in forcing* an union upon the Irish People, have they not yet got enough of rebellion? it may be pretty diversion to them, it may be productive of peculation and plunder to swell the ministerial coffer, and the wily minister,

may

may nod assent to it. But in truth with the pathetic exclamation of the Frogs in the Fable, "It is death to us." What, let me ask, is the grand security of the people—one of the chief advantages of the constitution, and as it were the master-spring of the nation?—It is the power of the Representatives of the people, granting or withholding the supplies; as M. de Lolme forcibly expresses it: "Grievances and supply have ever gone hand in hand." But when an Union is established, you transfer that great privilege to another nation, whose duty and interest it will be to attend to her own grievances, NOT TO YOURS. Let it not then be forgotten, that there is an instance on record of the Irish Parliament passing a Two Month's Money Bill*! Unite then, hardy sons of Ireland, unite and resist your country's downfall, speak it, and it is done! will it, and you have prevented an Union!

Since such has been the effects of an Union on Scotland, how much more deplorable, Irishmen, must the effects of a similar measure prove to Ireland; it may be objected, all this is very true, but if the Parliament of England appoint Commissioners to treat for an Union, with others appointed by the Parliament of Ireland, and the terms are finally adjusted and agreed upon by both; where is the difficulty, or what prevents

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the

* March 23d, 1789.

the ratification of such an incorporating Union? I reply, if the Parliament of England have given up every right of legislating for Ireland, (which they have done, by corroborating the independence of the latter in 1782), would not the very Act, of the Parliament of England interfering with that of Ireland, (which the British Parliament have over and over declared)* be a breach of public faith? I confess I feel myself at a loss, to know how the British Parliament *with all its omnipotence*, can, without a dereliction of those declarations and votes so often reiterated, appoint Commissioners to annul the Irish Parliament, without the loss of English reputation, and honor as a nation? Then cast the veil of oblivion over your animosities and your sufferings, wipe out with the tear of affection those religious and political differences that have too long distracted this country, and by means of which your enemies, raising themselves on your ruins, have so long endeavoured in vain to disunite you, and cause the Irish native to shed the blood of his countryman! I conjure you by every tie that binds you to your native land, to remonstrate—to arouse and resist an Union with England; is this the time for *magnanimous* England, like the crafty bravo, to give the death blow to what was called *the Independence of Ireland!* Is it generous, or is it just in
that

* Vide, Debates in the British Senate on the Affairs of Ireland, on the motions of the Duke of Leinster, (an English Peer) Lord Moira, and Mr. Fox.

that power to seize the unsuspecting moment of rendering you a contemptible province to aggrandize her insatiable ambition, intoxicated with her naval successes, and madly persevering in a destructive war, when, had she the generosity, as she has the power, she might effect an honourable peace? Is this a period for broaching such a doctrine, that Ireland *shall* be governed by a foreign Legislature? By what power or authority, I ask, human or divine, has England to say, "Britons shall never be slaves." "But we *will* make slaves of Irishmen," by what right? By none, except the tyrant's plea—necessity, "by which he endeavours to accomplish his devilish ends." Is the enlightened eighteenth century the period to tell Irishmen, "You must *export* your legislation," and fall submissively at the feet of Britain, *humbly* imploring her that she will *graciously* permit us to be her slaves? Is this the time when the blood stained banner had been nearly planted on the towers of the capital, but for the prevention of the Irish yeomanry, to talk of Union? Gracious God! Is it decent in ministers to insult, an half-butchered, half-burned country, by proposing an Union? What is an Union? The Bar of Ireland declare it "an innovation highly dangerous and inexpedient to deliberate at the present crisis."—I do not hesitate to pronounce an Union to be an *overthrow of the Constitution*, which, when attempted by *others* was severely punished; but there are some, it seems, that since they have become *illuminati*,

illuminati, wish to effect the destruction of the Constitution by an Union—*An Union!* Yes, of complicated ruin, beggary and desolation! these the blessed satellites of a monstrous, unnatural Union with England.—Having shewn how the effects of an Union operated as to Scotland, we come now to other considerations, and shall treat of the baneful effects of an Union with regard to Ireland, in the different points as they occur.

A B S E N T E E S.

AN Union with England, will triple the number of Absentees, of which Ireland has so long complained, and by which she has so long suffered. Do you complain of poverty and of beggary? Whose lofty castle is that, which yonder contemptuously frowns on the wretched hovel (or more appropriately, as Twiss called it, “a Pig-sty”)? Oh! it is a lordly Absentee’s! See, behold the rain and the snow descend through the roofless walls of this habitation of cheerless poverty! Behold the wretched owner, attending his perishing consort, oppressed with disease, overcome with calamitous poverty, with famine! his little innocents, holding forth their helpless, infantine, unpolluted hands to the elements, more humane than merciless man! Behold the rapacious agent of the foreign Absentee has seized the hardly-earned pittance of
my

industry, and left the wretched family to expire! —Does the picture please you, Irishmen?—No, my countrymen, I will not insult, nor will I sport with your feelings; I know the Irish heart too well to entertain such unworthy suspicions, and that you would exclaim “Blasted be the
 “ Union that encreases the distresses of our
 “ country, and cursed be he that proposes it;
 “ may infamy and speedy destruction await
 “ him.” No, no, we have too many Absentees already; *the drain of specie, in consequence of them, is already too great to require its increase by the baneful effects of an Union.

POPULATION.

As the sources of the wealth of a people depend on the exchange of manufacture for specie; no less do they so on the population of a country. What effect then, let us ingenuously inquire, would an Union have on the population of this Country? From the unhappy effects of the late unfortunate rebellion, the population of Ireland

* The drain of specie from this country, paid to *residential* Absentees in England, is little short of Two Millions! Commercial men assert, that in case of an Union, the annual drain of specie paid to Absentees, would amount to near Five Millions; add to this, how enormous the exchange on London is at present, and how much more so when an Union would take place, which would consequently add to the exportation of specie, if there should then be any left in the country!!

land has very materially suffered, by those executed by the civil and military tribunals, as well as by the thousands slain in the field of battle.

What effect must not this have on Ireland?—It may not be immediately felt, for the harvest has been sown, and is since got in; but where is the sturdy husbandman, “his country’s pride,” to plant the crops, and attend to the tillage of the ensuing year? in yonder field of battle he lies, “a stiffened corse, stretched out, and bleaching in the northern blast;” Where can his loss be supplied? not in the military array that surrounds you, not in the grim and terrific aspect of Homspech’s ferocious banditti! not in the spruce array of the English militia, or the Scotch fencibles, with charged bayonets or “*Cut Six,*” to force an Union on poor cajoled Ireland! In vain to look to hired mercenaries, for replacing the loss of your husbandmen; nothing but the consequences of peace, and the amelioration of the Irish poor, can encourage and extend the population of Ireland.

“But an Union takes place”—Ireland still bleeding at every pore, still dismayed by the effects of terrorism!—who will live in such a country!—the estated nobleman? Gothic idea! the desolated streets of Dublin will be ill calculated for the display of the golden chariot, or the costly retinue; London is the place, it is only there a gentleman can live!—Will the gentry re-
side

side in Ireland? Absurd! Bath, London, Harrowgate, Margate or Brighthelmstone are better calculated for the meridian of high life, than the rainy climate of depopulated Ireland!—Will the mechanic or manufacturer reside in Ireland? No, a depopulated country needs not manufactures; they will emigrate to America, or some other soil, more propitious to their undertakings, and more grateful for their exertions.—Will the lawyer reside in such a country? The probability is he may emigrate, if not, he may parade the abdicated hall of the four courts, go each day from court to court, and quickly hear the cryer to an empty court, vociferate, “to-morrow, God save the king.”—The attorney? He may convert his parchments into drum-heads, become bankrupt, or turn pawn-broker, the only trade that will then flourish!—The Physician? may publish weekly bills of mortality, and “throw his physic to the dogs.”—the Musician? may strike the broken strings of Ierne’s harp to the discordant notes of misery, compose her Lamentations, as a *Dead March*, with the cries of the killed, famished, hanged and wounded!—Such the consequences, and such the depopulation attendant on an Union.

COMMERCE.

It has been said, “An Union with England would extend our commerce, the sea would
 C then

then be open to us ; there would then be an equalization of the channel trade." Are we sure of that? We cannot, however, forget an address from the Commons of England* presented to William the Third, against the woollen trade ; his answer was, " He would take care what was " complained of should be prevented," which is farther corroborated by his letter to Earl Galway† in Ireland, dated Kenfington, July 15th, 1698, where among other matters, that he must " make " effectual laws for the linen manufacture, and " *discourage* as far as possible, the woollen manufacture, &c."

(Signed)

W R.

Can then much commercial advantages be expected from a country that has ever restricted our trade and cramped our manufactures? But, " she allows us the exclusive manufacture of linen," *because* she cannot equal us in it! O *magnanimous* England, you will at length concede us an equalization of the channel trade, wonderful concession!
the

* Vide, Tindal's Continuation of Rapin's History of England.

By this it will appear, that at so early a period as Wm. 3d. the policy of England was to keep down the trade of this country, lest it should rival that of England ; which is further corroborated by a petition of certain towns on the coast of Wales to the British Parliament, *complaining of the Irish catching herrings at Wexford!!!*—Vide Commercial Restraints

† The Earl of Galway, was a General of K. William III. and one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. A. D. 1697.

the Great Nation when compared to you falls very far short of your unbounded generosity! You abuse France for her tyranny in robbing Switzerland of her independence by force of the bayonet, and how do you act to Ireland? with an immense military force in this country, still bleeding from rebellion, you are about to annihilate her independence, and forsooth grant her an equalization of the channel trade! You that are so prompt to perceive faults in France, fall into that very crime yourself, by your endeavours to annihilate Ireland as a nation! Yet you will *condescend* to allow beggar'd, bankrupt Ireland, to partake of your taxes, and your monstrous national-debt, to give a pension to the *great* Duke of Wirtemberg, or some other foreign potentate, and allow her the mighty wonderful advantage of selling the produce of her industry *on the same terms*, you dispose of yours, but the purchase to be the enslaving of Ireland.!!! Oh, for the versification of a Pope, the point and force of a Swift, and the fire of an Addison, to panegyryze and transmit to posterity, your *exalted* benevolence!

But "there will be an equalization of the channel trade:" are you sure of that? will the footy manufacturers of Birmingham, Sheffield, Manchester and Leeds consent to this, did not their remonstrances to the British Senate, strike conviction to the British Minister, when they petitioned against Orde's famed propositions, while

he was Secretary in Ireland, and did not the Minister suddenly abandon what he had as inconsiderately undertaken? follow their example, let Ireland's voice be heard, united to its gracious King, *but inimical to Union*: never let her permit an Union perfidiously undertaken by those "who can smile and murder while they smile," to be forced on Ireland's virtuous sons. Let Ireland but speak, and *she* must be attended to. But supposing an equalization of the channel trade, where are your merchants? perhaps emigrated or transported to a foreign clime, their warehouses converted into guard-rooms or prisons! where are your manufacturers? perhaps undergoing a similar fate, the result of the distresses, the poverty and the calamitous events attendant on the recent rebellion; even admitting England to barter concession for an Union, as it has been already observed, what manufacturers would venture themselves, their capitals, or their families, to such a distressed country as Ireland? none can be weak enough to suppose it. Stripped of her population, and desolated by rebellion, what concessions of a mercantile nature can prove of advantage to her? to the thirsty, languid, fainting traveller on Arabia's desert sands, you may in vain offer gold as useless is it to him as the inhospitable sand on which he perishes, one draught of water would relieve him more than all that pageantry can bestow, what then is offering merchandise and traffic to Ireland at this moment, but insulting her?

give

give her peace, but no Union, and you prove yourself her friend. Hume the historian, speaking of the Scottish Union, makes this remark, that it but “ kept alive that mutual hatred between “ the nations which had been carried to the “ greatest extremity, *and required time to allay it.*”*

How much more applicable and more forcibly does this observation *now* apply to Ireland, on the subject of Union, than it did *then* to Scotland? England will no doubt endeavour to allure Ireland by throwing out concessions to deceive the unwary, she may elevate the architectural column, to flatter Irish pride and folly, construct new streets and rear princely palaces! poor compensation for Irish independence. The great officers of state, with *minds ever open to conviction*, upon the touchstone application of five or six thousand pounds a year, *pension to be paid by Ireland*, will very soon *discover the expediency* of an Union! and the walls of that House of Commons that so lately resounded with the cry of *independent Ireland!!* confirmed by a vote of the British legislature, will soon ring changes on the vast advantage an Union will bring.—
Advantages? yes, if oppression, misery, bankruptcy and poverty are such to a nation, an Union, will effect THOSE ADVANTAGES. Vain then and silly to talk of commerce being increased by an Union. By whom, supposing an equalization

* Vide, Hume's history of England, Vol. VI. p. 21.

zation of the channel trade to take place, would the imports of manufacture and merchandise, from the Indies and from England be consumed? by the shop-keeper? No, become a bankrupt, his shop closed, he has emigrated to America. By the Noblesse and Gentry? No, involved in extravagance and dissipation, they are exhibiting their equipages in London the emporium of the empire, what fate then awaits the merchant but ruin and certain bankruptcy? laden with goods purchased at a vast expence, he returns from the Atlantic, or from the Indian ocean, he comes to Dublin, a depopulated, beggarly town, inhabited but by squalidness and wretchedness, a second Edinburgh, rendered such from a similar cause, an Union with England: here is printed in capitals, “this house to be sold for a third of its value, as the shop-keeper has become insolvent; there “a bankrupt’s sale!” But it may be said, “altho’ Dublin will be ruined, Cork and Waterford will be benefited!” That is in plain English to say, we will destroy and cut off the head and metropolis of the nation, and very likely one of the legs and arms may survive the amputation! O skilful Chirurgeons! may you never operate upon this island! But if the country be depopulated by the emigration and oppression attendant on an Union, in God’s name, how could any part of the kingdom, *however* favoured by commerce, flourish? This then is the season, previous to the meeting of *your Parliament*, boldly to speak
out

out, and declare how obnoxious and detrimental an Union would be to Ireland. If you quietly submit, without remonstrating against it, the opportunity passed by will never again return.

The motives that induce the Minister to effect an Union of Ireland with Great-Britain.

In accomplishing an Union, there are several points highly favourable to the Minister. The Irish Representatives in the British Commons would then share the ministerial loaves and fishes, and like their *worthy* compeers, the Scotch Representatives, supporting the Minister, add to his now irresistible phalanx, and place him hereafter, *however* corrupt, or destructive of the liberty of the subject, beyond the reach or power of parliamentary impeachment, which the wisdom of our progenitors had placed in the Parliament of England, under the laws and constitutions of the realm. Add to this, the fortunate, well-tim'd excuse, that would consequently follow from an Union taking place, of keeping an immense army in Ireland. Witness Scotland for the proof of this position: See how great the necessity would be of *keeping down* a duped and *besotted* nation, that has an Union *forced on it*.

But these are not the only advantages that will result to the Minister. Poor bankrupt Ireland must then bear her quota of the immense overgrown national debt of England, multiplying
every

every hour the war continues, and of consequence, Ireland's burden must be enormously increased. The air we breathe, the light that will then but render the misery of Ireland conspicuous, must be taxed—the luxuries of the rich, and even the distresses of the poor, to prop the tottering pile, overpowered with the debt and taxes of Great-Britain!!!—These are some of the *prosperous* consequences that will inevitably result from the Union. Add to this too, that the nation had been loud in its repeated declarations for Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, in which, had it been unanimous, it must have succeeded, and we would not now have had to lament the recent Rebellion, and the unhappy, but too successful attempts, to disseminate bigotted dissensions in religion, estranging the Catholics from the Protestants, as if we were not the same natives of the one and same soil; but an Union will prevent both from ever taking place, and will so strengthen the colossal power of Ministers, that altho' they may be as deserving of punishment as a Strafford, they will be placed beyond the power of Parliament.— Let then the Protestant and Catholic join hands; it is the cause of their country; their disunion, which the Minister has so long endeavoured to accomplish, (like the separated bundle of rods) will but weaken Ireland's efforts, and empower him to establish an Union. This is the cause of the Protestant—of the Catholic—of the Presbyterian
—of

—of the Quaker—of every sect—of all. It is the cause of the Irish nation—“ *it shall, it must be heard!*”

A M E R I C A.

America had no legislation when under the power of England. When she had to complain of a breach of public faith, and violation of a solemn treaty or unjust taxation, her complaints must be preferred, borne by a long navigation across the Atlantic to the British Senate; where her virtuous Franklin was scoffed at, and her complaints, by him preferred, were unattended to. But it may be said, how does this apply to Ireland? It is answered, it would apply in case of an Union, not as to the comparison of the distance of the great continent of America and the contiguity of this island; but it holds good so far, that if Ireland has any remonstrance to make, any petition to prefer, it must be to the Parliament of the empire, (as it is presumed it will be then called) for Ireland will then have no Parliament of her own, to foster her manufactures, her agriculture, like an indulgent parent; her real interests will consequently be lost or overlooked, in the more *consequential* interests of England; charity will then begin at home; none for sturdy Irish solicitants!!—Ireland must then suffer for the *juvenile* indiscretions of an elder sister, who has squandered her dower in destructive war and unsuccessful subsidy!

It is high time, then, that England should learn, and bear in mind the consequences of her conduct to America—she should “remember and fear to transgress;” she should further recollect, that she actually *forced* America to shake off her connection, and that had conciliation been adopted, America had still been a part of one great empire, and had not been wrested from England by the intrigues of France, and most probably the French revolution would not have taken place. I here cannot but quote a part of the speech of his Grace the Duke of Grafton, on the affairs of America; it is (if we can credit the reports of the Houses of Parliament of the Irish Legislature) so applicable to this hapless land, and proves how France, taking advantage of the impolitic conduct of England, has for ever deprived her of the continent of America. Those that do not see the analogy must be dull indeed. On the 31st of October, 1776, the Duke of Grafton made a Speech in the British House of Peers, with regard to the conduct of Ministers, of which the following is an extract*. His Grace enumerated “the measures of Administration with respect to America, which he declared he would oppose as long as his legs would carry him to that House. He averred from authority unquestionable, that *they had driven the Provincials to seek protection from our natural*”

“enemies :

* Vide Parliamentary Debates in the British Senate, A. D. 1776.

“ enemies : that France had all along *supplied*
 “ *them with arms*, and every kind of military
 “ stores ; *that a Member of the Congress was now*
 “ *resident at Paris*, and actually in treaty with
 “ that Court.”

Would not one imagine they were reading a part of the Report of the Secret Committee of Ireland? If then such has been the conduct of England (to express his Grace's words) “ *as to*
 “ *drive the Provincials to seek protection from our*
 “ *natural enemies,*” while France was under a Monarchic government, how, let me ask, would not, might not the measure of an Union, *drive* the people of Ireland (which God avert) *to seek protection from our natural enemies, even under a Republican form of government*, that has already effected so much, that has and is aiming all its energies against England, and that has so very far excelled, in its successes whatever had been attempted by Monarchic France? But it may be said, “ as France has made those attempts, bet-
 “ ter to be united to England than to France.” But how are we in this dilemma? Where the necessity of being added, a contemptible province to either? Add to this, if an Union with the former, was to prove the very direct means of estranging us from, and uniting us to, the latter, how impolitic would it be in Great-Britain, merely to indulge her national pride, by the sacrifice of Irish independence, and run the risque

of Ireland's separation from England for ever? Is it generous, then, noble, prudent or politic, for England to disgust the people of Ireland, who had remained so faithful to England during a formidable rebellion, when it had been by the insurgents, considered as treasonable to act so? let England answer, and let England recollect that but for the yeomanry and the majority of the people of Ireland, she would now have had to regret the loss of, instead of proposing an Union to, Ireland, and this country had now been a republic, separated probably from England for ever! Oh, *grateful* Englishmen, how can I sufficiently express the opinion and feelings of the people of this country at conduct such as this! Is then the obnoxious measure of an Union, the way to preserve Ireland to England?

“Credat Judeus Apella, non ego”.

It is however true, an Union with England will but confirm our Union, and will *unite all*, royalists and others, to oppose oppression! Begin then, *redoubted* England, confirm an Union, and you will INDISSOLUBLY HAVE ESTABLISHED OURS: Recollect, my countrymen, that the American tea-tax and stamp-act, shone as stars, to liberate the Americans from a code of bondage; and similar causes, both in the physical and political world, have invariably been productive of similar effects.

It

It has been asserted, “ Now is the time for an
 “ Union with England ; in time of peace we
 “ could not effect it.”—It has been as properly
 replied, “ The advantages you seize hold of in
 “ time of war, of forcing an Union against the
 “ inclination and wishes of a people, are disho-
 “ nourable, and if you *dare* not propound it in
 “ time of peace, you should not endeavour to
 “ effect it in time of war.”

At this moment England has been successful ;
 flushed and vain of her naval operations, English
 pride is up ; but it does not follow that Ireland is
 to be sacrificed to that pride : England has now
 an immense army of mercenaries in this
 country ; and may think herself certain of success
 in her own political arithmetic. But let her re-
 collect, “ the race is not to the swift, nor the
 battle to the strong ;” let her too recollect that
 political life is chequered with misfortunes as well
 as that of the individual, that the tide of ill-for-
 tune may turn, and in future wars, Ireland be-
 come the bone of contention, if not a colony to
 France, (if we are to judge from the many and
 recent attempts of that power) when disgusted
 by an Union with England. Recollect, then,
 my beloved countrymen, that I have shewn, (or
 at least endeavoured to do so) that Scotland has not
 benefited by the Union, that even if she has, it does
 not apply to Ireland. That your absentees will be
 tripled, to the irretrievable detriment of our na-
 tive

tive land—that our commerce will not be increased *even* from an equalization of the channel trade, that our manufactures will not be benefited by English settlers, as they will not in all probability come over to such a distracted country—that our commerce must consequently decrease from emigration, attendant on that oppressive measure, an Union. Poverty and oppression being the ever unvarying causes of emigration. How absurd then to expect wealthy settlers to give up their comforts, and come to Ireland? I have farther shewn the motives that induce the minister to accomplish this measure, it being ever the wish and the interest of every minister to effect it.—I have shewn how America, through the impolitic conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, has been alienated from the imperial diadem; and have pointed out the probable result of the attempts of the enterprizing Republic—France, should an Union be effected.

The decision rests with you, whether you will leave a possibility of our being annexed to France, at a future period, or remain as you are already, united to our most gracious Sovereign, and to England; or *basely* surrender your Rights to English monopolists, by not resisting an Union. It rests with you, it rests *with those* that call themselves *your representatives*; if they do not *sell your Rights*, they CANNOT BE BOUGHT, and consequently an Union *cannot* be established.

But

But should the Irish Parliament take upon themselves to annihilate the Constitution of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, † (by an Act of incorporating Union) this act would, *ipso facto*, be void and null; AND THE RIGHT OF CHOOSING A FORM OF GOVERNMENT WOULD AGAIN REVERT TO THE BODY OF THE PEOPLE AT LARGE.*

People of Ireland then, those I mean whose love for Ireland *has not yet been sold*, whose affection *has not* been corrupted, and whose honour *has not* been purchased; on you do I call,—speak boldly out!—This is the time; now or never. If you are indifferent, you are undone. Address then, our beloved Sovereign, and petition against an Union. IRELAND'S UNITED VOICE, *in peals of thunder shall then be heard*, IT SHALL BE HEARD—at last strike conviction, and stun the domineering Minister, with Ireland's emphatic exclamation of—NO UNION!!!

* Vide Locke on Government.

† Even under the government of despotic France, the *Tiers Etats* were assembled on questions of magnitude and importance, to collect and make known the sentiments of the people; and in Holland, even under the Stadtholder, assembly of the States General were called to ascertain the will of the people.—Why should not the wishes of the people of Ireland be known on a question of such importance to the people and to posterity, as an Union—and why, or how could the Parliament of Ireland mortgage Irish independence to British monopoly?!!!

THE END.

Houses of the Oireachtas