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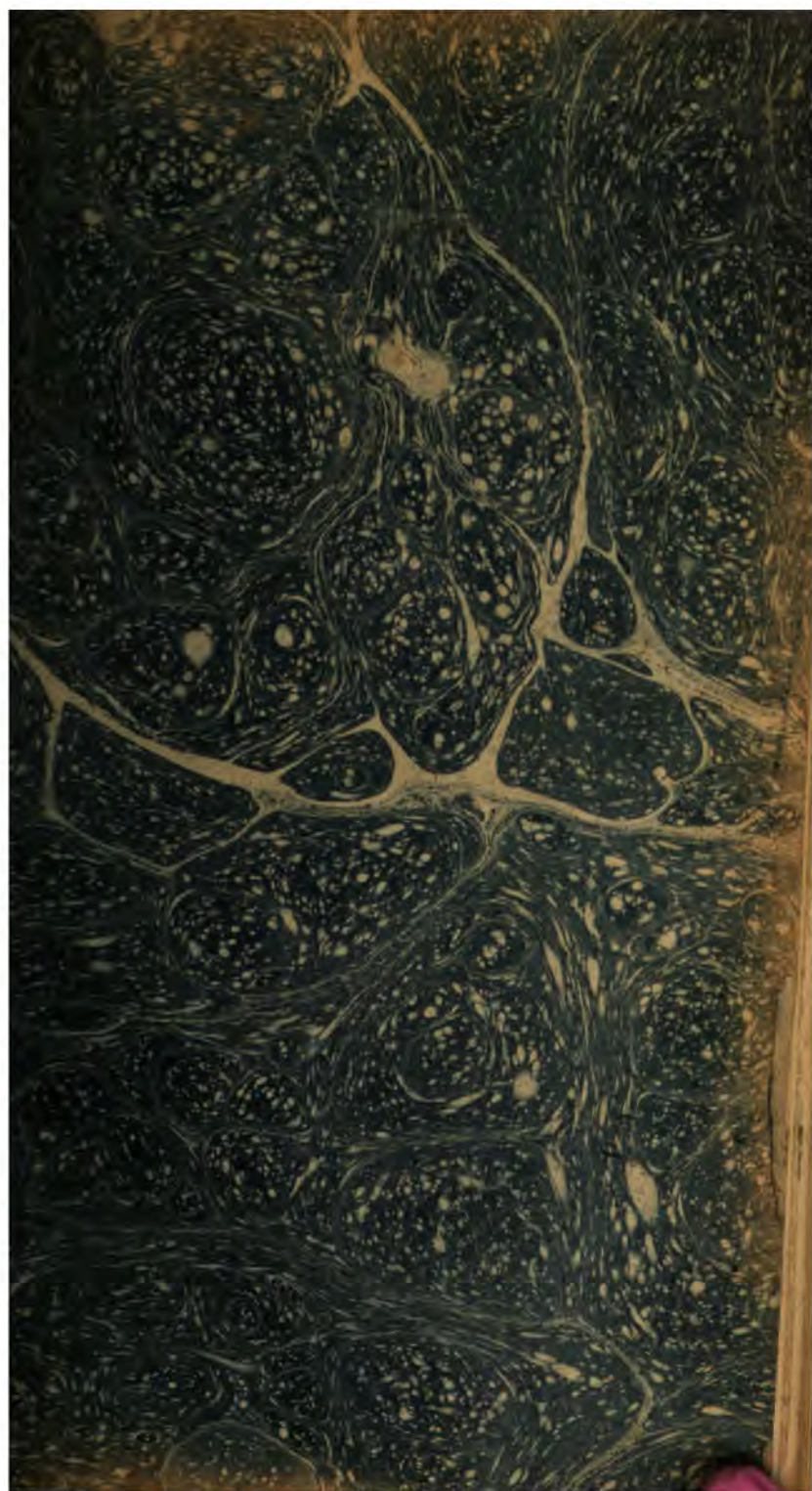
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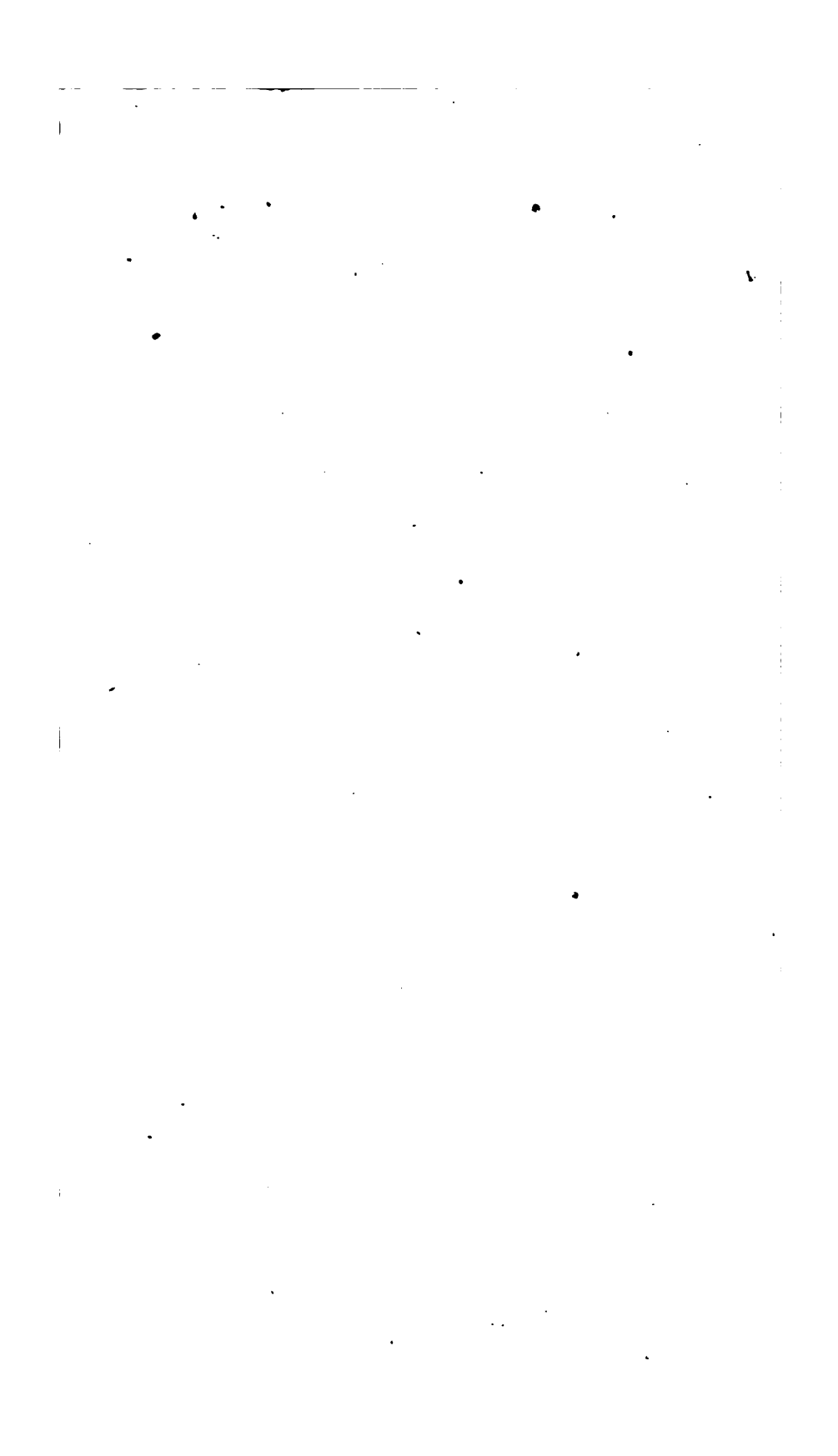
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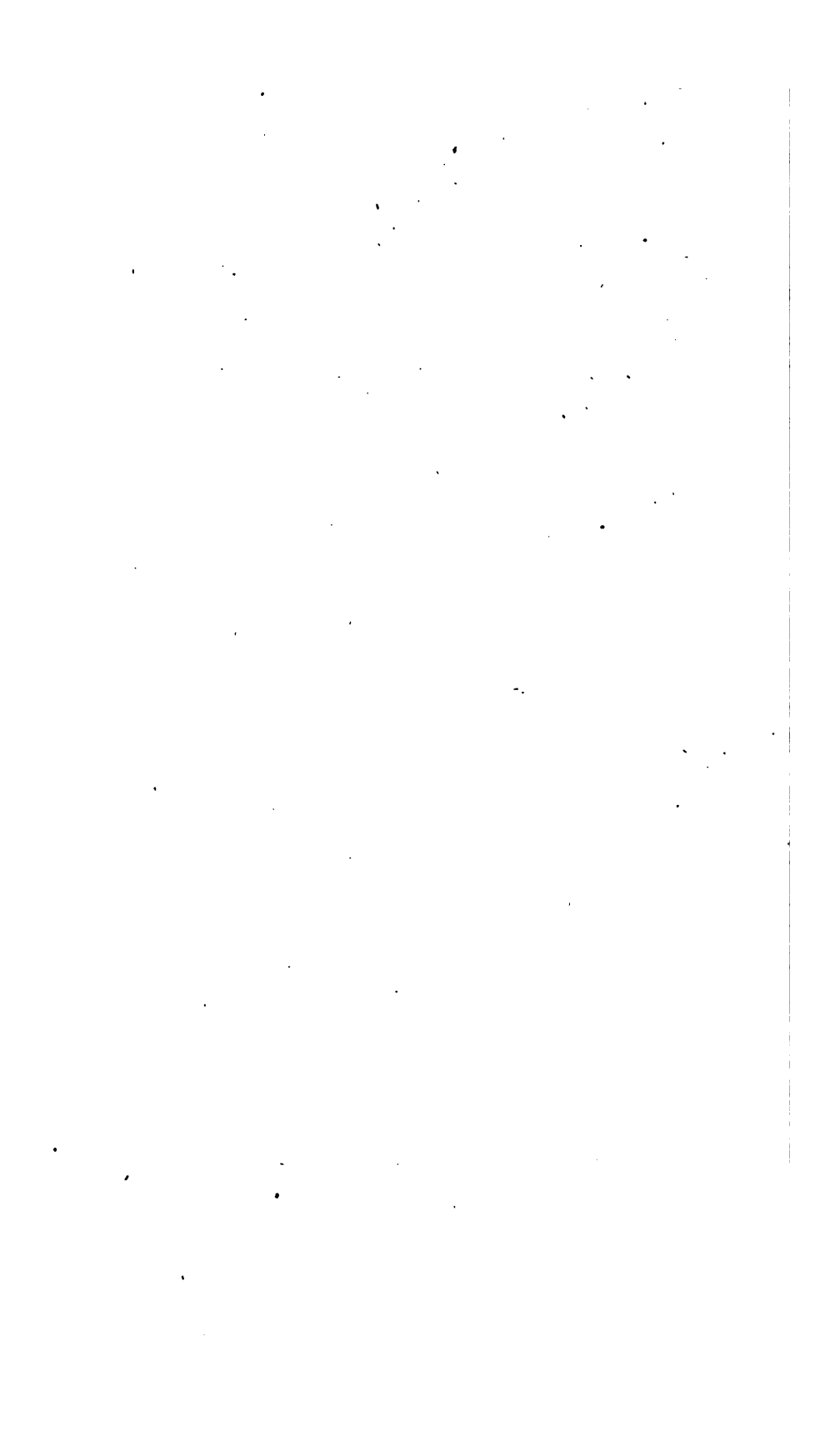
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*Paper 1st*

AN

# APPEAL

TO THE

## LOYAL CITIZENS

OF

### DUBLIN,

BY A FREEMAN

OF

### DUBLIN.



*Dublin*

PRINTED BY, JOHN MILLIKEN, NO. 32, CRAFTON-  
STREET.

1800.

1812.13.14



*Gift of  
William Endicott Jr.*

M I D O

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TO THE  
LOYAL INHABITANTS  
OF  
DUBLIN.

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*Friends, and Fellow Citizens,*

**I**F there be any thing that can conciliate attention, or create confidence in the appellations with which I accost you, by that I adjure you, to give this address a patient hearing. I have the same interest with you in the subject of which it treats. Do not conclude that, because I may see it in a different light from that in which the generality of you seem to have considered it, I must be your enemy. If I am your enemy, I must be my own enemy, the enemy of all that ought to be dear to me. I may, perhaps, be wrong in my opinions ; but I can do you no injury, by desiring you to hear what I have to urge in their  
favour.

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favour. If I cannot induce you to think with me, you will only be where you are.

I own I cannot see the wisdom or the prudence in listening only to one side of the question. In what transaction of trade, or business, would any of you think himself justifiable, if he refused to listen to a matter proposed to him for his advantage, with an attention equal to its importance, and to weigh well what might be urged for it as well as against it? Would it be right in him to consider it through no other medium than that of prejudice and violence, and passion? Or to run the risk of sacrificing his own best interests to the partial and selfish views of men having a different interest from his in the event?

On the advantages, or disadvantages, of an Union with England, the great bulk of you must take the opinions of others. The complicated interests that are involved in all such great political questions, require a very different line of application to that which you pursue. The wisdom of our constitution has provided, that all such questions should be discussed and settled by your two Houses of Parliament, advising the king's government. One of these Houses, is the creature and the organ of that description of the community, in which you are classed; it is peculiarly employed in watching over your interests, and providing for what will best promote and secure them. But, in the present question of an Union, the persons who, in the success of the measure, foresaw the destruction of a system which, for centuries, has sacrificed the peace and prosperity of the great body of the people of Ireland, to the power and aggrandizement of individuals, would not trust  
their

their cause to the great deliberative counsel, that thus represents you, when called upon by the father of his people, to remove this inveterate abuse, and to provide for the general happiness, without any regard to the usurpations of any peculiar description or class of men. They knew they could have no chance, if the matter was left to reason and argument, and plain sense: And, as it happened, unfortunately, that, from local circumstances, there was more room for misrepresentation in the effects which a Union might have on your city, than on any other part of the kingdom, they directed all their arts and intrigues against you. They laboured to separate you from your Parliament; they drove you to take this great question into your own hands, and to decide on it from the impulse of passions, which they had themselves excited.

To accomplish the triumph of passion over reason, and of rashness and precipitancy over caution and deliberation, a few factious words thrown in, as oil to a flame, are sufficient to produce an effect which it requires a long train of facts, and a lengthened chain of reason, to counteract and do away. Hence, "That Dublin must be ruined by the Union; its manufacturers deprived of bread, and its shopkeepers beggared"—Hence, "that grass should grow in Sackville-street; and that we should shoot snipes in College-green," has excited an universal frenzy from Kilmainham to the Pigeon-house; and every oyster-woman in the street cries out, that her trade will be ruined, and that Dublin is to be a desert.

This dreadful calamity is to be the unavoidable effect of the removal of our Parliament—so it is boldly asserted;

asserted; but, to give this assertion any weight, your agitators ought to prove to you, that the present state of your capital in buildings, in population, and in wealth, has been entirely owing to its being the seat of Parliament. If they can prove this, the question, no doubt, would be soon decided in their favour. But, if no proposition can be more false, or contrary to fact, then all the clamour they have raised on that pretext, has been the effect of gross misrepresentation, and an unpardonable abuse of the confidence you have placed in them.

I will now lay a ground for you to judge of this matter. From a survey made by order of Government in 1753, the increase of inhabitants in your city since 1711, was stated at 32,000. It was immediately after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, that the great increase began. No less than 1200 houses were that year on the Stocks at once. After the Peace of Paris in 1763, the increase was still greater. All this is within living memory. During the whole of these periods, and until 1782, the Parliament assembled only once in two years. They assembled even then only for a very short session. Every second winter the Members of either House were under no necessity of resorting to the capital in their character of Legislators. They never did resort to it in that character. Dublin, therefore, did not owe its flourishing state to the mere circumstance of having the seat of Parliament within its walls, and to account for it, you must look to some other causes.

Now, I take it, that what these causes are, it requires no great depth of observation to trace. I shall  
 class

class them as they appear to me, under four principal heads.

1st. Till within a period of about fifty years, our chief Noblemen, and our very wealthiest Commoners, resided chiefly at their country seats, exercising hospitality, and maintaining a constant intercourse with their friends and neighbours. Very few among them had a settled house in Dublin. Even the members of Parliament, during the short period of their alternate sessions, contracted themselves with lodgings, or took up their temporary residence in those houses, which, since your modern improvements in building, have been confined to the better sort of tradesmen and mechanics. The middling gentry scarcely ever visited the capital, except when dragged to it by a lawsuit, or some business of unavoidable exigency; and it was then considered as a great distinction for a family to take lodgings in town for a Parliament winter.

But, within the period I have mentioned, all this has been gradually changing. The country is deserted every winter, not only by our nobility and chief gentry, but by every family in what are called the genteeler ranks of life; and even among the wealthy of the other orders, there is an emulation of the manners and customs of their betters, that attracts them and their families into the same vortex of pleasure and dissipation.

2d. The commerce of the country, and its consequent wealth, have increased within the same period to a degree seldom equalled in the annals of any people. Dublin has necessarily had a commanding proportion



portion of their increase. Besides the demands of her own inhabitants, whether settled or occasional, she had the wealthiest counties of the kingdom to supply with many of the articles of the most necessary consumption, and with all the articles of luxury and refinement, whether of domestic or foreign produce. From her vicinity to the English Coast, and other local circumstances, she almost entirely engrossed all the objects of supply from Great Britain; and she had, besides, a monopoly of the many lucrative manufactures, either established of old within her precincts, or recently set up in her vicinity.

In proportion as her merchants, and others, improved their fortunes, they left the inconvenient Houses, built in other days for the mere purpose of business, to their clerks, or their subordinate partners, and they either built, or purchased, others more suited to their increased fortunes. They crowded into the streets and squares inhabited by persons of the highest rank; and they vied with them in shew, equipage, and all the luxury of entertainment. The relaxation of the Popery laws, and the liberty allowed to Roman Catholics to take leases for ever, and to purchase fee simple estates, greatly contributed to this emigration from the old to the new city; and, although it was apprehended that the quays, and other quarters, where persons of this description formerly resided, might suffer by the change, the fact proved that the houses in those quarters had even increased in value, and were instantly re-occupied.

The wealthiest, and the more enterprising shopkeepers, were equally anxious, though from other views,

views, to pursue the course of fashion, as it shifted its abodes. The Liberty, and the old city, were left to new occupiers; and the builders could scarcely run up houses with sufficient celerity, to answer the impatience of tradesmen, contending for situations in the new streets.

3d. The increase of wealth causing an increase in the transfer, and shifting of property of every kind, necessarily multiplied the members of the Bar, and all that description of persons who live by the Law. These men, with their families, are, by their profession, obliged to reside where the Courts of Law are permanent. They too, as they rise, quit the quarters of the city inhabited of old by the profession. They move from the old streets to the new, in a gradual progress with their business, and the succession, daily encreasing in its numbers, is never known to fail. In their train appear their clients, collected from every part of the kingdom, leading after them all who are necessary to their respective causes; and this great influx rolls incessantly into your capital at stated periods throughout the year.

4th. You have a Vice-Royal Court established in the centre of your city, of very great state and splendour, such as becomes the dignity of the nation.— This Court is at once the seat of fashion, and the seat of the government—In all that is connected with the refinements of pleasure—in all that is connected with the state—in all establishments, whether civil or military—in the different public offices: the exchequer, the treasury, the customs, the post-office, in the great directing departments of the army; in the various boards, as well for general purposes as for the

internal regulation of the city, in whatever is connected with the government, the revenue, the police of the country,——all have contributed to the present extent, beauty, population, and wealth of the capital.

These I take to be among the principal causes of your present flourishing state. They are obvious to yourselves. Now, the question is, to see how they are to be affected by removing the seat of Parliament. How will that circumstance tend either to rob you of these sources of your prosperity, or to interrupt their operation? If it can be proved, not merely by any speculations, but by evidence not to be resisted, that they are totally unconnected with the residence of your Parliament, and that in no possible way they can be affected by its removal to any other part of the empire, you will judge of the alarm into which you have been thrown, and you will be enabled fairly to estimate the motives of those who have raised it.

In carrying on this inquiry, I will reverse the order in which I classed the different heads.

The Union is to make no change in the establishment of your Vice-Royal Court; it is still to distinguish and adorn your city, and to remain among you in all its splendour, and with all its state. It will still continue to draw within its circle, from every part of the kingdom, the rank and the fashion, the gaiety and the amusement, that contribute their part in giving employment to your tradesmen and manufacturers, and that require your present supply, as well of the luxuries as of the necessaries of life. You are to have your Lord Lieutenant at the head of his present extensive and splendid establishment. You  
are

are to have your exchequer, your treasury, your civil and war offices, your post-office, your board of customs, in all its highest as well as lowest offices, in all the numerous ramifications into which it branches out. The various departments connected with the regulation of the army, with its clothing and victualing, and the several boards they include, will still be permanent amongst you; and it would be an idle abuse of your time to detail to you the advantages you are to continue to derive from the numbers, as well of commissioners of the first rank and consequence, as of other officers of a more subordinate description, attached to so diversified an establishment, or the consumption they create.

Your courts of law are still to be stationary in your capital. Its great officers, with all their train, its judges, its members of every name and description, must necessarily reside among you, and with them their crowds of clients and litigants, increasing with the increased wealth of the nation, will continue to pour regularly into your streets.

With respect to your commerce, your trade, and your manufactures, I have heard much declamation, but not one word of rational investigation or inquiry. In the very outset of this business, and before the terms of the Union could be submitted to Parliament, your merchants and your bankers were amongst the first to assemble, and declare their opinions against the measure. They gave to the public, with all due solemnity, the resolutions on which they agreed. You would, naturally, have expected that they should have entered into some investigation of the trade of the country, as it was likely to be affected by the Union: That they would have told you how the mercantile,

and manufacturing interests were to be injured by it. Not a word of the kind appeared upon the face of their proceedings. They gave you a string of political maxims, and prescribed the form of all those violent and inflammatory resolutions, which, without the interference of cooler heads and wiser men, would have long ere this deluged your streets in blood.

An interval of investigation and reflection produced that fortunate change of opinion on the subject in other parts of the kingdom, that obtained a majority in favour of the measure in Parliament, in January last, and the terms were detailed and proposed for discussion. What was the conduct of your agitating Merchants and Bankers in consequence? Did they calmly and dispassionately weigh these terms? Did they give themselves time or leisure to enquire how they were to affect the mercantile interests of the kingdom at large, and particularly of this great commercial City? Nothing of the kind appeared in their new resolutions. The terms were no more mentioned by them, or alluded to, than if they were still to be conjectured and guessed at for condemnation and abuse by the committee of scribbling lawyers, who excited your passions to frenzy. They continued to address you in the same stile of declamation without reasoning, of assertion without proof, and of menace and violence without prudence or discretion, which disgraced their meetings in the beginning of the last Session of Parliament.

They tell you, indeed, what it required none of these ghosts to tell you, that "the commerce of Ireland and her manufactures have improved beyond example since the year 1782;" and hence they argue,

gue, that an Union will be their ruin. But how do they prove this? "Because it was the virtue of the  
 "Irish Parliament that established the Constitution  
 "of 1782. It is to that Constitution we owe all our  
 "commercial advantages and improvements: and if  
 "the Irish Parliament be removed, we must lose  
 "that Constitution and all its advantages together."

I will not here enter into a political investigation of the doctrine that asserts, that the Union is to annihilate the Constitution as settled in 1782. I confine myself in this Address to the consideration of the interests of your City, in the event of the measure. On this ground I assert, that it is not to the settlement of 1782, that Ireland owes her unexampled increase in her commerce and manufacture. The monopoly which England granted to our linens in her own market, and the bounties she gave on their re-exportation into; the very spring and fountain of our national wealth and prosperity, were granted long *before* that period. The grant of a participation in the commerce of the English colonies, the next great source of our prosperity, was *previous* to that period; how then can the Constitution, settled "by the virtue of the Irish Parliament" *at that period*, have been in any way instrumental in those signal instances of British liberality; or if you choose, of British Wisdom, that have laid the foundations of your present prosperity? The colonies were the purchase of the blood of England—they were the acquisition of her own treasures, the work of her own industry—they were her offspring, nurtured and matured by her into a state of manhood. She had entered into such a compact with them, as that relation authorised. She engaged herself to purchase their commodities, to the exclusion of all similar productions in every other country;

country; and they pledged themselves in return, to carry their commodities to no market but her's. A trade with them of any kind, or to any extent, was therefore a favor granted to Ireland by the British legislature. It is, therefore, to that favor, and not to the virtue of the Irish Parliament, that your merchants ought to have attributed the advantages which they so highly extol, and in which your capital has shared beyond any other part of the Kingdom.

There are, it is true, some other advantages, and those very considerable, by which the trade and commerce of Ireland have been benefited since the period of 1782; but, as they depended on England, it is to her Parliament, and not your's, that you are to attribute them. They were owing to the interference of the English ministers amongst you. They were extorted by no compulsion, no menaces from your Parliament, no alarming state of the public mind. They were concessions, which England saw were due to you in justice and sound policy. Hence the triumph of the anxiety of that country for the welfare of Ireland over her most ancient prejudices, when by *an act of her Parliament* she relaxed the system of her navigation laws in our favor; when by *an act of her Parliament* she permitted the productions of her colonies to be imported through Ireland into her home market;—hence the concessions she made by *an act of her Parliament* relative to the manufacture of sail cloth, from which this country had reason to expect such extensive benefits.

All these concessions, producing all the advantages, to which you are in so great a degree to ascribe the present flourishing state of your capital, your political

cal meeting of merchant agitators, would make you suppose were not concessions but extortions from England. They would represent them as conquests gained over her by the exertions of your virtuous representatives, when they asserted the independence of your legislature. I have laid undeniable facts before you, by which you may yourselves judge of the truth or falsehood of these assumptions. I will only observe to you, that if you had no separate legislature, you would have been many years previous to 1782 in possession of these and of every other source of wealth connected with the commerce of England. There would have been no room for demands on the one hand, or for concessions on the other. The wise policy of Cromwell had designed these blessings for you; and had not the Union he formed between the three kingdoms, as the most effectual means his great and comprehensive mind could devise to secure their solid and permanent interests, been; unfortunately, included among the regulations of this the most sagacious of all politicians, which were set aside at the Restoration, we should not have experienced any of the miseries that have so long retarded the advancement of our country.

But, supposing these insinuations to be founded—supposing that all these great advantages had been extorted from England—what then? How would this affect the present question? How are you to be deprived of them by the projected Union? They were extorted from England—Granted. But England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to ratify and confirm them to you for ever. They have all been granted under certain regulations and conditions; they are revocable by the same power that granted them, and no one will be hardy enough to maintain, that our two

Houfes



Houfes could compel England to continue them to us. She now comes forward to relinquish all power of revoking them—ſhe comes forward with a propoſal to mix and blend all our political and commercial intereſts together; ſo as never hereafter to leave any room for thoſe jealousies and miſunderſtandings, which have ſo often ſubſiſted, and in the councils and proceedings of your agitators, at this moment ſubſiſt between the two countries, to change or abrogate. She offers to make them as much our own, as they are her own; to inveſt us with as unalienable a right in them, as ſhe herſelf poſſeſſes, and to impart to us a full and independent poſſeſſion, not only of thoſe, but all the other benefits of that commerce that has raiſed her to her preſent pre-eminence among the nations of Europe, and has made her the wonder and the envy of the world.

When the famous Irish Propoſitions were framed in this country, one of the principal ſources of wealth they propoſed to open to you, was, what was called the Channel Trade. By the arrangements then in contemplation for accompliſhing this object, not only the English market would be open to us for thoſe productions and manufactures of our own, on the importation of which into England, there are duties amounting to a prohibition, but alſo ſeveral articles wanting in our markets, and eſſential to our manufactures, on the exportation of which from England to this country, high duties are laid, or with duties conſiderably lowered.

It cannot, as yet, be forgotten in what ſounding terms certain perſons amongſt us extolled the advantages which Ireland was to derive from the regulations

tions thus proposed in 1785. I will not enter into details. Their \* speeches are printed, and to them I refer you for what those gentlemen thought of the Propositions, as they were to affect the manufacture of your cottons, your worsted and mixed stuffs, your low woollens, as they were to secure you against all future prohibitions on coals, rock-salt, bark, tin, hops, and other articles, most of which could be got only from England.

It now suits the views and interests of those very men to depreciate what they so highly extolled. They represent the boon now offered to us by England, although heightened by many additional advantages of the greatest magnitude beyond what were proposed in that day, as of no value. They are men of great versatility of parts, of great ingenuity, plausible, insinuating; they will never be at a loss to represent what they wish you to believe in the most imposing colours. But your plain sense would tell you, if you would but give it fair play, that what it was madness to reject in 1785, as they then asserted it was, it cannot be wisdom to reject, when in 1800 it is again offered, highly enhanced in its value, and with many additional advantages; that what was to procure you only conditional benefits, granted by a Power that was independent of you, on a Treaty of Commerce, which although calling itself final, depended on the will and caprice of the respective Legislators, and which was formed on terms that might not be observed on either side, cannot be of equal value, as when these advantages are made your own in full, and, I may say, natural en-

\* See the Speech of the Right Honourable JOHN FORTER, on the Irish Propositions, in the printed Debates, taken down by WOODFALL, and revised by the different Speakers, as Mr. Woodfall asserts.

joyment and fruition, depending on no conditions; secured to you exactly in the same manner as they are secured to the country that grants them to you; and that if there is any change, it must be in the interests and views of these men, and not in the thing itself.

But leaving these Hon. Gentlemen to reconcile their own inconsistencies, and to answer for them to their country, whose confidence in them they abuse to deceive and mislead, I shall content myself with laying before you what I conceive to be the strongest proofs, that in many of the manufactures, in which Dublin is most interested, the opening of the English market, under the proposed terms of the Union, will become to you a source of encreasing wealth and prosperity. I will submit to you the opinions of the best judges on the question; the depositions given at the bar of the House of Commons of England, by the most wealthy English manufacturers, in their interested and selfish alarm at the proposal of throwing open the English market to the manufacturers of Ireland.

Mr. Robert Peele, a Calico manufacturer and printer, deposed, that he then paid, in excise duties, twenty thousand pounds per annum. From this circumstance you will form some judgment of the extent to which he carried on this manufacture, and his opinions will have a proportionate weight with you. This gentleman being asked what he conceived would be the effect of permitting the articles in which he dealt to be imported from Ireland into the British market, answered, "If the  
 "Irish are allowed to send their goods to the English  
 "market, they will not only injure us in our home trade,  
 "but we have great reason to fear, that they will draw  
 "so

“ so much ready money from this country, as to enable  
 “ them to give credit to foreign countries, and very ma-  
 “ terially injure that trade.”—Being asked if Eng-  
 land had not a superiority in the cotton manufactures?  
 he answered, “ The superiority, if we have it, is of  
 “ that nature, that it can be easily removed into a neigh-  
 “ bouring kingdom; and so much am I satisfied of it,  
 “ that since the Irish resolutions came before the House,  
 “ I have wrote to a principal house in Ireland, to have a  
 “ connexion with it, *for the purpose of supplying the con-  
 “ sumption of England.*” He was asked, if England  
 could lose her cotton manufacture in any way but by  
 the loss of her industry? he answered, “ That he thought  
 “ England might lose her manufactory, by the English  
 “ manufacturer of property employing his capital in  
 “ Ireland. *That he would certainly employ it there himself,  
 “ if the British market should be opened to Ireland. That  
 “ he had heard many persons in the manufacture declare the  
 “ same intentions; and his own determination was to remove  
 “ part of his manufacture, and employ part of his capital  
 “ there immediately.*”

This gentleman, from having been a witness at the  
 bar of the House of Commons, is now a member of it;  
 having by his industry, and his spirit of commercial en-  
 terprise, raised himself to that honourable distinc-  
 tion. In his speech on the Union, which he has printed,  
 he maintained the same opinions which he delivered in  
 1785.—He acknowledged that the principal manufac-  
 turing towns in England would be injured by the mea-  
 sure; but with all the enlarged views of a British mer-  
 chant and legislator, he preferred the general interests to  
 all local considerations.

Mr.

Mr. Joseph Smith, a gentleman in the same business, and who also paid upwards of twenty thousand pounds in excise, made similar depositions; and expressed similar intentions of employing his capital in Ireland; and he, as well as Mr. Peele, supported their opinions on this subject by reasons, which it would swell this Address to too great a length to transcribe from the printed evidence.

Mr. Thomas Walker, one of the wealthiest men in the fustian trade, and who was delegated by the town of Manchester to look to the interests of that trade, being asked, if he did not think that on the cotton manufacturers of Ireland having the English market open to them, they would undersell the manufacturers at Manchester. He answered: "In the fustian trade, in which I am concerned, I have no doubt that they could at this time do it; and I have every reason to believe that in a short time they would undersell us in other articles." The same he said of the cheque trade, and of the small ware trade, that is, tapes, garters, bindings, &c. &c.—and he added, that he had been told by the first manufacturer in Manchester in the silk way, "that if the Irish resolutions, as they affected the home market, were to pass into a law, he could not carry on his trade in England."

Mr. Walker further read a letter he had received from Mr. Thomas Smith, of Manchester, in which was this passage:—"The number of hands employed in the small ware manufacture may be three thousand, who will be soon compelled to emigrate, if the English market be opened to Ireland. *For my own part, I cannot hesitate a moment to declare my firm intention of going to Ireland.*"

Depositions

Depositions and declarations of a similar nature were made before the English House of Commons on this occasion by the silk-weavers, and the workers in mixed silks; by the stationers and paper manufacturers; by persons engaged in the export of shoes; by tanners; by saddlers; by the manufacturers of cut glass and earthen-ware; by the iron-mongers; by the soap-boilers and tallow-chandlers; but I pass these to come to the evidence laid before the House in support of a petition from the low woollen and the worsted stuff manufacturers. This petition stated it as the unanimous opinion of these manufacturers, that the opening of the English market to similar articles of manufacture in Ireland, would be highly injurious to that trade; that they employed in their manufacture large quantities of Irish yarn, as Irish wool was particularly well adapted for making such goods, and as they could not procure sufficient English yarn for the extent to which they then carried on the manufactory; that, therefore, if the English market, in which there was the greatest demand for such goods, as they formed the chief dress of the manufacturing and labouring orders, should be opened to Ireland, the Irish manufacturers would, of course, work upon their own materials; and having them at a rate so disproportionably cheaper, they could not fail to undersell the English manufacturer in his own market, even if there was nothing else in their favour. The purport of this petition was supported by the evidence of Mr. Richard Sharp, a considerable woollen and worsted manufacturer; and he concluded his deposition by observing, "that he had it from the best possible information, that shalloons wrought in Ireland were better than any that were ever manufactured at Rumsley,  
 " which

“ which is the best manufactory in England, and that it  
 “ was brought considerably lower.”

But it was not only the manufacturers of low woollens and worsted stuffs that were thus alarmed: the manufacturers of the finer cloths came also forward to express their fears. It was not, they said, that they were under any apprehension that this branch of the manufacture would be immediately affected by the new system, as the Irish manufacturer was not as expert as the English. But these reflecting men did not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by that specious argument, which you all admit implicitly, and by which you are chiefly misled, that under our *present* circumstances, and in the *present* state of our manufactures, we cannot pretend to meet the English manufacturer in his market, or suffer him to come into our own. To enable us to do so, is the great object of the proposed Union, as it was then of the *original* Irish Propositions; and it was under this impression that the woollen manufacturers stated, that from the vicinity of the two countries, the facility with which skilful English weavers might pass into Ireland, and the great encouragement that would not fail to be given to them, this advantage, from the inferiority in the Irish finer cloths, would not long subsist. As to the raw material, England would possess no advantage over Ireland in that essential particular. Ireland makes cloths of her own wool, as high as twelve shillings a yard.— This wool is fit to mix with the Spanish wool, in the same way as the finer and coarser English wools are mixed with it to make the second cloths. The fine cloths of the Devides, and the country about it, are entirely made of the Spanish wool. This the Irish manufacturer can purchase in the same way as the English; he

he pays only the same original price for it, but he procures it at a less expence of freight. From all these circumstances, the woollen manufacturers concluded, that if the Irish manufacturers had not yet turned their attention to any plan of improving their manufacture of fine woollen cloths, to an extent to alarm England, it was chiefly because the exclusion from the British market gave them no encouragement to divert any part of their capital that way; but they contended, that when the British market should be opened to them, with all the encouragement of shorter conveyance, quicker sale, and speedier returns than the other markets could afford them, they would speedily have their proportion with the British manufacturer in this, the great object of their wishes.

If such were the apprehensions of these manufacturers from the proposed treaty of 1785, under which the exports of British wool were to remain prohibited, what would they have felt, if, as is to be the consequence of the Union, the staple commodity of English wool, that lasting object of English jealousy, had been conceded to Ireland, and secured to the Irish manufacturer for ever? and the British market opened to Irish woollens of all kinds at low duties.

The last manufacturers whom I shall mention as having come forward on this alarm, are the manufacturers from Norwich. From their evidence it appeared that they could buy in Norwich such Irish worsted yarn as is essential to that manufacture, cheaper than the English, although it was subject to four or five duties before it reached them, and was also subject to the expence of the voyage, and of the carriage, in addition  
to



to the internal duties in Ireland. From these circumstances, one of their manufacturers deposed, that upon a fair and just calculation, Ireland could manufacture her worsted yarn, in similar articles, 45 per cent. cheaper than England. Was it not, therefore, he said, obvious to conclude, that Ireland would turn her attention immediately to this manufacture, and that either the Irish or the English capitalists would be able to undersell England even in her own market?

If I were to write volumes in answer to the men whose views it now suits to depreciate the opening of the English market to our manufactures, and to whom, through all their self-contradictions, you are infatuated enough to give implicit unenquiring credit, I could not do it so effectually as by submitting to you the opinions and declarations of persons so deeply interested in the question, and so competent to decide upon it. They did not require to be told, that if the English market was to be thrown open to Ireland, the Irish market would be equally thrown open to England; they knew it, but they also knew, that in many essential branches of manufacture they possessed no superiority over us; and that in those in which they excelled, it was the very object of the system to raise us to a level with them, and that this would be its necessary operation.

The event is too recent that you should be reminded of it. The jealousy of the English manufacturers, and the clamours of the opposition in this country, prevailed with the English parliament. It refused to confirm the settlement to which the parliament of Ireland had carried it; and Ireland rejected it, as it was sent back altered and amended by the Minister.

But

But the system of the proposed Union, as it is to affect your trade and your manufactures stands upon very different ground, and holds out much higher advantages. I will proceed to state this to you, and to apply all I have advanced on that subject to the particular interest of your city.

Besides the jealousies of the English manufacturers, alarmed at the introduction of the manufactures of Ireland into their own market, there were many other objections on the part of England to the ratification of the propositions in 1785, in the original form in which they had passed both our Houses of Parliament. These objections principally arose from the nature of the connexion between the two countries: A most formidable rival was to be admitted into the markets of England, without any security that this rival should contribute any adequate part to the expences, by which that market was to be sustained and protected. Ireland, under the operation of the original propositions, could not make a single acquisition without a proportionate loss to England. She would injure her revenues in proportion as she either encroached upon, or brought over to herself the principal objects of customs and excise; and England would in her turn, become the complaining sister. England, therefore, rejected the system, unless under some controul from her own Parliament consulting her particular interests. This, in the pride of her new settlement, her new constitution, as it is called of 1782; Ireland refused, as encroaching upon her independence, and for this your Parliament was branded with every imputation of ridicule and folly, and befottedness, by the principal framer

of those propositions, who, in a late speech, has disclaimed and vilified them.

But I have already said that I shall leave this gentleman to reconcile his inconsistencies to himself and to his country, in the best way he can. However highly advantageous the system he then framed and upheld would have been to this nation, the proposed system of the Union stands upon very different grounds. In your trade and commerce, as in your religious dissensions, it is calculated to confer every benefit, and procure every indulgence, without the dangers by which every such concession might be attended under the present state of things. England now comes forward with a voluntary offer to abolish all dissensions, all clashing of interests. She comes forward with a proposal to cut off all the sources of jealousy and rivalry at once and for ever; to leave no further room for considerations of the more or the less, which either nation may gain on the other. She wishes to have but one market with you; and if there are any articles, in which, at present, her manufactures might possess an advantage over your's, she gives you the boon on such terms as may make it most beneficial to you; and agrees, that those manufactures should be protected by countervailing duties.

It is no longer a *bargain* that she proposes to make with you, as with a separate distinct state; as with a people whom she wishes to see enriched, though not at her own expence: She proposes that you should make her trade your own, and consents that all the sources of wealth she commands may be common to both.

In

In return for all this she does not require of you, as has been falsely insinuated, that you should be burdened with a single shilling of her debt; and for the future expences of the empire, she consents to the ratification of a solemn unalterable agreement, by which you shall only pay such a proportion as your own resources, compared with her's, by unalterable criterions, can bear.

In aid of those resources, she proposes to grant you out of the revenues paid by the East India Company, from territories subdued by British arms, and which never cost you a farthing, 58,000l. a year. She proposes that the subjects, and the produce of either country, should be put upon an equal footing for ever, as to all privileges, encouragements, and bounties. This gives us the continuance *for ever* of the British and Irish bounties on the export of Irish linens, and affords a full participation in the great article of sail-cloth.—It is at present provided, that the sail-cloth used in the British navy, and the first set of sails used in British merchant-ships, should be of British manufacture; by the terms of the Union, no distinction will be made between Irish sail-cloth and British sail-cloth, and thus, in addition to the other great branches of our linen trade, we shall have the immense market arising from the British navy, and the supply of British shipping, open to a manufactory, the superiority in which, I need not observe to you, we are sure to command, both from the nature of our soil and the skill of our workmen.

From the regulations which England proposes, respecting the *export* from either country, Ireland must further  
reap

reap incalculable advantages. All articles are, for ever, to be exported duty-free. This provision secures to Ireland *for ever* the raw materials, which she receives from Great Britain, and which she can procure no where else. It secures to her *for ever* coals, tin, bark, allum, hops, and salt. Under it she will not only enjoy *for ever* the British markets for her linen trade, but she will receive the raw material of England for the improvement and extension of her woollen trade, at the same time that, by other regulations, she will have British bounties to favour the re-exports of the former, and low British duties to encourage the import of the latter.

With respect to future taxes, provision is to be made, that in no case the Imperial Parliament shall be enabled to impose higher taxes after the Union, upon any article in Ireland, than the same article shall be liable to in Great Britain; and with respect to debts, Ireland, so far from being charged a farthing of the existing debts of England, will have towards the payment of her own debt a saving of 1,000,000 a year in time of war, and of 500,000l. in time of peace.

Such, in part, is the Union which England offers you; yet the very men, (I cannot too often repeat it) who reproached Ireland with folly and infatuation for rejecting the system of 1785, on what they called the fanciful ground of entrenching on her independence, and from listening to a popular clamour, artfully raised for party views, are now the most violent in spiriting up Ireland to reject the Union, on grounds still more fanciful of encroaching on our independence, and by a popular clamour

clamour raised by interested and designing men to serve their own partial ends.

Is it possible that you can always submit to be imposed on by these men? That you can continue to give implicit credit to their assertions, without proof or argument, instead of examining and judging for yourselves, at least in such points as you are, yourselves, particularly competent to decide upon?

Are not most of the manufactures, on which I submitted to you the depositions and declarations of the English manufacturers, those in which your city is principally interested? Is it not within your city, or its vicinity, that they have been established of old? And is it not in your city and its vicinity, that they are still likely to be established, and carried on in their greatest extent?

Do you not form the point of immediate contact with England? Are you not then certain to become the emporium between the two kingdoms?—the repository where the manufactures and the produce of both countries shall be deposited for the regular supply of both? Look to the canals, that are already branching to every part of the kingdom from your city, as from a central point; through these you will have a speedy and cheap communication with the inland parts of the kingdom; through these you will convey every article of Irish manufacture, or Irish growth, into your warehouses, to be shipped to the English ports, and by the same canals you will float into the country the commodities  
you

you shall bring in return from England, as well as the produce of the colonial and foreign markets. These returns will be quick—English capital will flow in with them. It will diffuse itself through every description of your manufacturers—your principal merchants and traders, enriched by their proportion in the general encrease of commerce, as well as by their local advantages, will continue to extend and to embellish your city, and by the extensive increase of population which trade and manufacture can alone produce, and the increased consumption this population will require, they will necessarily raise the value of lands within your circuit and in your vicinity.

Your poor starving manufacturers in the Liberty will see their trade not only revived, but carried on to an extent hitherto unknown. They will be no longer left as wretched mendicants on the luxury and dissipation of your contracted circles of fashion, to solicit temporary employment from balls and assemblies, and castle galas, the miserable expedients to which you now look with exclusive confidence, and which you tremble to lose. They will feel the influence of that regular and uninterrupted demand, which feeds the thousands that are employed in the British manufactories; and, as occasional distress, and occasional want of employment so often drive them into disorder and riot, if not rebellion, the settled and increasing comforts of successful industry, fed by the same uninterrupted stream that feeds British industry, will restore them to quiet and peace.

But how can you be sure that British capital will flow in upon us in consequence of an Union? I have already laid before you the positive declarations to that effect

effect of the greatest English capitalists, looking forward to a settlement, infinitely less advantageous to them and you, than that now proposed. But there are other grounds on which you can yourselves form a judgment as to that point.

It is notorious that all the commerce of the world centers at this moment in England. It is notorious, that almost all the money in Europe has found its way there.

This enormous commerce now requires to be as enormously fed, and together with the unexampled annual demands of the government, for carrying on the public service on its present scale, enables the money-holder to employ his capital to the full gratification of his avarice. But when, on the conclusion of a peace, commerce will return in a great degree to its old channels ; when the minister will no longer require an annual loan of from eighteen to twenty millions, and the money-holder can no longer look to the present wants of the government, and the present profits or government securities to employ his money, where can this redundancy of capital discharge itself? Trade in England has been long gorged ; manufacture is full in all its branches ; land is at its highest price.—Will an Englishman ever look to France, or Germany, or Spain, or Italy, or any part of the Continent, for his establishment ? Will he expose himself and his family, and his property, on an adventure to America, in preference to a nearer settlement ? No ; this immense accumulation must overflow upon *us* ; it must throw itself on *our* commerce, *our* manufactures, *our* lands.

But



But it will be asked, might it not do so equally under our present establishment, as under the system of an Union? Certainly not. The idea of security will be wanting. At present no Englishman will advance a single guinea for your loans, unless the payment of the interest be guaranteed to him by his own Parliament. The idea of peace, and tranquillity, and good order, will be wanting. At present there is not an Englishman who does not consider Ireland as in a state of actual rebellion, and who is not impressed with a conviction, that, as long as we have a legislature separate and distinct from the legislature of England, we must ever be exposed to those internal dissensions and divisions that have so long convulsed our wretched country, and retarded her advancement. But give them a Union—let them see that the country is *one*, the state *one*, the legislature *one*, and you will give the English capitalists the same trust and confidence, and security, with a conviction of which they are impressed under their own Parliament: There will be then nothing left to check their speculation.— They will have here no Income Tax, no Horse Tax, no Dog Tax, no Powder Tax, no Armorial Bearing Tax, no Poor Rates, no Land Tax—they will have labour at a cheaper price, provisions at a cheaper price, land at a cheaper rate of purchase. On these advantages they will speculate, and the enterprising spirit of British industry will, by degrees, diffuse its blessings through every class of our people.

And yet, you are to be deceived, and talked out of these prospects. You are to be imposed on by false statements, and amused by fanciful calculations, from the desks of political barristers, on many of whom you  
would

would think a guinea thrown away in conducting a simple suit for a book-debt. In opposition to all the advantages I have detailed to you, these men affect to calculate to a fraction what money is to be spent out of the kingdom at large, and out of your city in particular, by a given number of noblemen and gentlemen residing for a part of the year in England. As if a far greater number than your proposed representation did not, under the present system, reside there every year for a longer period than their attendance on their parliamentary duty can require, as if the troubles, which have lately agitated, and threaten again to agitate this ill-fated country, did not drive, and must not continue to drive more families out of the kingdom, and out of your capital, than if both your Houses of Parliament were to emigrate in a body.

What miserable stuff have I seen thrust upon you in these crude calculations? So ignorant is one of the Barristers, who took the lead in this mode of deception, of every thing connected with the subject, that he supposes, that infinitely more money will be transmitted out of this kingdom, for the support of his emigrants each year, than our whole circulating specie amounts to.

But these dashing calculators boggle at no absurdity. They at once assume it as an indisputable fact, that all the proposed representatives of your nobility are for ever to desert their family seats, and all the splendor, all the comforts, by which they are there surrounded, that they are to abandon all care and attention to that property, by which alone they can be enabled to support their state, and to give up all attentions to those interests

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which

which have raised them to the pre-eminence they enjoy among their fellow-subjects.

They assume it as an indisputable fact, that your representative commoners, the great proportion of whom are, comparatively with those of England, men of moderate fortunes, will fix themselves and their families for their winter establishment in the British metropolis, and for the summer in some of the country parts of England, either to ruin their fortunes by an emulation in expence with the great English commoners, or to sink into a place below their natural level, and mix with a society for which they and their wives, and their children, are unfitted by their education and their habits.

They assume it as an indisputable fact that, like the representative nobles, they will abandon their property and their family estates to the management of others; that they will neglect all regard to their constituents, all the attentions they owe them, all means of conciliating a continuance of their favour, or of recommending themselves to their future support, by residing amongst them, by living with them in the interchange of the usual civilities of society and good neighbourhood, that produce affection, and secure esteem and confidence. They assume it as an indisputable fact, that they are to be followed by all our principal gentry leaving the capital, leaving their own estates to bankrupt merchants, starving shop-keepers, tillers of the ground, without a market for their produce, mechanics without work, and labourers without employment.

Is it in simplicity itself to be amused by such suppositions? It was by similar deceptions that the people of Edinburgh suffered themselves to be misled and inflamed at the time of the Union with Scotland "against all manner of reasoning," says an eye-witness in his history of that transaction, "against nature, against interest, fighting against their approaching freedom, insulting the promoters of their happiness, and with inexpressible uneasiness receiving the blessings of universal peace."—Yet what has been the event? The city of Edinburgh is tripled in point of extent since the Union. It is computed that within these last thirty years the new buildings, public and private, the new streets and squares, have cost above two millions sterling.—The public offices, the courts of justice, the register-house, the offices of excise and customs, the new university, the theatres, assembly rooms, bridges, &c. do not yield in magnificence to those of any capital in Europe. Can what has enriched Edinburgh impoverish you? Edinburgh was proud and poor, dissolute and idle, while she continued to be the seat of her parliament. From the day that by her Union with England, her parliament removed to the British capital, and became part of the Imperial legislature of Great Britain, her peace was secured, her trade and her commerce increased, her incitements to her nobility and principal gentry, to make her the residence of their families, were multiplied from day to day; and thus uniting the wealth of landed income, with the wealth of Commerce, and the expenditure of successful industry, with the expenditure of rank and state, she raises her head among the most beautiful and flourishing capitals of Europe.

Where

Where the circumstances are the same, the same consequences will follow; and the removal of her parliament will no more operate against Dublin, than it has operated against Edinburgh. You, with your Union, start from a more advanced post; you are already, as far as the splendor and the appearance of your capital go, what the Union has made Edinburgh, and in point of commerce you are greatly beyond what she was at that period; your progress, therefore, will be the more rapid and brilliant, in proportion to the greater advantages you enjoy. You will have an attractive for your nobility and gentry to resort to you, which Edinburgh had not, the court of your Lord Lieutenant; your courts of law will be more crowded in proportion to the more extensive population of your country, and its greater mass of fluctuating property; all the rank, and all the fashion of the kingdom will find in you from the outset those incitements to reside within your capital, which it took a number of years to procure to Edinburgh. They will continue to crowd to you in the winter, with their families, to enjoy that society, partake in those amusements, and procure those advantages for their children, as well with respect to their education, as to their establishment in life, which no other place can hold out to them. Your country towns are not like the great provincial towns in France, where these advantages collect the neighbouring gentry, instead of resorting to the capital; and be assured that your nobles, and wealthy commoners, will not revert to the manners of the last century, when they contented themselves with the hospitality of their respective country seats. They will still inhabit your streets and your squares, while, at the same time, your wealthy merchants, increasing daily in number, will exhibit to you

you the state and splendor of that class in England, to which you have been hitherto strangers, and will soon indemnify you for the absence of a few titled men, who may chuse a fixed residence in England, and whose names, those of you who are shopkeepers, are now so wonderfully proud to see figuring on your books.

### A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.

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### P O S T S C R I P T.

SINCE this APPEAL went to the Press, the opposers of the Union have poured in upon the bar of the House of Commons a number of manufacturers, to shew how ruinous the measure must prove to their respective branches of trade. Having exhausted all their ammunition of bar eloquence, all their stores of threats, and invective, and abuse, they bring forward this new engine of opposition, as their last desperate attempt to drive the people, and particularly the inhabitants of your city, into *active* resistance to the measure. The evidence of these men, as it was to be expected, is equally prophetic of ruin and beggary to the country, as the petitions which preceded them, and you have had it retailed in all their inflammatory publications, and through all their agitating circles.

For

For my own part, I see nothing in the depositions of these men, to make me change opinions I have delivered; I see nothing in their evidence, but the same misrepresentations with which the proposed Union has been exhibited to your view, since the first discussion of the question; I see nothing in it, but a sympathy of alarm, for a monopoly of the several manufactures on which these men are engaged, with those who tremble for the danger, that hangs over another species of manufacture, in which a monopoly has long been enjoyed to the detriment of the country at large—I mean the manufacture of political power, and political consequence; a most lucrative branch of trade, by which so many of the great leading Anti-Unionists have enriched themselves, and their connexions; and in which the rest, encouraged by their example, have greedily embarked, and which they tremble to lose.

In proof of what I assert, let us take the cotton manufacturers. What is the purport of their evidence?—“That they must be protected by duties, to the amount of 50 per cent. against the British manufacturer, or that the trade must be ruined.” That *their* trade, that is their monopoly, must be ruined, I readily grant, but that the manufacture of cotton in this country must gain by it, I cannot entertain a doubt. This lucrative branch of business, which has been the source of so much wealth to Great Britain, will be no longer confined to the few individuals who have had capital sufficient to undertake it in this country, and who have been the little tyrants, instead of the protectors of it. It will be open to English capital, and English skill, from the moment that

that the English manufacturer can see security for the property he shall embark in it, and a sufficient market for the sale of his wrought goods. The men who have made the most splendid fortunes in the several branches of this manufacture, and who carry it on to its greatest extent, have already declared their opinions to this effect; you have read their depositions and their determinations, faithfully selected from the evidence before the bar of the English House of Commons, as printed by authority. It is by these depositions, and these declarations, that this alarm has been raised; your political and manufacturing monopolists have equally caught it, and both, as you see, play with great dexterity into each others hands.

But, for God's sake, do you attend only to your own interests, and let me ask you, what is the mighty evil, either to the kingdom at large, or to your capital in particular, if these manufacturers should cease to have their goods protected against similar articles from England by a tax of fifty per cent. upon the consumption? That is, if they should cease to put fifty per cent. into their pockets, which they are to raise upon every one of you that buys and wears their goods? What general evil will accrue, if from encouraging competition, and introducing skilful workmen, which the English manufacturers, the persons immediately concerned, tell you must be the consequence of such regulations as the Union purpose, the public will be no longer obliged, and particularly the lower orders, to take whatever stuff these monopolists chuse to manufacture, and sell to the people, and when they cease to have so large a premium for precluding the public from  
a larger



a larger and better market? Will your city lose in wealth or population, if, instead of two or three cotton manufactories, bringing in enormous profits to their conductors, at the expence of every person confined to the wear of their goods, by the exclusion of similar articles from England, you should have encouragement given to numbers to embark in the same business, either within your city or in its neighbourhood? Numbers, who by introducing capital and skill, would in a short time do away the disadvantages under which this ricketty manufacture has, from its first birth laboured in this country? Will your city lose in peace and good order, if the workmen engaged in the different branches of this business, instead of being in the absolute power of two or three companies, who can play into each other's hand, and reduce their wages, or discharge them altogether from employment, as it suits their temporary views, shall have always a choice of employers, and a certainty of work?

There is not one of these observations that does not equally apply to the other manufacturers, who have appeared at the bar of the House of Commons. They apply to all your dealers in commission; all your money jobbers, all who get rich by their enormous profits on the lower shop-keepers and tradesmen. How long then will you suffer yourselves to be deluded by interested men working upon your credulity, and taking advantage of the facility with which you listen to every deceiver that wishes to mislead you to his own purposes? How long will you lend your assistance to every monopolist, whether in trade or politics, whose object it is to sacrifice the public good to personal interests?

terests? Is it not notorious that the sugar refiners impose on every one of you the enormous charge of six-pence or seven-pence, sometimes eight-pence, for every pound of sugar you consume, beyond what that, now necessary of life is sold for by the English refiners? yet they also have had the effrontery to appear among the rest before Parliament, to claim a perpetuity in this robbery on the public; yet their claims have been backed by the whole gang of Anti-Unionists, who make you a party in this gross imposition on yourselves, and spirit you against a measure that puts an end to this scandalous monopoly—a monopoly that raises a greater tax upon the public than your Parliament would dare to impose on it. And what are the grounds? Blush to hear them. Because in this manufacture there are 20 proprietors, and about 220 workmen. In what contempt must the great mover of these puppets, the great Anti-Union shewman, hold your understandings, when he attempts such things!

A FREEMAN OF DUBLIN.



*Pape 2<sup>nd</sup>*

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O N T H E 22<sup>d</sup> O F J A N U A R Y A N D C L O S E D O N T H E  
1<sup>st</sup> O F J U N E, 1799.

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*Quorum pars—Jui.—*

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Dublin :

PRINTED BY J. MILLIKEN 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1800.



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*S T R I C T U R E S,*

*&c. &c.*

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**A** GREAT variety of circumstances has combined, to render the conduct of Parliament, during the session, which opened on the 22d. January, and was closed by prorogation, on the 1st of June 1799; a subject well deserving the attention and consideration of every man in this country. The melancholy events of the former year

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were

were such, as must necessarily have dictated to the Government and the Legislature, measures, differing in their rigor or in their novelty, from those ordinarily pursued:—Whether these measures in their source and in their progress, justify the wisdom and superintending policy of the men, from whom they originated; is a fair subject of enquiry to the candid and attentive observers of both England and Ireland.

The session had been ushered in by circumstances of high import, which, of necessity, gave rise to the exercise of the strong opinions and passions, that will for ever operate in conjunctures, where matters of the very first national and imperial concern, come under the discussion of the great deliberative assembly. In addition to the usual incitements to warm disquisition and high expectation; the public mind had been already charged with  
 a tumult

a tumult, almost unexampled, and yet but little abated from its most violent agitation; when this remarkable session opened. Party spirit, which had operated to as fatal fluids and to as deadly dissension, as poetic fiction has ever described, still existed in almost undiminished vigor. To recur so far as to trace the relations of the two bodies, Loyalists and Rebels, who engaged each other, in the course of the summer of 1798, with a fury so exterminating, would occupy too much time for a pamphlet, that professes to be merely observatory of the conduct of the last session of Parliament. It will be sufficient to state, that a religious zeal of the most deadly intolerance, which had first discovered itself some years back in a particular northern county, continued to lurk in, and spread through and inflame the minds of men. A Catholic prelate of the south, pos-



fessed of a mind and talents, that would qualify him for a minister of the famed Catherine de Medici; exhibited a degree of acrimony against the established Church, and of separative and exterminating bigotry, unknown to the severest and most powerful age of the Roman Pontiffs. There is no persecutor recorded by history, most noted for perverting the mild, benevolent, and beneficent precepts of Christ Jesus, whose doctrines went to such ruinous lengths:—*Bonner* would have rejected them. This prelate exerted himself to fill the hearts of the people under his care, with every sentiment that was fell and deadly to their Protestant brethren. He was too fatally successful! Some abettors of French principles and French practices, who had long meditated to destroy the connexion of these Islands, took advantage of this disposition to dissension and contest.

**contest.** Parliamentary discussion of Catholic claims, which from time to time, took place, aided their designs. The moment that the Legislature resisted the final demands of the Catholic Body, these agents of mischief applied themselves to prepare the mass of the people, as the wretched instruments of their purpose. The tenets of the Church of Rome being the profession of a large proportion of the people, the physical force of the country was, with small exception, favourable to them. There are few nations in the world whose inhabitants are, generally speaking, sunk in a more besotted or brutal ignorance, than those of Ireland. The Legislature had confined to officers, both civil and military, of the Protestant Church, certain functions, the exercise of which, in the hands of Catholics, it was imagined, would endanger the ecclesiastical establishment of the country. This restraint

straint on Catholic demands was represented to the people as a gross oppression, to which human nature ought not to submit, or they were taught to think that the executive government of the country began to fear their numbers, their force, and their virtues, and were preparing to resume the privileges, which in the few last Sessions had been extended to them, and were likely to prove formidable to the vices and corruptions of those, from whose weakness and timidity they had been extorted. The bare profession of the Creed of the Church of Rome, they were assured, was a sufficient crime to draw on them the persecution of government, and of men, who gave, perhaps, too much reason for being considered as ministers of vengeance.

Thus every motive that operates most powerfully on the human heart, was put  
into

into activity, by the unceasing machinations of the wicked men, who, by such means, fought to make themselves the rulers of Ireland. Religious animosity working to the most deadly effect, and that principle which reasonably and well directed prompts to, perhaps, one of our most virtuous pursuits, and of our best and most important duties to Heaven, the desire of political Freedom, produced such miserable calamity, as saturated our soil with much of the best blood of its inhabitants, and must for ever stain this page of the History of Ireland.

The country had hardly respired from this scene of calamitous contention, when the Session of 1799 commenced. Means had been devised for removing much of what might give rise to future civil contest or religious dissension. These means had occasioned hasty, warm, and intemperate discussion, particularly in the Capital, for some months

months previous to the opening of the Session. It had been considered that the force of Government in Parliament was so commanding, as that any measure, proposed by them, would have an easy passage through the House of Commons; and, on the ground of gross and degrading subserviency in this body, some gentlemen of high patriotic feeling, and scrupulous purity of mind, Members of the House, would no longer suffer the pollution of such Society, and had actually seceded from attendance on parliamentary duty.

The Speech from the Throne recommended to the consideration of Parliament “some permanent adjustment which might extend the advantages enjoyed by our Sister Kingdom to every part of this Island, and to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion, essential to their common security, and of  
consolidating

consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting Fabrick, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British Empire."—The Address was moved by Lord Tyrone, and seconded by Mr. Fitzgerald, Member for the County of Cork.—Early in the evening Lord Castlereagh avowed his intention of submitting to the House a specific motion on the subject of a Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. G. Ponsonby in a Speech of considerable length, and considerable warmth, attacked the principle, which dictated to the British Minister a measure, covertly intended to produce every injury and degradation to Ireland, and moved an amendment to the Address, that after the passage which declared the willingness of the House to enter on a consideration of what measures might best tend to confirm the common strength of the Empire, should

be inserted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birthright of the people of Ireland, to have a resident and independent Parliament, such as it was recognized by the British Legislature in 1782, and was finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two countries."

A debate arose on this amendment, which was carried on with great heat, and sometimes with very unbecoming scurrility, through the whole night. If an examination were strictly made into the nature of the arguments used on behalf of the amendment, which were, in fact, all applied to the Question of Union, it would be found that National Pride had a very considerable influence on them all. In some no other Theme was urged but the *annihilation of the Legislation of Ireland. The removal of the residence of parliament* was considered, and

and contended for, to be equivalent to the *annihilation* of its legislature. In such an event *no vestige of it was to remain*. Others argued on the disadvantages that must follow to Ireland, in the detail, and in the completion of an united Parliament for the Empire. It was said that an incorporating connexion, in which distinctions, of any nature whatsoever, were inadmissible, with a nation, that excelled every other on the globe in wealth, in science, in commerce, both internal and external, in agriculture, in arms, and in all the arts that dignify and adorn human life, must be the bane of Ireland, and that England sought it, that, by means of the wealth of Ireland, she might recruit her own ruined finances. This was urged and swallowed, at the moment that Ireland could not supply one half of the sum that was required for her annual establishments, and was obliged to borrow the sum in which



she was deficient.—Where? From her impoverished sister. The destruction which must follow to the commerce of Ireland, from such an arrangement, was much dwelt on, and men, whose talents or acquirements hardly fitted them for a calculation in the first rules of arithmetic, undertook to decide on the vast and momentous structure and numerous complications of a commerce, the most astonishing that the world has ever witnessed. The Science of Politics, the most difficult to which the powers and attainments of the human mind can be applied, on account of the great importance as well as the infinite and ever changing variety of subjects that come within its range, was at once professed by men, who possessed no one requisite, to give a colour to the rank they usurped. Were then many to be found in hostility to the discussion of the measure of Union, who possessed the indefatigably

indefatigably patient and laborious mind, the enlightened and the cultivated understanding, but, above all, the benevolent and expanded, the virtuous and uncorrupted heart, which are necessary qualifications to lead to the chair of this science? The debate was hot and intemperate to the last degree, but by no means argumentative; a real or affected warmth, generally dictating much of personal and coarse invective, prevailed throughout. At a late hour in the morning the Question was called for, and, on a division, 105 told by Sir Laurence Parsons and Mr. G. Ponsonby, voted for the amendment, and 106, told by Lord Tyrone and Colonel Uniacke, voted against it. On the next night the debate was resumed, and carried on in the same stile as on the preceding. The spirit which prompted to strong personal obloquy, it cannot be supposed was abated by

by the recent triumph—accordingly it was *liberally* dealt out, principally against the noble Secretary. Frantic gesticulation, foaming passion, were substituted for argumentative discussion. The most powerful Orators of the Opposition disclaimed, what had been recommended to them, cool and calm disquisition. One great absurdity prevailed throughout *the mass of clamour*, as the noble Secretary, very aptly, described the speeches from the Oppositionists. It was held forth that the projected Union was a mere financial scheme of Mr. Pitt, that by the management of the present and the future wealth of Ireland, he might assist the waning resources of Great Britain, yet it was, almost in the same breath, asserted that, if an incorporation of the legislatures of the two countries should take place, under a stipulation of certain commercial advantages to be extended to Ireland

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land ; yet, it was almost morally certain, that such stipulation would be violated, for the very purpose of counteracting our commercial advantages,

Very bold assertions were made against the competence of Parliament to entertain the Question of Union. These were used, chiefly, by the very men, who had been the authors of much mischief, by their inflated and clamorous speeches for parliamentary Reform. In the one instance, they upheld the Power of Parliament to alter, and, partially, to annihilate, the representative state of Ireland, whether in boroughs or in counties, whilst in the other, they, with great confidence, denied its competence to do precisely the same thing, to lessen the number of Representatives, and to change the places for which they should be constituted.

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On the 24th, after some mere routine business was gone through, Lord Tyrone reported the Address, the last paragraph of which stood, "The unremitting activity with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must constantly engage our most earnest attention, and as your Majesty has condescended to express an anxious hope that this circumstance, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliament in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating as far as possible into one firm and lasting fabric the strength, the power, and the resources of the British Empire, we shall not fail to give the fullest consideration to a communication  
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of such momentous importance." This paragraph could not, of course, be allowed, by the gentlemen in opposition, to stand as part of the Address. A motion was made to expunge it, which renewed the Debate on Union with even greater virulence than had been before exhibited. This fortunately gave an opportunity to a gentleman who supported the Paragraph, with the most lucid precision, to maintain the competence of Parliament to entertain the Question; and if upon deliberation it should appear salutary, to effectuate the measure. He has since, much to the satisfaction of the public mind, given in print the opinions on this subject, moderately, but firmly, asserted that night. They are such as have not hitherto been refuted, nor has an attempt been made for this purpose, by all the zeal and powers of the constitutional Lawyers in opposition. The

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event was a most splendid triumph against the government, 109 voting against the Paragraph, and a 104 in favour of it. Some changes having taken place by new appointments to offices under the crown, the noble Secretary on the 28th moved that the House should adjourn until the 7th of February, in order to give the public officers an opportunity to bring forward the public accounts. This motion was opposed and debated a considerable time, but at length carried.

LORD

## LORD CORRY'S MOTION.

NOTICE had been given of an intended Motion fraught with the utmost mischief to the Government; a mischief very likely to extend itself to the country at large. A young and noble Lord was its putative father. Nothing could be imagined more calculated to throw the Administration into irretrievable embarrassment. The hopes of the Separatists were again raised high indeed, on the night of the 18th of February, when the Motion, "for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the State of the Nation," was submitted to the House by the noble Lord. The Party, which had voted against Government, at the beginning of the Session,



remained still unbroken. The men, who were their Leaders, were flushed with all the ardor of recent success, and the immediate expectation of further triumph. The Question of Union again formed the subject of debate. It underwent all the terms of scorn, indignation and reproach, that could suggest themselves to a Party elated with victory, and still confident of further cause to exult. In vain did the noble Lord, who represented the executive government in the House of Commons, deprecate the re-agitation of this Question. In vain did he give an assurance that it was for the present at rest. "For the present," was an indefinite phrase, unsatisfactory to the anxious accuracy of their minds. It might mean a week, a month, a session.—In vain, then, did the noble Lord explain his meaning, and declare, that as an Irish gentleman, or as a statesman, he must

must conceive himself highly culpable if he should ever bring the Question forward again, unless the affections of the people and of parliament were attached to it. This was not enough—their expectations were high indeed—they were defeated. Some little interval had taken place since the first vaunted triumph over government. This gave to a few of the gentlemen, who had engaged themselves against Administration, at the outset of the Session, time to reflect on what they were doing, and to consider in what career they had engaged themselves. They saw clearly the injurious tendency of the measure before them, and gave their support to government, much to the discomfiture of the Separatists. The way to this decision, highly preservative of the safety of the country, was led by a gentleman, who had sacrificed much to a conscientious discharge of, what  
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he conceived to be, his public duty. All the praise, that belonged to the genuine and disinterested worth, that formerly distinguished a Saville in England, and a Brownlow in this country, belonged to him. *Non divitiis cum divite, nec factione cum factioso, sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat, esse, quam videri, bonus malebat.* He spoke early in the night, and pointed out with great judgment and precision, the distinctions that should be observed between the objects involved in the noble Lord's motion and the Question of Union. The part taken by this gentleman had, certainly, much to the credit of many who followed him, very considerable effect, in creating the majority of twenty for Administration, which appeared on a division of the House, at six o'clock in the morning. This was by far the most essential service rendered  
to

to Government, by any individual, during this important Session. It was dictated by an understanding of the clearest nature, and by a mind admirable for its invariable adherence to justice and to truth. Some gentlemen, who assume to be the Leaders of the Opposition, had, inconsiderately, let fall in the course of the debate, that if they succeeded in the Motion before the House, the Committee should be kept open from day to day, until Administration should be driven into the measures which they would prescribe. From this night the embarrassment of the Executive Government, within the walls of the House of Commons, subsided very much. The King's servants undertook, with some degree of confidence, those steps of high consideration, which followed in the course of the Session, and which led towards the tranquillity of the country, and the advancement

vancement of its internal commercial credit. They were not deceived—Affairs returned to their old channels, and though their course was not, altogether, so steady and uninterrupted, as it probably was in days of less turbulence and disorder, yet many salutary measures followed, which could never have been brought forward but for the success of Government on this cardinal night.

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### COURT-MARTIAL BILL.

**AFTER** the defeat of the great Rebel Forces, several bodies of them, regularly armed, remained in different parts of the country, particularly in the strong Holds of the County of Wicklow. Those Parties continued to be so numerous as frequently

quently to attack Posts garrisoned by the King's troops. The usual and established communication between the great trading towns of the kingdom, the mail-coaches, were repeatedly captured by large parties, in military array, within eight miles of the Capital; and ruin was brought on many families by the depredations committed. The internal Commerce of the country was by these means completely destroyed. In addition to this, the most atrocious and cowardly barbarities were practised in the province of Connaught. They began in the County of Galway, and spread into Mayo, Clare, and Limerick. This was a war of the Human Race on the beasts of the field. Many thousands of black-cattle were destroyed by night, and cruelties exercised, that stamped with peculiar and aggravated features of barbarism the character of the Irish peasant. Thus the com-

mon supply of provision, for the country, was likely to fail, and it was not straining conjecture too far, to suppose that the mischief was designed to extend to the most deadly consequences, to the defence of the country, from foreign invasion, by cutting off the supply for the British navy. This necessarily involved the ruin of individuals, obnoxious to the French party. The noble chief Governor, who had set out on a plan, that must have conciliated the minds of all the good, that of affording to the repentant guilty, an opportunity of returning to industry and peace, found himself mistaken in the nature of the men, with whom he was to deal. The forbearance and lenity of the Government met an ill return in the stubborn and malignant audacity of the Rebel. Lord Cornwallis felt and knew that "Earthly power doth then shew likest God's, when mercy seasons

seasons Justice." He invited, he received them, he spared the lives of those who only assumed repentance. From an ill-founded confidence in the promises made by the principal Leaders of the Rebels, they were indulged in every enjoyment consistent with confinement. They experienced no restraint, but on their design of plunging their swords into the bosom of their native land. The great, the stubborn and incorrigible Leader of these men, never for an instant, foregoing his desperate and his treacherous purposes, entered into an hollow composition with the Government. *Undevitam sumeret inscius, pacem duello miscuit.* He duped the Humanity of the noble Marquis. The machinations, the malignant perseverance of this man, to destroy the connexion between the two countries, were in a state of constant activity.



Hence it was that this miserable Land continued to exhibit a Scene of Ruin and Desolation: Herds of Banditti infested it in all quarters. No man found himself in a state of security for his person, his family, or his property, while he was resident in his Country House: Every man's house was his castle; but not as it was formerly understood, when the lowly and unguarded cottage enjoyed all the security, that arises under a system of laws operative to its safety, and received its humble master to tranquillity and repose. Every man's house was then his moated, his embattled castle; against which the yell of savage war was nightly and daily feared. These unfortunate circumstances rendered the clamour universal for measures of strong coercion, in order to restore some degree of security to the country. The ordinary tribunal of criminal jurisdiction produced  
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but little effect towards tranquillization, Military Courts had taken cognizance of crimes, necessarily, during the utmost heat of the Rebellion. Some officers, who sat in those Courts, upon the gradual diminution of extreme violence, were threatened with suits at law for damages alledged to be suffered by parties brought before them, and besides, a person in their custody might by application for the writ of Habeas Corpus, either remove himself altogether from their jurisdiction, or so embarrass their proceedings, as that the good effect, arising from prompt trial and prompt execution, might be utterly defeated. Under these disadvantages, Military Courts became inoperative. It was a reasonable supposition, from the dispersion of the army through the country, which would enable them to form tribunals, at but small distances from each other, and from the characters

ractions of the gentlemen who generally sat in them, that the criminal justice of the country would, under the existing circumstances, be most effectually administered by them.

Accordingly, on the 20th of February, a Bill was presented to the House by his Majesty's Attorney General, for the purpose, according to its Title, amended in the Lords, "of the Suppression of the Rebellion, which still unhappily exists in this Kingdom, and for the protection of the persons and properties of his Majesty's faithful subjects within the same." Many objections were made to it, in its progress through the House, and some gentlemen asserted that they would no longer reside in the country, if it should pass into a law. A necessity, to be deplored by all, caused it to be loudly called for, and took away from the subjects of the country, the  
 protection

protection and security derived from that writ, which all had been trained to admire and revere. At a moment, when foreign war was hanging over our heads, by a slight and brittle thread, while the fatal malady of domestic treason was consuming the vitals of the country, it was the duty of every honest and loyal man within it, to give his utmost assistance to infuse an additional portion of vigour into the energies of Government. Under the existing Administration, no man could say that he feared the exercise of unmerited severity. If the existence of the country was to be preserved, it was necessary to put down the most atrocious guilt which stalked, almost uncontrouled, through the land, it was necessary, that Justice, summary and efficient, should prevail. The incorrigible offender should feel that, though her feet were lead, her hands were adamant. The bugbear of Union was again conjured up and arrayed in its most terrific form, and  
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it was asserted, with great confidence, that it would receive its principal support from the operation of this Bill. Some, whose visual force was greater than that of others, perceived that every man, who ventured even to think in a manner hostile to Union, would be instantly seized, tried by Law martial, and probably executed. The Bill received the royal assent on the 25th of March. Its operation is now before the judgment of every man. That judgment will decide from comparing the state of the country, at this day, with that in which it stood in the month of February last.

REGENCY

## REGENCY BILL.

AN ARGUMENT had been used, in the course of the debate, on the Question of Union, favourable to it, from what had taken place on a melancholy occasion, that had occurred in the year 1789. At that time the whole tendency of what went forward, in the Irish Parliament, was strongly towards a separation of Ireland from Great Britain, at least, in a similar case, the speculative event was not only possible, but probable. A high-minded Nation, proud of its legislative Independence, would probably assert an uncontroled and unquestionable right of appointing its own Governor, and defining the powers with which he should be invested, in the accident of a suspension of the usual executive functionary, by incapacity or a minority.

nority. Many situations might occur, in which these great and energetic principles, that, unceasingly, influence the mind of society, as well as of individuals, pride, ambition, avarice, jealousy, would probably threaten the existence of the present connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. All foreign relations, comprehending treaties, which in their outline or in their detail, might carry with them matter, invincibly offensive to the pride, or greatly injurious to the interests of the one, or the other, of these countries, are exclusively in the management of the minister of England. Ireland has, hitherto, with singular prudence, for eighteen years, abstained from taking any part whatever in foreign treaties, and has tacitly ceded to Great Britain, the right of management of all external relations. A period might arise, when the hot and ebullient disposition to  
popularity

popularity, so frequently found among the Irish people, if united with commanding talents, as we have known it to be, might urge the Nation to an interference in those points of the proudest, and most eminent imperial concern. They are the points precisely, on which the pride of a powerful and inflammable people might be most sensibly touched. The Minister of England, is not, by any means yet devised, accountable to Ireland, for the manner, in which he shall consult her dignity or her interests, in any treaties he may form with other nations. Her interest may be counteracted, her dignity, if any foreign dignity she has, may be debased, without the possibility of her obtaining any redress for the wounds inflicted on her interest or her pride. But foreign dignity she has none. She is a blank among the nations of Europe, in every thing that can soothe the vanity, or gratify the ambition,



of a country. In order to obviate the ill consequences, that might arise from a recurrence of that calamity, which formerly caused sharp and hostile discussion in the House of Commons, or from the death of the King previous to the majority of his successor, a Bill was presented to the House on the 22d of February by the late Prime Serjeant, Mr. Fitzgerald, which was read a second time, and went into Committee. The Title of the Bill was amended in the Committee, and stood "A Bill to provide for the Exercise and Administration of the Powers of the Imperial Crown of Ireland, whensoever, and as often as, the regal Powers of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, shall, by virtue of the Laws and Constitution, be exercised and administered by a Regent or Regency, or by any person or persons, by any other Title, Name, or Description." The Consideration of this  
 Bill

Bill was, by consent, postponed until the House should be again full after the Lent Assizes. On the 18th of April, a Motion was made to defer the Consideration of the Report of the Committee until the 1st of August, and, on a division, carried by a large majority. A debate took place on this Motion, in which, the inadequacy of the measure, to the purpose it was intended to effect, was much relied on. It was argued from historical facts, as well as by well-founded deductions, from observation on the moral qualities of mankind, that the present constitutional organized frame of connexion of Ireland with England, was vital in every fibre. An accidental gust of the various passions, that so continually agitate the human mind, might shock it so, as to reduce it to annihilation. Man should be new made, society should exhibit what had never yet been exhibited

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by society, before this discordant frame of connexion could ever be brought to harmonize. The proposed measure, even if it could be looked upon as completely adequate to its purpose, was but one step towards a distance almost incalculable. In this very bill, the superiority, or at least, the secondary Consideration, in which Ireland stood in the scale of connexion, was eminently conspicuous. It contained, on her part an admission, incontrovertible, of the difficulties, which were not unlikely to occur, from the Nature of the subsisting connexion, and a faithful and honourable sacrifice of pride to affection.

COLONEL

## COLONEL COLE.

IN the latter part of the Session, the attention of the House of Commons was interested by the circumstance of an honourable Colonel, who was preparing, with great gallantry, to engage in the military service of his country, on the confines of Europe, having applied to Government for the office of Escheator, in order to vacate his seat for the Borough of Enniskillen, and having found his application unsuccessful. It was said to have been the intention of the honourable Colonel's family, in whom an uncontrouled dominion over this Borough resides, in case of vacancy, to return for it, a gentleman closely allied to them, whose sentiments were known

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to be inflexibly hostile to the Question of Union. This refusal of an office, the granting of which was generally considered as a matter of course, on the application of any member, who wished to vacate his seat, was canvassed in the House with great warmth. An attack of the most violent kind was made upon Administration. It was attributed to them, that, by a management, which would degrade the most callow Politician, they sought to weaken their adversaries, and strengthen themselves for the purpose of effectuating their great and favourite measure. It was boldly asserted that the design of Government, in refusing to grant this office to the honourable Colonel, was to pack the Parliament for their own purposes. The Orators of Opposition never adverted to the numbers of places, some of them Counties, that were either wholly or partially unrepresented

sented on the Question of Union, in the beginning of the Session. The whole popular Representation of Ireland comprehends three hundred. Of this number 215 only voted—Eighty-five members, of whom twenty were Representatives of Counties, and sixty-five of Boroughs, were absent from parliamentary duty, either from attendance on the King's service, or on account of health, or from other causes. No complaint had been made, by those Counties or Boroughs, of their in-efficiency, in deciding on those important nights, from the non-attendance of their Representatives. In the course of this Session, unexampled for the number of changes that had taken place in parliamentary Representation, this place had been granted to several, whose successors, it was well known, would be inimical to Government. But the occasion of "mauling the Minister" could not be

past by, particularly as the Session was now drawing towards a close. A gentleman, one of those, who had, some time before, looked upon a seat in the House, as pollution to a man possessed of the common feelings of honour or of honesty, took a very prominent part in the business of this evening. He cautioned the noble Secretary on the heavy Responsibility; that lay upon him, and the dangerous tendency of wrapping himself in silence, on the subject then before the House, a conduct which had been recommended to him by one of the Law officers of the Crown. The disrespect shewn to the House, and to the People, in not disclosing what were the Motives that influenced Lord Cornwallis to refuse, to the Application of the honourable Colonel, this office, was blazoned forth, with all the force and talent, with which that learned gentleman is gifted.—

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He expressly asserted that the designs and conduct of the noble Marquis were in direct hostility to the Prosperity, Liberty, and Peace of the country. He said that he was sent here, and put at the head of an army of 60,000 men, for the purpose of subjugating the country, by Military Force, to the will of the British Minister. The wisdom and the lenity, that had rescued from the gripe of severe, and, in many instances, merited chastisement, men, of whose principles and of whose practices, this learned gentleman, had often been the public and the private advocate, were in a moment, forgotten. This able parliamentary chemist, in an instant, changed the qualities, that had so lately called forth the praises and blessings of the Nation, into their deadly opposites. At the moment when he threatened the Minister, the House and the country, with a repetition of the horrors of the former



year, he forgot, or he was regardless of the world of Responsibility, under which he himself stood, to the support of which his gigantic virtue and atlantean patriotism were hardly equal. He forgot, or he was insensible to, the miseries caused by the fall of so many thousands in the recent conflict. As soon as the cloud, which had daily and hourly increased in magnitude and gloom, until at length it burst into such a tempest, as wrapt and desolated the whole land, was visible above the horizon, that gentleman acted with very becoming caution. The incantations were used, the hellish influence prevailed, the storm grew, the gentleman folded himself in the cloak of his own virtue, and retired to be a secure and calm Spectator of the "Ruin he had made." It would not be easy to determine that he possessed such angelic virtues as to "ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm." The Country

try was laid waste—"unfading sunshine settled on his head." If he enjoyed the sunshine of the heart, if, when he looked around him, and witnessed what was going forward, if, when he communed with that heart in his chamber, and made his own appeal to Heaven for mercy, his mind could repose on down, no good man will envy him. Upon this refusal of Government to accede to the demands of Opposition, a distinguished gentleman, Member for the Capital, moved the House, that an Address should be presented to the Chief Governor, praying him to bestow on the honourable Colonel, a place of the yearly value of £10. During a conversation, which was warmly carried on, on this subject, a motion was made that the House should adjourn. Such a motion, from the very nature of the subject before the House, might naturally have been expected, yet  
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the "unceremonious" treatment of it, and the advantage, which it was artfully misrepresented that Government was taking of its own strength, on this diminutive business, was held forth by the passion and foam of Opposition, as derogatory to the deliberative dignity of the House of Commons, and likely to be subversive of all the dearest and most constitutional privileges, belonging to the subjects of this country, "To be grave exceeds all power of face." The Question of Adjournment was at once carried.

SMALL

## SMALL NOTE BILL.

MANY complaints had arisen of the small Notes, in number almost beyond calculation, which had been issued by private Bankers, since the beginning of 1799. When the Bank of Ireland followed the example of that of England, and no longer paid in specie, it was necessary that a substitute should be found for the Gold Coinage, the circulation of which was restrained. Guinea Notes were accordingly fixed upon. The private Bankers were under a necessity of paying in the same manner. In some time it was found that the small Notes, from three Guineas, to one of private Bankers, had entirely superseded those of the Bank of Ireland. This circumstance was productive of great injury to many, particularly

particularly in the remote parts of the country. These Notes were more liable to forgery than national Notes, because punishment did not apply, with the same degree of severity, to the counterfeiting them, as to the forgery of those of the Bank of Ireland. This business of issuing small Notes was carried on to such an astonishing extent, that all idea of *real value*, in negotiations, seemed to be lost, and it appeared a mere traffick of names, according to their value in credit. This money, *artificial* indeed, in many instances, was swelled far beyond its natural proportion to labour and commodities, and brought many, unawares, to the very brink of a gulph, into which they were, every instant, ready to fall. To check this still-increasing malady, to reduce, within the limits of moderation, the mistaken men, who were hastily advancing  
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to their ruin, required a master's hand. For this purpose a Bill was introduced to the House on the 5th of March, "To restrain ~~the~~ negotiation of Promissory Notes and Inland Bills of Exchange under a limited sum." This Bill underwent a long, a calm, and a patient investigation, before the House, and many persons of the best information on the subject of Trade, and the probable consequences of extending or contracting the circulation of private paper of small value, were repeatedly and judiciously examined. The Bill was accordingly framed so as to produce the least possible injury to the Bankers, as well as to the public at large. A sufficient time was allowed for the reflux of those small Notes to their respective sources, after which no new ones, of the same value, were to be issued, so that their disappearance was gra-

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dual, and unproductive of difficulty or distress to any one.

On the 16th of April, a Bill was presented to the House of Commons, "to indemnify all Sheriffs, Magistrates, Generals, Officers and other persons from all actions brought or to be brought against them, for any act done in suppressing the late rebellion." A conjecture was entertained that the object of this bill was to comprehend and protect a particular gentleman, who had been accused, by many, of executing a high annual office, held by him in a large and respectable county of the south, with uncommon and unwarranted severity. Actions had been already brought against this gentleman, and tried in the county, of which he had just been the principal executive officer, in which the

parties

parties plaintiff had been successful: it was said that many others were intended to be brought, and that a subject, of loyal mind, and of great official activity and zeal, whose well-timed exertions had insured the safety of his particular district, and prevented a great accession of strength in the rebellion; was likely to be harassed, and might suffer considerably in his fortune, if the Legislature should refuse to interpose and to shelter him from the malice of those who pursued him. The object of this bill, some thought proper to assert was to protect the late high Sheriff of the county of Tipperary. If those who framed the bill were the friends of this gentleman; their first efforts to do him service in this way, were but ill calculated to produce their effect. It would not be easy to ascertain how the understandings of those, who drew up the



first bill, which purported to be, and was, indeed, an *original* one, were affected, at the time of its formation. An attempt was made to support it, which soon failed, and it was, accordingly, with leave of the House withdrawn. On the 24th another bill was presented by the King's Attorney General, explanatory of an act for indemnifying such persons as had acted since the 5th day of November 1797, for the preservation of the public peace and suppression of insurrection prevailing in some parts of this Kingdom," which received the royal assent on the 6th of October 1798. This bill prescribed to the jury, finding for a plaintiff, that they should find that the act, for which the action was brought, had been done *maliciously, and not with an intent of suppressing rebellion*, and also gave the judge, before whom such an action should be tried, liberty to certify against

against the verdict; in which case it should be set aside and a non-suit entered. It also limited the time of bringing actions, for causes that had arisen since the 5th of November 1797, and before the passing of the act, to three Calendar months after passing the act. By avoiding the manifest and mischievous absurdities of the first; this bill was received, and accordingly passed into a law, on the last day of the session.

These were the acts of greatest importance, that were brought forward during the session of 1799. The disappointment which followed to Government, with respect to their great and favourite measure, at the commencement of the session, caused not the least relaxation of their attention and vigilance, as to the regulations that followed, in a season of uncommon difficulty

scuity and embarrassment, for the restoration of internal tranquillity and credit. The best consequences have followed—quiet and security have been gradually returning, and that true and genuine criterion of the stability of Government, and peace of a country, public credit, has been restored to a degree, which the most sanguine well-wishers for the prosperity of Ireland hardly looked for.

*Paper 3<sup>rd</sup>*

**PROCEEDINGS**

OF A

**GENERAL COURT MARTIAL,**

HELD IN THE

***BARRACKS OF DUBLIN,***

On **FRIDAY** the 12th of **JULY, 1799,**

**AND CONTINUED BY ADJOURNMENT UNTIL THE 16th OF THE  
SAME MONTH,**

**UPON CHARGES BROUGHT AGAINST**

**Capt. JOHN GIFFARD,**

**OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN REGIMENT OF MILITIA,**

**By Major SANKEY,**

**OF THE SAME REGIMENT.**

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**Dublin:**

**PRINTED BY JOHN REA, 57, EXCHEQUER-STREET,  
FOR J. MILLIKEN, 32, GRAFTON-STREET.**

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**1800.**



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## INTRODUCTION.

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**T**HE Editor of the following trial finds it necessary to prefix a few facts to the official transcript of the minutes ; for these facts he alone is responsible.

Under the authority of his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's warrant, a Court Martial-was summoned to assemble at Dublin Barracks on the 26th of April, to try the charges against Captain Giffard.

It was found so difficult to collect a sufficient number to constitute a Court, that nothing was done until the 3d day of May following.

On that day the following officers were sworn a Court Martial :

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Col. Jackson, <i>N. Mayo.</i>               | 8. Col. Lefrange, <i>King's Co.</i>       |
| 2. Col. E. of Ormond, <i>Kilkenny.</i>         | 9. Lt. Col. Longfield, <i>Cork City.</i>  |
| 3. Col. Earl of Enniskillen, <i>Fermanagh.</i> | 10. Lt. Col. Bagwell, <i>Tipperary.</i>   |
| 4. Col. King, <i>Sligo.</i>                    | 11. Lt. Col. Cope, <i>Armagh.</i>         |
| 5. Col. Earl Tyrone, <i>Waterford.</i>         | 12. Lt. Col. Pratt, <i>Cavan.</i>         |
| 6. Hon. Col. Howard, <i>Wicklow.</i>           | 13. Major Fitzgerald, <i>Kerry.</i>       |
| 7. Col. L.d. Clements, <i>Leitrim</i>          | 14. Hon. Major St. Leger, <i>S. Cork.</i> |

This Court had sat *two* days, in which time that part of the evidence of Major Sankey, Lieutenant Noble, and Captain King, (Dublin City Militia) which occupies the first eleven pages of the ensuing sheets, was delivered.

On the third day (*May 6, 1799*) his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in consequence of the British fleet being at sea, and an attempt at invasion being expected, was pleased to direct that all officers should instantly repair to their quarters, so that the Court Martial was adjourned *sine die*. Captain Giffard immediately presented a memorial to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, praying that he might be allowed to join his regiment in that moment of public emergency; and proposing to refer

for the charges and proofs brought against him by Major Sankey, to a Court of Enquiry in the neighbourhood of the regimental quarters; and pledging himself, if the Court were not composed of officers of the Dublin regiment, to abide by its report.

To this, the following answer was received from his Excellency's military secretary :

*Dublin-Castle, May 7th, 1799.*

SIR,

IN reply to your letter of the 6th of May, I am to signify to you, that you have the Lord Lieutenant's leave to wear your sword during the adjournment of the Court-Martial for your trial; but the rules of the service will not admit of your joining your regiment, till his Excellency's confirmation of the Court Martial shall be known.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

*To Capt. Giffard, Dublin City Militia.*

In the beginning of July, it being known that the French fleet had escaped into the Mediterranean, and all apprehensions of invasion being consequently at an end, Captain Giffard presented a memorial to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, praying,



praying, that the Court Martial might be re-assembled, in order to decide upon the charges preferred against him; he was accordingly informed, that on the 4th of July his trial would be resumed.

On that day, eleven officers attended in the Court Martial-room at the Barracks of Dublin, who not being sufficient to form a court, and being doubtful whether they could regularly proceed, all the members of the Court not being summoned, and several who appeared being now summoned for the first time, they adjourned to the 8th of July following.

On the 5th, Captain Giffard presented another memorial, praying that as many members of the original Court as could be procured, might be summoned, they having had an opportunity of seeing the manner in which the prosecutor had delivered his testimony.

Several attempts were made in consequence to assemble the former court, which proving ineffectual, the Court, whose minutes are to be found in the following pages, was sworn on the 12th day of July.

It will be seen on a comparison of the two lists, that but five members of the first court sat upon the second.

By

By this Court it was agreed, that the evidence received by the former Court should be read and placed upon their minutes.

It was also agreed, as had been done at the first Court, that Mr. H. Giffard should be permitted to act as counsel for his father, and afterwards be received as a witness, he having, on the meeting of the former court, delivered in his testimony, written and sealed up, and which still remained in the possession of the Judge Advocate.

It is necessary to observe, that a part of the evidence of Major Sankey, upon his first examination, was, by order of the Court, struck out of the minutes as irrevelant. Of this, Captain Giffard was not aware; so that in order to understand the cross-examination and the prisoner's defence, it is found necessary to supply that part of the Major's evidence from authentic notes. Vide Appendix.

Nor may it be improper to observe, that Major Crampton, one of the witnesses called by the prisoner, is a gentleman, who served for many years with honour in his Majesty's regular army, and for five years as Major in the Dublin regiment, commanded by Colonel Sankey; a situation which he felt himself obliged to renounce, in consequence

quence of Colonel Sankey having thought proper to pass him over, by advancing to the vacant Lieutenant Colonelcy of the regiment, the Colonel's own son, a youth, who was not born at the period Major Crampton was serving his King and Country.

Captain O'Meara still continues in the Dublin City militia, of which he is Adjutant, and is an officer highly honoured and regarded by the best and bravest men in the service, who have known his conduct, and admired his character as a gentleman and a veteran soldier.

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Immediately after the publication of sentence of the Court Martial, Capt. Giffard received a Letter, of which the following is a copy, with instructions to present it to Lieut. General Craig :

SIR, *Dublin Castle, 20th August, 1799.*

I have it in command from my Lord Lieutenant, to desire that you will be pleased to reprimand Captain John Giffard, of the Dublin City Militia, *in a slight* manner, instead of the mode expressed in his Excellency's Warrant to you of the 13th instant.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,  
E. B. LITTLEHALES.

*Lieut. Gen. Craig, Dublin Barracks.*

PROCEEDINGS

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# PROCEEDINGS

OF A

## GENERAL COURT MARTIAL,

Held in the Barracks of Dublin on *Friday 12th July 1799*, and continued by adjournment until the 26th of the same month, in pursuance of a warrant from Lieutenant General CRAIG, dated 10th *July 1799*, by virtue of a warrant from his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of *Ireland*.

Colonel JACKSON, *North Mayo*, President.

Col. Lord Clements, <i>Donegal</i> .	MEMBERS.	Hon. Col. Howard, <i>Wicklow</i>
Major Alcock, <i>Kilkenny</i> .		Hon. Maj. St. Ledger, <i>S. Cork</i>
Major Fitzgerald, <i>Kerry</i> .		Capt. Sterling, <i>L. Derry</i> .
Capt. Loftus, <i>Kilkenny</i> .		Capt. Snow, <i>N. Cork</i> .
Capt. Butler, <i>Kilkenny</i> .		Capt. Innis, <i>L. Derry</i> .
Capt. O'Shea, <i>Waterford</i> .		Lieut. Langley, <i>Waterford</i> .
Lieut. Tallon, <i>Waterford</i> .		

JOSEPH ATKINSON, Esq. D. J. Advocate General,  
and Judge Martial.

THE Court being met and duly sworn, and the Judge Advocate being also sworn, proceeded to the trial of Captain John Giffard, of the Royal Dublin City Regiment of Militia, brought prisoner before the Court on the following charges :

1. For disrespectful conduct to his commanding officer particularly, on parade on Sunday the 14th of April.

B

For

2. For neglect of duty, and inattention to his company, to the great injury of that company and of the service.

3. For disobedience of orders.

4. For scandalous and infamous conduct, unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in having made a false return of the necessaries wanting to complete his company, and in having directed a serjeant of said regiment to make a false return of the necessaries wanting to complete his said company, particularly under the head of shoes, by returning a smaller deficiency than there actually existed; in order thereby to impose on his commanding officer, and prevent him from knowing that the King's standing orders, or his own, had not in that instance been complied with.

The prisoner, Captain Giffard, being duly arraigned, pleaded NOT GUILTY.

Major John Sankey, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, being duly sworn, deposeseth,

That Captain Giffard, the prisoner, had apartments in the barracks of *New Abbey*, near *Kilcullen*, which he ceased to occupy, and deponent knows of no liberty the prisoner had not to reside in the barracks till the 27th *February* last; (as near as deponent recollects)—That the prisoner had also frequently absented himself from parades, which induced deponent to write him a letter, saying, that he could not, consistently with the good of the service, suffer such neglect. And deponent saith, that on the third of *April* last, he directed Ensign *M'Mahon*, his orderly officer, to write to the prisoner; the copy of which is as follows:

Sir,

Sir,

*New Abbey, April 3d, 1799.*

IT is Major Sankey's orders that you account for your absence from parade since reported convalescent by the Surgeon, and particularly since the muster.

I have the honor to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient, &c.

*Adam M' Mabon, Ensign.*

Wednesday evening.

R. D. M. Orderly Officer.

To which deponent received no answer. That at the expiration of two or three days deponent sent Ensign O'Hara to the prisoner, to mention, that he, deponent, had received no answer; and also, that there was an order or two in the book, which he, the prisoner, had not attended to: That he, Ensign O'Hara, brought deponent for answer, that the prisoner had answered the letter to *Castle Martin*; that as to orders, deponent prevented him from seeing the orders, or words to that effect.

That on the parade, at *New Abbey*, on the 14th *April* last, the men having paraded with side arms for church (before the officers had fallen in) deponent went up to the prisoner, who was then writing (as deponent believes) his morning state, and said, "Captain Giffard, you sent me a message by Ensign O'Hara, that I prevented you from seeing or sending the orders to you.—If you had looked at your orderly book you would have seen I had given very particular orders with respect to shewing the officers the orders."—That the prisoner replied, "Sir, that was after;" and added, that deponent had prevented the orders being sent him (or words to that effect).—That deponent answered, "Sir, if I did, it was when you had apartments in the barracks, and if you were out of them, it was not with leave."—That the prisoner

prisoner replied, (as nearly as deponent recollects) "Sir, I say it is not so; I have the Colonel's leave, for which I am obliged to him and to nobody else." Deponent was surprized at the prisoner's manner, and wished to have the business explained to him—deponent said, "I believe, Captain Giffard, that Colonel Sankey did give you the alternative of giving up your apartments or residing in them, but you had not done either;" which assertion the prisoner again contradicted nearly in the same words as before related, (as deponent recollects). That the prisoner then ordered a non-commissioned officer to take care to send him the orders to Giltown every day by an orderly man, at an hour most convenient to himself; although neither the custom of the regiment or deponent's orders permitted such.—That deponent then said, "Captain Giffard, you are now at quarters, you should inform yourself of the orders." The prisoner replied warmly, "I shall read them at my leisure." Deponent begs leave to observe, that at the time he spoke to the prisoner of the message brought him by Ensign O'Hara, the prisoner said, "Sir, the parade is no place to talk to me about such business;" upon which the prisoner mounted his horse and rode off—that is to say, after mentioning that he would read the orders at his leisure.

Deponent sayeth, that it is the custom of the regiment on Sundays, to form the parade after Divine Service, and march off the guards, and that the prisoner did not attend on Sunday the 14th of *April* last for that purpose. Deponent sayeth, that as to neglect of duty, and inattention of the prisoner to his company, that several men of the company had been prevented from parading, mounting guards, or going on commands, for want of necessaries. That his, the prisoner's company, was not subsisted in due time; and, as to the prisoner's disobedience of orders, he, the prisoner, did not provide his company

pany with necessaries, agreeable to his Majesty's regulations, particularly of the 21st September, 1795, and 3d June, 1797; and that the prisoner did not provide his company with ammunition, when ordered by Colonel Sankey so to do.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

Prisoner to Major Sankey.

Q. Was I commanding officer at *New Abbey*, before you came to the regiment?

A. You commanded when I came there.

Q. Did I not reserve the two best rooms in the barrack for you?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did General Dundas order me to do duty as Major?

A. He did—to do Field-officer's duty till Major Crampton joined.

Q. Was I not ordered on command as a captain, during the time I acted as Field-officer, by orders of General Dundas?

A. The captain next for duty was ordered, and it happened to be you.

Q. Were not my rooms in *New Abbey* occupied before my return?

A. No; but one of your rooms, occupied by Surgeon Smith.

The prisoner produced a letter from Major Sankey, which was admitted by the Major, and after its being read in court, is annexed, marked No. 1.

Q. Have you not heard, and do you not believe, that the state of Mrs. Giffard's health was such, that confinement with her family, in a single room in the barracks, would have been fatal to her?

A. I did hear it, and do believe it.

Q. Do you not believe, that when Colonel Sankey gave me the alternative which you have stated in your  
your



your evidence, of giving up the room, or occupying it, he meant to give me a choice of one or the other?

A. Certainly.

Q. Could I have resided in the barracks, when I had given up my room?

A. No.

Q. Could I know what duty was to be done, if I was not permitted to see the orderly book?

A. Not without having them communicated you; but I never prohibited the book from being shewn to you.

Q. You said, that Giltown was outside the posts, were not those posts called Billing's, and the post Carnolway further from New Abbey? and did not the patrols go by Gormanstown, two miles nearer the mountains than Giltown?

A. Carnolway was further than Giltown, and Billing's about the same distance; but Giltown lay outside the chain of posts; as to the patrols, they might have gone further, and those were but occasionally.

Q. Was it not usual for every officer to take an escort in going his rounds?

A. Usually, but not uniformly so.

Q. Have you not heard, and do you not believe, that I was frequently visited at Giltown by General Dundas?

A. I was told by General Dundas's Aid-de-camp, that the General was there once.

Q. Was it not from you that the conversation at New Abbey, on Sunday the 14th of April, and to which you have sworn, commenced?

A. Yes.

Q. If I had not replied, would it not have been disrespectful?

A. I should have thought so.

Q. When

Q. When I said, that it was no place for such conversation, was it not reasonable to infer, that I was desirous of avoiding the appearance of altercation between officers before the men?

A. Not in the way you did it; because it was after you had altercated the business, I thought in very disrespectful language, and in a very disrespectful manner, in the hearing of the men, and in a stile of dictation and admonition.

Q. Did I not repeat a wish to decline the conversation more than once?

A. I heard no wish expressed by you.

Q. Was I reported sick, at the times you say I was absent from parade?

A. No.

Q. Do you not know or believe that the assistant surgeon had reported me sick to Colonel Sankey at any time in the months of *March* or *April* last?

A. I believe he might.

Q. Did you ever hear that the commanding officer at Castlemartin has done acts of command at New Abbey as commanding officer?

A. Not except thro' me, I don't recollect any such thing.

Q. Did you ever write to me, to say, that the men of my company complained of not being subsisted in time, and what answer did I return?

A. I did write to you, and I think you answered that they were subsisted, and desired the men might be confined for scandal.

Q. Were not the men acquitted of having charged me with not subsisting them?

A. They were not; they were acquitted of the slander for which they were confined and tried.

Court to Major Sankey.

Q. Did the commanding officer at Castlemartin receive the prisoner's reports from himself immediately, or through you?

A. His

A. His reports as Captain of the day only, all others were particularly ordered to be sent into me.

Q. What distance is Castlemartin barracks from New Abbey ?

A. About a mile and a half.

Q. Did the prisoner give up the key of his apartments at New Abbey on your writing to him ?

A. No; he called on me the next day, and said, he did occupy those rooms; and it was some days afterwards before he finally gave them up.

#### FOURTH CHARGE.

Major Sankey here delivers to the court, in support of the last charge, a morning report of Captain Giffard, the prisoner's company, without any date, which he delivers as part of his evidence in support of said last charge, from which and other companies reports he, Major Sankey, formed a general state of the four companies quartered at New Abbey, signed by him on the 25th *January* last, and which he has had in his own possession since that period; both of which are annexed, marked No. 2; and deposes, that Captain Giffard's return now stands as it was originally delivered to deponent by the person who collected the reports.

Major Sankey called on Lieutenant Arthur Noble, of the Royal Dublin Regiment, who was duly sworn.

Major Sankey to Lieutenant Noble.

Q. Were you on Parade at New Abbey on Sunday morning the 14th of *April* last ?

A. I was.

Q. Did any thing particular happen (there) between me and the prisoner at that time ?

A. A

A. A conversation passed between you; I heard you tell the prisoner that he had not Colonel Sankey's leave to sleep out of quarters. The prisoner replied, that he had; you repeated, that he had no such leave; and the prisoner rejoined, that he had such leave, and that he was obliged to Colonel Sankey only for it; and added, that the parade was not a fit place to speak to him on that subject.

Q. Was his conduct on the parade that day disrespectful to me?

A. His manner of contradicting you in the conversation I have mentioned, was passionate; and from that I conceive it disrespectful.

Q. Did you at this time hear me tell the prisoner, "now you are at quarters, you should inform yourself of your orders?"

A. I did hear you say, "now you are at quarters, read your orders."

Q. What was his answer, and was it delivered in a respectful manner?

A. His answer was, that he would read them at his leisure; and I did not think it was respectful.

Q. Did all you mention to the court pass on the parade, and in hearing of the men?

A. The first part of the conversation passed in the hearing of some of the men, the latter part as the parade was marching off.

#### Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

Q. Did you hear the beginning of the conversation between Major Sankey and me at the place and time you mention?

A. I did not.

Q. Did not the first contradiction that you heard come from Major Sankey, and if I had submitted, would not I have acknowledged that I had spoken falsely, in saying I had leave to sleep at Giltown?

C

Q. It

A. It did ; and it certainly would have appeared as you say.

Q. Did I then say these words : " Surely, sir, the front of the line, in the presence of all the soldiers, is not a fit place for this kind of conversation ? "

A. To the best of my recollection you said, the public parade was not a fit place to speak to you on such a subject.

Q. What was my general reputation, as an officer and a gentleman, in the regiment ?

A. I conceive you to be a brave officer.

Q. Was I very constantly with the regiment ?

A. You were.

Court to Lieutenant Noble.

Q. Was there any danger in going between New Abbey and Giltown ?

A. I conceive not.

Q. Were you in the habit of passing between those places without apprehension ?

A. Yes.

Prisoner to Lieut. Noble thro' Court.

Q. After the conversation of which you have spoken, did Major Sankey call you and consult you and others whether he should put me in arrest ?

A. He did.

Q. What was your answer ?

A. I desired him not to put you in arrest, as I did not think he had sufficient grounds to break you if he brought you to a court-martial.

Captain Samuel Croker King, of the Royal Dublin Regiment, was called on and duly sworn.

Major Sankey to Capt. King.

Q. Were you in New Abbey on Sunday the 14th  
April

*April* last, and did any thing particular happen between me and the prisoner on that day on parade?

A. I was. As I was dressing in my room I heard a noise on parade, and the words passing between you and the prisoner to this effect: *was*—and *was not*.—I went on parade as soon as I possibly could, and heard you say to the prisoner, “now you are at quarters, read your orderly book;” he replied, that he would read it at his leisure, when and where he pleased.

Q. Was the prisoner’s manner and deportment to me, as commanding officer, respectful on parade or not?

A. I do not think it was.

Q. Did, what you have stated to have passed between me and the prisoner, happen on the parade and in hearing of the men?

A. It did.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

Q. Was my conduct as an officer during the rebellion zealous and active?

A. Whenever the cause of your king and country is concerned, no man can be more zealous and active.

Q. Was my conduct unbecoming a man who had received a positive contradiction?

A. I think, if you received a contradiction on the parade, you should not have been warm to your commanding officer.

SECOND CHARGE.

Major Sankey to Captain King.

Q. Have you known the prisoner neglect to attend

tend parades at times that he has been riding into Kilcullen, Naas, or about the country ?

A. I have seen him ride by the gate of New Abbey barracks before parade time, and at some of those times he did not attend parades.

Q. Have you seen him at Kilcullen on days that he had not attended the morning parades at New Abbey ?

A. I have.

Q. Have you known Grenadiers unable to march with their company from their quarters at New Abbey to head quarters at Castlemartin for want of necessaries ?

A. I have known some of the Grenadiers unable to do duty for want of shoes.

Q. Did you not see them hobbling and sliding along without either shoes or stockings after the company with which they were not able to march ?

A. I recollect one day that Colonel Sankey ordered the company to parade at Castlemartin either with or without shoes, and that three or four of the men did not fall into the ranks for want of shoes.

Q. Have you not known men of the Grenadier company repeatedly reported unable to attend for want of shoes ?

A. I have.

Q. Did you return, when you commanded at New Abbey in my absence, five men wanting shoes on the 21st January last, and what company did they belong to ?

A. I did, and they belonged to the grenadier company.

Q. Did you the following day return six of the same company wanting shoes ?

A. I did, and they were of the same company.

Q. Did you know any men of any company prevented

sent from duty for want of shoes, save the Grenadier company?

A. I did.

Q. Might not the prisoner have provided his company with shoes, had he taken the trouble of doing so?

A. Every other Captain in the regiment did it, and I should suppose he could have done so likewise.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

Q. Who commanded the Grenadier company before I got it?

A. Captain, now Major Sankey.

Q. When did Captain Sankey quit it?

A. On the 18th *May* 1798.

Q. In what condition did I receive the company?

A. I believe you received it in a very bad condition, as all the companies of the regiment were at that time after the campaign.

Q. Was I the only captain sent away from my company during the winter, and when I could have leisure after the campaign to attend to their wants?

A. You were detached from your company during the winter to Meganey-bridge.

Q. Did you hear, or do you believe, that I expended large sums of money in providing my company with necessaries?

A. I suppose you did advance some money as every other Captain did.

Q. Do you believe that my company owes me more than one hundred pounds?

A. I do know it; for I saw the last return, by which they owed you one hundred and forty-nine pounds odd; and my own company owed me one hundred and thirty pounds.

Q. Were



Q. Were not the Grenadiers as strong as all the other companies, taken together, at New Abbey?

A. I believe they were nearly so.

Q. Was it customary for the Captain of the day going on duty, or coming off, to attend parades?

A. It was not customary for the Captain of the day to attend at New Abbey, when he was for duty at Castlemartin.

Q. Did you ever know the Grenadier company ordered to be kept in its full number?

A. Yes.

Q. Did you know of a shoe-maker of that company taken from his duty, and for what purpose, and by whose orders?

A. I do: his wife was cook for the mess, and he was ordered to assist her by the Lieutenant-Colonel, at the desire of the officers composing the mess.

Q. Did not Lieutenant-Colonel Sankey then command at Castlemartin?

A. He did.

Q. Was I not then acting as Major? and did I not oppose his being taken for that purpose?

A. I believe you did.

#### Court to Captain King.

Q. Were the other companies of the regiment provided with shoes before the prisoner was detached?

A. The other companies were provided before December; but I don't know the time when the prisoner was detached.

Q. Were there any complaints against the Grenadier company previous to the prisoner's being detached to Meganey-bridge?

A. I don't recollect any.

Q. At what time was the prisoner appointed to the Grenadier company?

A. I think, in the month of August 1798.

Q. At

Q. At what time did you begin to supply the company with necessaries after the severity of the campaign?

A. The latter end of September, after we came to Kilcullen.

It being three o'clock, the Court adjourned till to-morrow at eleven, to meet at one of the committee rooms in the House of Commons.

Saturday, 13th July.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Serjeant Thomas Howard, of the Royal Dublin Regiment, sworn.

Major Sankey to Serjeant Howard.

Q. Did you act as Serjeant Major at New Abbey from the time your company marched in?

A. I did.

Q. When the prisoner commanded at New Abbey, did he cause the companies there to be put into mess under the superintendance of non-commissioned officers, agreeable to the standing orders and custom of the regiment, until after the commanding officer of the regiment had announced in orders, that he would on a certain day inspect the mess at New Abbey?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Was there a regular good system of messing in the Grenadier company at any time when the prisoner commanded at New Abbey?

A. I cannot answer that question.

Q. Did the prisoner, when he commanded, cause inspections to be made of the state of the arms, accoutrements, or ammunition of the companies under his command, as is usual in the regiment?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. When

Q. When any orders particularly relating to the prisoner was given out, was it usual at all times during his residence at Giltown for those orders to be sent to him?

A. Always.

Q. When his quarters were given up to Lieutenant Noble, did I, on the parade, direct his orders to be sent to him at Giltown?

A. You did.

Q. Did you know any man of the detachment at New Abbey prevented from doing duty for want of shoes, but some of the Grenadier company?

A. Not one.

Q. Have you known men of that company for several days prevented from doing duty for want of shoes?

A. I have.

Q. Has not the deficiency of necessaries of that company continued from the time you marched into New Abbey until the prisoner's arrest?

A. Yes, in the article of shoes.

#### Cross-examined by Prisoner.

Q. How long did I command at New Abbey, and what part of that time were you there?

A. You were there a fortnight or three weeks before I arrived, and I have remained there ever since.

Q. How long did I continue in command at that place after your arrival, as you believe?

A. I believe from three to five weeks.

Q. Were there very frequent inspections of arms at Castlemartin?

A. I don't know of any.

#### THIRD CHARGE.

Captain King was again called, and before sworn.

Major Sankey to Captain King.

Q. Did Colonel Sankey (on the day that Jeremiah Creary of the grenadier company was flogged) thro' the

the Adjutant of the regiment, order the prisoner to sleep in his quarters at New Abbey?

A. I heard Colonel Sankey tell the Adjutant, either to speak or write to the prisoner, that he must either give up his room, or sleep at New Abbey.

Q. Did the prisoner do either?

A. Not at that time.

Q. Was it after Mr. M'Mahon's illness that he gave up the room?

A. It was.

Here Major Sankey produced to the Court several orders, extracted from the regimental orderly book, which were admitted by the prisoner, and which are annexed to the proceedings, marked No. 3; and also a return of the prisoner's company, signed by himself, dated 13th January, 1799, by which it appears that one corporal and eight privates wanted shoes on that day.

Major Sankey deposes, that in consequence of the order of the 20th February last, he and the adjutant inspected the seven companies stationed at their several quarters (except his own, and the detachment at Megany) and from which inspection he made out a state of the deficiencies, which state he delivers to the Court in evidence; and by which it appears, that there were several deficiencies in the prisoner's company, viz.

39 shirts, 29 pair of stockings, 28 pair of shoes, and 67 pair of soles.—The said return is annexed to the proceedings, marked No. 4.

Major Sankey delivers to the Court an order extracted from the regimental orderly book, dated 28th February, which is also annexed to the proceedings, marked No. 5.

Major Sankey also produces an order of the 28th March last, which is annexed to the proceedings, marked No. 6.

Major Sankey deposeseth, that in consequence of said order, he, on the 4th April last, inspected the companies, and found the prisoner's company wanted 30 pair of shoes, 22 shirts, and 70 pair of soles; and produced an order of Col. Sankey's, dated 10th April last, which is annexed, marked No. 7.

Major Sankey produces to the Court a return signed by Lieutenant Noble of the Grenadier company, (whose signature is proved) dated 12th April, by which it appears there was on that day the following deficiencies: 70 pair of soles, and 29 pair of shoes; which is annexed to the proceedings, marked No. 8.

Major Sankey delivered to the Court an order, dated 12th October, 1798, for subsisting the men at 5s. 6d. per week; and also produces a return signed by the prisoner and Lieutenant Faulkner, dated 26th January (which deponent says was delivered to him in January last) at New Abbey, by which it appears that that company was subsisted at 3s. 9½d. per week; both of which are annexed, marked No. 9 and 10.

Major Sankey also produces an order, dated 27th January, 1799, which is also annexed to the proceedings, marked No. 11, repeating the orders for subsisting the men at 5s. 6d. per week; which order the prisoner disobeyed.

Major Sankey also produces an order, dated 16th March, 1799, viz.

“ The Mefs Returns to be sent into the Commanding Officer to-morrow morning, agreeable to a former order.”

Major Sankey deposeseth, that on the 18th of the same month he issued the following order, in consequence of Colonel Sankey's orders, viz.

“ Captain Giffard to account for his not having sent in his Mefs Reports of his company, agreeable to orders.”

Cross-

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

**Q** Did the men, in consequence of Colonel Sankey's orders of 7th January last, attend at Castle-martin, and were they provided with necessaries agreeable to the Colonel's promise?

**A.** They did attend, and presume, they were not provided, from the deficiencies that afterwards appeared; but, I have no doubt, had the officers, who wanted them, applied to the Quarter-master, they would have got them.

**Q** Were not the clearance accounts transmitted to Colonel Sankey every month, and did he not see how my company was subsisted?

**A.** Yes.

**Q** Did you ever hear, and do you believe that I remained in debt to any of the men on the 1st day of any month?

**A.** I did hear it, and do believe it.

Court to Major Sankey.

**Q** Were there any complaints made to the commanding-officer or to you that they were not regularly accounted with for their balances?

**A.** There were.

**Q** What was done in consequence?

**A.** I desired the men to have patience and to apply to the Pay-serjeant, and if they were not settled with to call on me again; but I understood they were afterwards settled with by the prisoner, and I was confident at that time that the prisoner never meant to deprive them of their right.

**Q** It having already appeared from your evidence, that Colonel Sankey regularly received the returns of the debts and credits of the regiment every month, and it having also appeared from the evidence of Captain King, that the prisoner's compa-

ny was in debt above 140l. and his own company about 130l.—knowing this, did Colonel Sankey still continue the order to subsist the men at 5s. 6d. per week?

A. Yes.

It being three o'clock, the Court adjourned till Monday next at eleven.

Monday, July 15th.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Court to Major Sankey.

Q. To your knowledge was any other company of the regiment subsisted under 5s. 6d. per week beside the prisoner's?

A. There was, but not at so low a rate.

Q. Was it confined to one company?

A. It was not; but no company but the prisoner's complained.

Q. Were any men of the prisoner's company that were not in debt subsisted at so low a rate as those men that were in debt?

A. I can't ascertain that.

Q. Did the men of the prisoner's company, who were subsisted at the low rate you mention, complain of it as a grievance to you?

A. They did.

Q. Did any of the men of any other company ever complain of being subsisted at so low a rate?

A. Never to me, nor that I ever heard of.

Q. When and where was that complaint made to you of the prisoner's company?

A. At Kilcullen, shortly antecedent to the colonel's second order of the 27th January last.

Q. Did

Q. Did Captain Giffard continue to subsist his men at so low a rate after the second order?

A. No; he raised it to four shillings.

Q. Did the men of the prisoner's company complain after their pay was raised to four shillings?

A. Not to my knowledge.

Serjeant Arthur Wise, of the Royal Dublin Regiment, was sworn.

Major Sankey to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Who pays the prisoner's company?

A. I do.

Q. Do you draw the monthly pay and allowances from the regimental pay-master?

A. I do.

Q. How do you dispose of the pay and allowances?

A. After I receive the pay and allowances from the pay-master I give them to my captain, and receive the pay weekly from him for the men.

Q. Was there not an order that the subsistence of the company should be paid on Fridays?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you not been frequently without receiving it until Saturday morning till twelve or one o'clock, and sometimes till Sunday?

A. I always received it before twelve o'clock on Saturday, except once that I received it on a Sunday.

Q. Has not the company suffered by being late at market in consequence of your not getting it, so as to issue it equally early with other companies?

A. The men have suffered because they could not get change of large notes, but I got the subsistence in time.

Q. Had



**Q.** Had you got the subsistence on Fridays, would not they have suffered less inconvenience?

**A.** They might.

**Q.** Were not the other companies usually subsisted on Fridays or earlier?

**A.** They were subsisted on Fridays.

**Q.** Did the providing the company with necessaries depend on you?

**A.** It did for some time, from 1st Sept. 1798, to some time in January 1799, after prisoner's return from Meganey-bridge.

**Q.** On whom has the supplying the prisoner's company with necessaries depended, from the time you ceased to supply them until the prisoner was put in arrest?

**A.** The Captain.

**Q.** In what state was the Grenadier company as to necessaries in the month of January or February, particularly as to shoes?

**A.** They wanted a good many pair of shoes, which could not be got made in the town of Kilkullen.

**Q.** Was any part of your company in the course of last winter subsisted at the rate of 3s. 9½d. per man, per week?

**A.** There was part of the company for one week subsisted at 3s. 9½d. and the rest at 5s. 5d.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

**Q.** How long have you been my Pay-serjeant?

**A.** About four years and five months.

**Q.** What was the disposition of a former company which I commanded towards me? did they think I treated them with kindness and attention, or otherwise?

**A.** They looked upon it that you treated them with kindness and attention.

**Q.** In

Q. In what condition did I receive the Grenadier company ?

A. When you received the company they wanted a good deal of necessaries.

Q. Did you exert yourself, as well as circumstances would permit, to supply their wants by my orders ?

A. I did.

Q. On finding some grievances among the men, of being irregularly paid, when I took the command of the Grenadier company, did I not order the men to parade before my tent and see them paid myself ?

A. You did.

Q. Did I always, to the utmost of my power, procure the best shirts and the best watch coats, and every article superior to any other company ?

A. You did.

Q. Was the Grenadier company much employed on escorts and commands from Kilcullen ?

A. They were.

Q. Did this occasion the wear of necessaries ?

A. It did.

Q. Were there any men that wore a pair of shoes out every month ?

A. There were.

Q. Did I order you to get all the shoes you could at Kilcullen, and did you exert yourself in so doing ?

A. But it was more difficult to get shoes fit for Grenadiers than for smaller sized men.

Q. Do you know, or do you believe, that I sent to Dublin, and even wrote to Scotland for a large supply of shoes, and did they come ?

A. I know that you sent to Dublin, and believe that you wrote to Scotland—I received shoes from Dublin, I think, about six dozen pair at one time, which

which were ordered before you were put under an arrest.

Q. Don't you know that there are several men who take every method to avoid duty, and even waste their necessaries for that purpose?

A. There are.

Q. Do you recollect an order of the Colonel's for the men to parade at Castlemartin, to be supplied with necessaries by the Quarter-master, and were they then supplied, and all their wants provided for?

A. There was such an order, and the men were not supplied.

Q. Why were they not supplied?

A. On recollection, the Grenadier company was partly supplied with shoes and blankets, there were not any shirts or soles in store to be delivered then.

Q. Do you recollect Major Sankey writing to me, that some men had complained of not having received their pay in time, which prevented them attending evening parades; and did you not say, that you were present, and the men made no such complaint, and what did I do thereupon?

A. I recollect the circumstances you mention; and in consequence of what I said, you ordered the men to be confined, which I did. They were tried and acquitted.

Q. Did the Grenadiers, as soon as the camp was struck at New Abbey, go into messes by the Colonel's order?

A. They did not go into messes for a fortnight after, on account of the rooms not being prepared.

Q. Do you recollect the Colonel visiting the messes at New Abbey as soon as the rooms were prepared, and my attending him through the rooms as commanding there?

A. I re-

A. I recollect the Lieutenant Colonel attending, and your accompanying him.

Q. Was I always very exact with regard to the mens' arms; and have I not often told the men, I never would forgive any neglect in that point?

A. You did.

Q. Upon the whole, I ask you now, Serjeant Wise, did you think me a man that would avoid or slur my duty while I had health to perform it?

A. I believe not.

Q. Do you know, or do you believe, that in consequence of my nightly rounds, I was for some time sick at Giltown, and constantly visited by Mr. M'Adam, the Assistant Surgeon?

A. You were.

Court to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Do you know the reason why some part of the company was subsisted at 3s. 9½d. and the rest at 5s. 5d?

A. Because the former was so much in debt.

Q. Was the Grenadier company in a worse state when the prisoner was appointed to the command of it, than the other companies?

A. They were not.

Q. You said, you provided necessaries for the company from 1st September until some time in January; when on the prisoner's return from detachment, why were you discontinued from that trust?

A. The Captain said, that he would supply them himself, as he found the company not properly provided, and so great a deficiency, which I was not able to procure at quarters.

Q. Did the prisoner then get the very best shirts, and that immediately?

A. He did.

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Q. Do

Q. Do you recollect the time that the prisoner told you, that he sent to Scotland for shoes?

A. I think about March last.

Q. Did the Grenadier company want necessaries as much when the prisoner got it, as they generally did since?

A. Much about the same; but they were twice nearly completed since the prisoner got the command of it.

Q. Were any men unable to do duty for want of necessaries at that time, and have many been so frequently since?

A. There were.

Q. You are now asked upon your oath, to the best of your knowledge and belief, if the prisoner did every thing in his power to complete his company with necessaries?

A. Yes, at all times.

Q. At the time the prisoner received the command of the company, were any men prevented from doing their duty for want of shoes?

A. Not immediately.

Q. Was not the Grenadier company, from its station at New Abbey, more exposed to the destruction of the necessaries, than any other company in the regiment?

A. They were; because there was no part of the company detached, and they therefore gave more men for escorts and commands than any other company.

Q. Were not the other companies, from which there were detachments frequently on patrol duties, and were the Grenadiers sent on any duty of patrol?

A. I don't recollect they ever went on patrols.

Q. Were there other companies that received their subsistence so late as Saturday?

A. There were sometimes.

Q. Was

Q. Was the Grenadier company subsisted at the general rate of the other companies, except the men that were heavily in debt ?

A. Yes.

Q. Are any men of the Colonel's, Lieutenant-Colonel's, or the Major's companies subsisted at a lower rate than 5s. 5d ?

A. I believe not.

Q. Was it the custom of other companies to subsist the men in debt at a lower rate than 5s. 5d ?

A. It was.

Judge Advocate to Serjeant Wife.

Q. Did you frequently get the pay of the prisoner's company on a Friday from him ?

A. I did.

Q. What was the debt of the company when you gave up the charge of providing it with necessaries ?

A. About one hundred pounds ; in the month of June they were in debt 149l. and in credit 3s. 9½d.

It being three o'clock, the Court adjourned 'till to-morrow at eleven o'clock.

Tuesday, 16th July.

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

#### FOURTH CHARGE.

Major Sankey here produces to the Court a return signed by the prisoner, dated 24th January last, of necessaries wanting to complete the Grenadier company, viz.

*Return of Necessaries wanting to complete Grenadiers.*

January 24th 1799.	Shirts.	Shoes.	Stockings	Leggins.	Brushes.	B. Balls.	Blankets.
	21	10	17	—	—	10	16

I have sent for the shirts, shoes and stockings.—The blankets do not depend on me.

(Signed,)

J. GIFFARD, Capt.

This return is admitted by the prisoner.

Major Sankey deposes, that in searching for returns with Colonel Sankey, the one now produced to the Court came into deponent's hands; that on comparing this with the return already produced to the Court in the foregoing part of his evidence, dated 25th of January last, deponent found the difference in as much as that nine men were in the morning state of the prisoner's company as delivered to the Court, reported absent for want of shoes, who of course wanted eighteen pair; whereas the return of necessaries, signed by the prisoner on the 24th, stated a deficiency of only ten pair wanting in his whole company.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

Q. Might not these men have been employed on commands or escorts, and returned to quarters between the 24th and 25th of January, or some of them?

A. 'Tis possible, but I don't think they were.

Q. Do

**Q.** Do you know of my ever having refused to make a false return for any person ?

**A.** I do not know.

[Here the prisoner produces a letter to the Court, dated 28th of December 1795, which is admitted by Major Sankey, and is annexed to the proceedings marked thus\*.]

**Q.** Did I comply with the purport of that letter ?

**A.** As you informed me, you were complying with it, till you were stopped by either a letter or message from Major Crampton.

Court to Major Sankey.

**Q.** Do you conceive the return of the 24th of January last, to be a wilful and designed false return, or merely accidental ?

**A.** I think it was designed, from another circumstance that came to my knowledge, which was from his pay-serjeant having told me that the prisoner directed him to make a return which was false; and from my knowledge of the deficiencies wanting to complete the company at that time.

**Q.** Do you believe that the prisoner could have any benefit, or advantage, in making such a false return ?

**A.** He could have no advantage, save for the purpose of evading the orders of Colonel Sankey.

**Q.** Was any charge of making false returns preferred against the prisoner till after he was put in arrest ?

**A.** No.

**Q.** How long before the prisoner was put in arrest, to the best of your recollection, did the pay-serjeant tell you, that the prisoner directed him to make a false return ?

**A.** I think it was in February last.

**Q.** Did



Q. Did you report, and when, the mistatement you discovered in the prisoner's return to Colonel Sankey?

A. I did, after he was put in arrest.

Q. Whether your not reporting it sooner to Colonel Sankey, arose from any resolution to overlook the offence?

A. It did.

Serjeant Wise was again called.

Major Sankey to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Did you at any time, and when, make to me, by order of the prisoner, a return of necessaries wanting to complete the Grenadier company, that appeared to me to be short of the real deficiency, particularly under the head of shoes?

A. I recollect my giving you a return of necessarie, but the time I cannot positively say; you asked me, when I handed it to you, would that complement of shoes complete the company to two pair per man? I told you it would not. You then asked me, how many pair it would take to complete the company to two pair per man? I told you, as near as I recollect, that it would take about 27 or 28 pair to complete them. You then asked me, how I came to make such a return to you? I told you, it was Captain Giffard's orders, that the men in debt should be returned with one pair only, they being so much in debt, he would give them no more at present. You then desired me to make out another return, which I did, and got it signed by Lieutenant Faulkner of the Grenadier company; and which return I gave you. On my leaving you, Captain Giffard rode up to your door, who desired me to go in, and ask you if you had any commands for him? You then came to the door, and, as near as I recollect, you said to Captain Giffard, that his company was in great want of shoes by the return.

Captain

Captain Giffard replied, that he had wrote to Scotland for 200 pair, and as soon as they came he would complete the men.

Q. Had you any conversation with the prisoner on the subject of the altered return ?

A. No.

Judge Advocate to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Who signed the first return you brought to Major Sankey ?

A. Lieutenant Faulkner.

Major Sankey to Serjeant Wise.

Q. When you brought me the first return, did I ask you, how you came to lay such a return before Lieutenant Faulkner ?

A. I don't recollect.

Cross-examined by the Prisoner.

Prisoner to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Is the return now shewn you, dated 24th January, 1799, drawn by you, and signed by me, a true return as to my meaning of shewing clearly those who had two pair, and those who had one ?

A. It is. I told Major Sankey so at the time, that the debtors were to have but one pair of shoes, and the creditors two.

Major Sankey to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Did not the return, in your opinion, operate to deceive Colonel Sankey, as to the real state of the wants of the company ?

A. I don't believe that Captain Giffard meant to deceive the Colonel by that return ; though it might have deceived him, as I did not explain it to the Colonel, but I did to you.

Court

Court to Serjeant Wise.

Q. Did the prisoner in direct terms give orders to you, to make what you conceived a false return under the head of shoes?

A. I don't think he did.

Q. Was not that explanation after Major Sankey had expressed his doubt of the correctness of the return? and, on your oath, would you have explained it at all had he not observed upon it.

A. I would not.

Q. Did you understand that the prisoner intended the nature of that return to be understood by his commanding officer?

A. I did.

Q. Have you ever known Grenadiers absent for want of shoes, who were not debtors, or who owed a very trifling sum?

A. I have at times.

The prosecution being closed, and the prisoner called to his defence, he begged the indulgence of the Court to grant him time; which the Court complied with, and adjourned till Monday next at eleven o'clock.

Monday, 22d July, the Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Captain King was called, and before sworn.

Court to Captain King.

Q. When you saw the prisoner ride past the barrack-gate of New Abbey, and at those times you saw him in the town of Kilcullen, as stated in your evidence, did you consider his absence from parade as a wilful and obstinate neglect of duty, or merely casual, and without intention of incurring the displeasure of his commanding officer?

A. I did not think it an obstinate neglect, or with any intention of offending his commanding officer?

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The prisoner being put on his defence, requested permission of the Court to deliver a written paper as introductory to his defence, and requested their indulgence to read the same, which was accordingly granted. The said paper is annexed to the proceedings.

### CAPTAIN GIFFARD'S DEFENCE.

*Col. Jackson, and Gentlemen of this truly honorable Court,*

AFTER having remained three months under the imputation of charges, as infamous and degrading as, I trust, they have been proved false and unsubstantial, I am at last enabled to enter into my defence—a defence almost unnecessary, as the witnesses produced by the accuser, have proved, on their cross-examination, a course of honorable conduct in me, which I am proud to acknowledge, and at which my best friends will rejoice.

I have great reason to be satisfied with the circumstance of this trial having taken place in Dublin, where my character is known, and where Mr. Sankey is known also; and, notwithstanding the pains that have been taken to insinuate, that there were charges of dishonesty in this business, I do not think that a single inhabitant of this great city gives credit to such an insinuation.

But the malice of the charges, and of the whole accusation, is nothing abated, because the accuser's own evidence have proved it false; on the contrary, it is much enhanced by that circumstance, which demonstrates that the accuser was not deceived by his witnesses into an opinion, that he had ground of accusation. On the contrary, one of the most respectable amongst them, Lieutenant Noble, told him that he had not ground,—that he could not accomplish what he most desired,—(that is) break me of my commission. He, therefore, at the time he

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made

made the accusation, at every moment while he pursued it, and while he was swearing at your table, he knew that he had no foundation for those abominable charges.

Neither did the accuser want due time for deliberation, or advisers to consult. As to his conduct, it appears, that he went into secret conclave with one of the Colonel Sankeys—I suppose, the eldest—and another officer—perhaps the other Colonel Sankey—and they agreed, after rummaging all the old papers of the regiment, and revising all the orderly books, the mess returns, the necessary returns, and the parade returns, to ornament and enrich their accusation with a charge of infamy—a charge which, I trust, will revert upon the accuser, and his advisers.

It has not escaped the sagacity of this Court, that the pretended ground of this charge had been suffered for months to lie dormant; neither will it escape them that personal malice from a supposed offence of overweening vanity, and falsehood, was the true source of all the trouble this Court has found in investigating the effusions of folly; and was also the cause of the insult, the injury, and the oppression which I have endured.

If I had not been anxious and impatient to free myself from the abominable imputations which Major Sankey, by the advice of the Colonel and another officer, as he swears, has thought proper to throw upon me, if I could not have relied upon the purity of my own honour, and the rectitude of my conduct, to cast back those malicious charges to them with whom they originated; I am well instructed, and that by sound lawyers, that I might have demurred to plead to the most odious of all the charges—“Infamous conduct, in making a false return of shoes, with intent to deceive.” On the 22d article of the 10th section, I need not have consented to have been tried, if I was not desirous to see

for how far malice and falsehood would proceed against me; for, there is a specific article of war in the first of the 5th section; this article defines the punishment of false returns; but, it does not call the crime infamous, ungentleman-like, or unofficer-like. These terms, so well calculated to excite the indignation of high-minded, honourable men, (such as compose this Court) flow only from Major Sankey and his advisers. The charges, such however as it was, it has been by their own witnesses completely refuted.

The charges are so very foul and abominable that I know not which to touch. Indeed, I hope the Court will think, that they have all been refuted; or, if any one of them has left a shadow, it is the shadow of virulent, but impotent malice.

Believe me, gentlemen, it was with infinite reluctance I felt myself obliged to appeal to this honourable Court; for, I had an alternative, and might have avoided it if I would—but that alternative was worse than death—it was dishonour—it was to make a submission to Major Sankey—or, in other words, to accuse myself of all those evil charges that have been brought against me.

“If,” says Colonel Sankey by his officer, “Captain Giffard will make a submission to Major Sankey, this shall go no further.” Was Colonel Sankey right in saying this: “Captain Giffard, you are charged with being infamous, ungentleman-like, unofficer-like, a neglecter of duty, a disobeyer of command—a man, whose misconduct injures the service; but, if you will acknowledge all this to be true, by submitting to my brother, your accuser, I will take no further notice of it; and that which should expel you from human society, shall secure you a quiet continuance in my regiment, where, as an infamous, ungentleman-like, unofficer-like, disobeyer of commands, and injurer of the King’s service, you may remain

in the honorable situation of senior Captain, commanding that Grenadier company, which you neglect, provided you make proper submission; (that is) provided you confess yourself unworthy, by making that submission to Major Sankey?" I call upon the high-minded and honorable feelings of this Court, whether this is not a just interpretation of the proposal, which I will shew was made by Colonel Sankey through his officer, Mr. M'Mahon? And, if so, whether I can be blamed, for chusing rather to give the Court the trouble of this investigation, than acknowledge one jot of dishonour, much less such a combination of disgraceful charges?

But, from the high and honorable feelings of the members of this Court, I humbly hope I shall not only receive acquittal, but redress. It is not a light thing to yield up that sword, though but for a moment, that you have drawn with credit in support of your King and Country. It is not a light thing to have the public, as you pass along, point the finger, and say, there goes the officer who is under arrest; see, he is deprived of his sword! Yet, this I have been obliged to endure, or confess myself infamous.

In order to understand the true nature of this extraordinary persecution, and to put the Court in full possession of the whole tenor of my defence, it will be necessary, in a very brief manner, to state my situation in the regiment.

When the regiment was first formed, Colonel Sankey having first provided for all his relations, even to his child at school, (now Lieutenant Colonel) then thought of his friends—amongst whom I had (what I then supposed it) the honor to rank:—And the citizens of Dublin, who hear me, know how zealous a friend I was to him.

Mr. John Sankey, now Major, was appointed Captain of the Grenadiers: he was a Wine-merchant  
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in Dublin, and so very attentive to his business that, until four years after, we never saw him at quarters, unless he came to answer the monthly returns. In the mean time I was doing my duty. The company I had the honor to command, in no one instance was stained with even an imputation of disloyalty, while every other company in the regiment, during our being quartered in Ulster, was found to be tainted in some degree or other, and the Grenadier company deeply corrupted.

Do I say this to impute disloyalty to their Captain? No! but I wish to shew, that by attention to the soldiers, their good conduct may be secured; that an absent, or negligent officer, will make a bad company; and I am the more confident in saying this, since, as may appear from evidence, the very same Grenadier company, since I received it, negligent and regardless as I am called—has literally exchanged character with the company I had formerly the honor to command, and is now as loyal as any in the regiment.

It ill becomes me to boast of myself, or to offer to the Court the testimonies which I have received of high and honorable approbation of my military conduct, from almost every officer I have ever served under, from the highest characters who have commanded in this country.

It has been proved to the Court, that I got the Grenadier company at Hacketstown, in very bad condition; soon after which we encamped at Kilkullen, where we remained till we were literally blown out of our tents. The Grenadier company complained to me, that heretofore they had not been regularly subsisted. While we remained in camp, I drew them up before my tent every pay-day, and saw the money actually put into their hands. This you have had sworn. I exerted myself to get them necessaries, and, as has been



been proved, soon had them almost complete. I believe it was the latter end, or at least the middle of November, when we got into barracks, the barrack of New Abbey, where the Grenadiers, and three other companies, with their officers, in a very moderate-sized private gentleman's house, with pretty good stabling and offices. The officers occupied the house, and had no room to spare. It was not till many days after taking possession of the stables and offices, that the chimneys and grates were finished for the men to cook their messes. They, however, managed as well as they could. They saw the situation; they saw that the barrack-master was doing his best, and, though they suffered some inconvenience, yet, feeling the difference between dry covering and a wet tent, they were satisfied. However, as soon as possible, I did get them into messes, as has been proved to you; and Colonel Henry Gore Sankey, and Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Sankey, and Captain Richard Sankey, all saw them at their dinners; and, I believe, the reason that Major John Sankey did not see them, was, that he was, as usual, an absentee from the regiment; for at Limerick, for some reason or other, he thought proper to resign his company immediately on the breaking out of the rebellion: he was afterwards re-appointed as Captain-Lieutenant and Captain; but having early in the campaign obtained some situation or other in a distant part of the country, we saw nothing of him at the regiment until about December last. I have lived with the regiment from its formation, (except part of the year 1794, when I was High Sheriff of this city) in perfect harmony and good-humour, beloved by the soldiers, and, as I thought, by the officers, until about December last, when Captain Sankey, now Major, and his friends, found an interest in making a breach in our happiness. With regard to the soldiers, I might shew you, that in every situation

situation of sickness, or of health, in all their afflictions, and in all their wants, I have been as a father and a protector to them. That before their pay was raised, in long and laborious marches, I always regularly subsisted their wives and children at the rate of soldier's pay, at my own expence. That to the officers, my house and my table, and I might say my purse, were always open, until, without a shadow of provocation, some of them were induced to enter into a combination against me.

When the service lost that worthy officer, Major Crumpton, and the Majority of the regiment became vacant, General Dundas, in public orders, directed that I should act as Major. This the accuser acknowledges; but says, that he never saw me act as Major;—that is, I suppose, that I did not assume any degree of arrogance from the circumstance. On the contrary, he says, I was so humble as to decline, I would take no advantage of this order to avoid my duty. In my opinion, however, and I believe in the opinion of General Dundas, whose letter I shall lay before the Court, I did act as Major. My quarters, as I have said, were at New Abbey; there I commanded, and there I had prepared for Captain Sankey's reception, when he should join the regiment, the very best and most commodious apartments in the house.

Acting as Major, and commanding at New Abbey, it was frequently my duty to march the troops quartered there to Castlemartin, the head-quarters, there to parade. The Colonel several times complained of the thinness of the companies, from the number of men employed as servants and attendants. There were eight officers, as I recollect, at New Abbey, and either sixteen or eighteen servants. An order was made that the servants should appear on parade, do duty with their masters; and that, as much as possible, their number should be reduced.

At

At this very time, the mess at New Abbey demanded one of my Grenadiers, a good soldier, and an excellent shoe-maker, as an assistant to the cook. I refused the man. The mess assembled, and voted me an enemy to the mess, and put me *in Coventry*. The very men who had dined at my table the day before, voted me an enemy, because I would not, in breach of the King's order, give a man from the Grenadier company to become a scullion, where their number of servants was already too great. The Lieutenant-colonel came over to New Abbey, swore the mess had a right to any man they chose, ordered the soldier to become a scullion, and I remained *in Coventry*!

An order now came for a Captain and fifty men to march to Mageny-bridge. This was an opportunity of preventing reconciliation, too good to be neglected. I am positive it was not my tour; but I was ordered to go. I remonstrated, that I had been the last but one on detachment; that Captain John Sankey had just then joined the regiment, after an absence of many months, and that acting as Major, though I was content to do every duty of Captain at home, yet I ought not to be sent abroad. Colonel Sankey, heard me, with great patience: I was ordered first to obey, and then remonstrate. The thing was determined upon. I went, and though on my return I still complained, I had no redress.

My absence was exactly the time to work a job. The majority being vacant; I had memorialled the Lord Lieutenant to be appointed. I stated my pretensions and qualifications: I stated also, that it was impossible, legally impossible, for Captain John Sankey, an uncertified Bankrupt, to hold the commission of Major. This is the true cause of his resentment—this is the cause of all the trouble given to the Court. This, though undeniable truth,  
is

is an offence never to be forgiven. I had also requested it of Colonel Sankey ; merely out of respect, though with no expectation of success, while a relation of his own, however unqualified, stood in want of it. That, however, there might be some pretext for passing me over, it was so managed that, from the mess at New Abbey, which had so unjustly quarrelled with me, a memorial to Colonel Sankey was procured, requesting him to appoint his brother, and my accuser, Major, in the room of Major Crampton. This memorial was of course most graciously received, and instantly complied with. Upon this Captain Richard Sankey left the regiment in disgust.

The Lord Lieutenant having been pleased to confirm the appointment, and Captain John Sankey having been made Major, I found it my duty to obey him as such. My letter produced to the Court, and my whole conduct manifest how respectfully I treated him. If the Lord Lieutenant had made the Major's horse my commanding officer, I would have thought it my duty to respect the horse ; but I would not deem it necessary that either the Major, or his horse, should trample upon me.

I returned from Mageny on the 9th or 10th of January ; I found Mr. Sankey, Major, fully installed, in direct violation of the Act of Parliament ; the certificate of his qualification—the third by him given while yet an uncertified Bankrupt ; (for in that time he had received three commissions,) must be false, if he has sworn truly to his creditors ; and Colonel Sankey cannot be ignorant of his circumstances. I found also my rooms in the barrack seized, and even my furniture, by the Surgeon in my absence. I complained to the Colonel—he would not interfere—I must apply to the officer commanding at New Abbey ; to Major Sankey I did apply. He, with great pomp, and coldness of  
G manner,

manner, told me, he did not chuse to interfere amongst officers; and, indeed, that I was entitled to but one room. How could he, indeed, so recently after the memorial, offend, by any act of justice, those who presented it. After a week's importunity, living at great expence with my family at an inn, in Kilcullen, I got one room; but my stabling and my coach-house had been seized, and my servants had been threatened to be turned out of the mess kitchen. I mentioned all this to Colonel Sankey—but without redress. At length, for the sake of peace, I proposed to take the next empty house to the barrack—Giltown; this was done both with the consent of Colonel Sankey and of General Dundas, though no written order was made upon it; some officers at the same time were known to lodge at Kilcullen—there was no objection to it.

My intention was to keep the one room allowed me at New Abbey for my company's stores, for my papers, and, as it was now the depth of a bad winter, that I might have a place with a fire every morning that I came to my duty, where I might write my returns; for there was no other spot in the barrack of New Abbey where I could sit down.

I have shewn you one of twenty applications made to me for this room—you have heard my answer; that, provided I might have the use of it occasionally, as I have mentioned, I would give it up. At last I was told explicitly, that I must give it up, or come into barrack. I therefore, though very much to my inconvenience, gave it up about the first of February.

To account for my wish of living out of barrack. I, who during the campaign, had lodged and lived as hardy as the poorest soldier, I must represent to this honorable Court, that grief and misery, which every loyal and every honest man, will compassionate and respect.

The

The beloved and faithful partner of thirty-one years, broken hearted, and bent into the grave, by the murder of her darling son, Lieutenant Giffard, at Kildare; a youth that chose to die, rather than put on the semblance of infamy, by the murder of her nephew, the gallant Captain Ryan, who fell by the dagger of the accused traitor, Fitzgerald. By the murder of her brother, Mr. Morton, at Wexford. By the murder of half my kindred in various places. That poor soul, I say, was fallen into a consumption; she had no prop to sustain her but my affections; for her, and not for myself, I wished for a comfortable house. General Dundas and Colonel Sankey consented to my lying out of barracks. I took the next house to the barrack—Giltown; the mansion of Sir Kildare Burrowes. There I lived, but was even more constant in my duty from this indulgence. And, if you think it necessary, I will shew you that the indisposition with which I was attacked in the latter end of March, was occasioned by too great exertion, too much attention to duty, that I never neglected my duty day or night, though now I am charged with negligence, while other officers, who were known to lie quietly in their beds, when they should have been riding their rounds, escape the censure of Major Sankey.

I shall now beg leave to examine the charges, and the evidence upon which they have been attempted to be supported :

The first, and the only specific charge rests upon the testimony of Major Sankey, Captain King, and Lieutenant Noble. The two latter have told you, that they could only hear the terminating part of the conversation; and, as far as their evidence goes, I have no doubt that they relate the circumstances as they struck them at the time. Lieutenant Noble tells you, that the first expression he heard was Ma-

Major Sankey saying, "That Captain Giffard had not Colonel Sankey's permission to sleep out of barrack." Examine the evidence of Major Sankey, and you will find no such expression recorded by him. It appears to have been so direct a contradiction to my assertion, that I had leave, that it did not suit the purpose of the prosecutor to retain it in his memory. You remember, gentlemen, the various testimony concerning the orderly book. You have heard Major Sankey swear, first, that he directed that the orderly book should not be sent to me at Giltown; and you heard how he laboured to prove the danger and inconvenience of sending a messenger to that part of the country. You heard him afterwards depose, that he never withheld the orderly book; and he even makes an attempt to prove, that it was regularly received by me. It will not be useless to observe another, and what I conceive a material difference between the testimony of Major Sankey and his own witnesses: he tells you, that when he began the conversation, and spoke of Ensign O'Hara's report, I said, that was no place for such conversation. From this he would infer, that I treated him with a kind of contempt and disrespect, which, to my commanding officer, would be highly improper; but Lieutenant Noble informs you, that this was after a series of contradiction on the part of the Major to me—an assertion perfectly consonant to truth; for I did most earnestly wish to avoid the altercation thus forced upon me.

This evidence of Lieutenant Noble, and the testimony of him and Captain King, as to my general character, I am, perhaps, justified in pressing upon the Court, when it is considered that these two gentlemen, far from having any inclination in my favour, are two of the officers who have been induced to combine against me.

Upon

Upon the evidence of Major Sankey alone, then does the whole of the story of the parade now rest. Upon that evidence I might almost rely in my defence, were it not that the colouring given to it in his deposition, requires me to bring forward evidence to contradict his story; and the evidence I shall offer, will, I trust, upon consideration, be found more deserving of credit than that of the prosecutor:

And here it is that I am under the painful necessity of stating against any man who bears the King's commission, that he is not deserving of credit from this Court, as I mean to prove, from the most positive evidence, I will be able to shew that Mr. John Sankey holds his commission of Major under a violation of either his honor or his oath; and, I trust, that a man accused of infamy, will be thought justified in clearing his reputation, even though obliged to shew that the crime exists in his accuser.

Three times since his resignation in May, 1798, has he been promoted in the regiment, as Captain-Lieutenant, as Captain, and as Major. On every promotion he must have certified under his hand, that he possessed a sufficient qualification in property to hold the commission. The copy of his certificate to qualify for Major, I hold in my hand; it is dated, and his majority actually conferred upon him, while he was yet an uncertified bankrupt,—after he had sworn to surrender every shilling of his property to his creditors. If this certificate of his asserted the truth, he is guilty of having concealed from his creditors the property upon which he grounded his qualification, and which he had sworn to discover. If it was unfounded, where is the honour on which it was avowed? where is the credit due to him in a court of justice? with such impressions of Major  
Sankey's



Sankey's veracity, I shall, most certainly, not rest the relation of the transaction of the 14th of April upon his unsupported testimony.

To support the second charge, "Neglect of Duty,"—a mass of very unconnected matter has been laid before the Court. The orders, and counter orders, of Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major Sankey, have been detailed, and urged upon the Court, even to weariness. The returns of the regiment, and of the companies, have been examined, checked, and docketed, against each other. Captain King has been examined, Serjeant Howard has been examined, and Serjeant Wise has been sifted to the very bottom of his thoughts; yet, what appears positively from the evidence of my accuser's witnesses?

It appears that I received the Grenadier company in a very bad state for want of necessaries, about September last—that I set about as quickly as possible to furnish them—that from the state of the country, it was not easy to procure those things at Kilsallan, and from the danger of the roads very difficult to get them from Dublin; however, until the Majority became vacant in December, I was suffered to go on like other captains, endeavouring to repair their losses. I was then detached to Meganey, and it was there that, amongst other means of annoyance, the system of attacking me through the orderly book commenced. An order for my company to parade, and be furnished at Castlemartin by the Colonel, has been read, dated the 7th of January; at twelve o'clock that night I returned from Meganey, the men paraded at Castlemartin according to orders, and you have heard the prosecutor's witnesses swear, that even the Colonel had not provided the necessaries he had promised. I cannot blame him; I found it extremely difficult myself to procure those articles;—but Colonel Sankey should not have charged that difficulty to me as a crime.

It appears that on my return I was so displeas'd at the unprovided state of the men, that I took upon myself the immediate trouble of procuring necessaries; that I procur'd shirts, stockings, leggins, and every other article, very speedily, except this one upon which I was charg'd—shoes—for those, early in January, I wrote to Dublin, and directed that they should be sent for to Scotland. A delay took place in this part of the transaction; but that the men should not be sufferers, I order'd a large quantity to be made in Dublin, which, though they did not arrive until the day of my arrest, were bespoken from the shoe-maker in February.

Serjeant Wise has sworn, that I made every exertion to procure those necessaries; and I might have rest'd my defence to this charge upon his evidence, did I not desire to elucidate the whole of my conduct.

Another branch of this charge is, my not having subsist'd the men in due time; and this is supported by evidence, that they were once unpaid until Sunday; but that at all other times they were regularly subsist'd before the hour of market on Saturday: how it should have happened, that they remained unpaid till Sunday, I cannot guess; and, as the evidence stands, it is not easy for me to recollect such a circumstance. It is depos'd too, without the remotest hint at the date of its occurrence.

But admitting that it did once occur, is it not possible that some accident, easily understood, but utterly inevitable, the difficulty of changing a large bank note, the absence of the paymaster, or my own prolonged absence upon duty, causes which, without some clue to the time, cannot be referred to, should have made such a circumstance not only excusable, but unavoidable.

I am next charg'd with disobedience of orders,—of the King's orders;—of Colonel Sankey's orders,  
—of

—of the Lieutenant-Colonel Sankey, and of Major Sankey's orders,—and these orders relate, if I am able to select the prosecutor's meaning from his mass of proof, to the necessaries and subsistence of my company. His Majesty's orders have never been understood to command that which was impossible. It never could be intended that an officer was bound to provide his men with shoes, when shoes could not be procured; but the orders of those two Colonels, and this Major, are conceived fully in this spirit. Colonel Sankey's own witness swears, that the Colonel could not procure shoes, which he had promised to deliver to the men; yet the same Col. Sankey brings me to a Court-Martial, for not doing that which he himself found to be impossible. As to the subsistence of the men, the evidence has been such as to leave me little to observe,—they were heavily in my debt. The company, it appears, owes me one hundred and fifty pounds—Colonel Sankey, from the clearance returns, knew the amount of those debts; he knew that the men, if fully satisfied, could not pay those debts; and he knew that they were every day becoming more deeply in debt by the purchase of necessaries, with which I was obliged to provide them. Had Colonel Sankey thought my conduct a breach of his orders, why did he not notice it until after the importance of his brother had received an imaginary affront? Why did he overlook the crime, until it was necessary to fill the catalogue of my misdeeds on behalf of his injured brother?

It has been truly observed by one of this honorable Court, that an abatement of one penny in the subsistence, was as much a breach of Colonel Sankey's order, as if the whole were withheld; yet, the prosecutor's witnesses have proved, that the general subsistence of the regiment was five shillings and five pence, while Colonel Sankey's order directed

rated it to be five shillings and six pence ; yet, has not any other officer been charged with the misconduct thus imputed to me?

And even here I cannot pass by the swearing of Major Sankey. You remember, gentlemen, how he laboured to impress you with a belief that the general subsistence of my company was 3s. 9d. per week, and that it was afterwards raised to 4s. and you recollect how it was proved by his own witness, that, except the men heavily in debt, the men of my company were subsisted at the same rate with the rest of the regiment.

One part of the second charge I had almost overlooked ; it is that of neglect of duty, in not attending parades. I have overlooked it, because I cannot recollect that any specific evidence has been brought to support it, though the charge has been made in order to aggravate the catalogue. Indeed, Major Sankey has told this Court, that he would not proceed upon that charge, as he considered an officer's occasional absence from parade too trifling to notice ; besides, he had unluckily put into the hands of the Court a very civil and respectful note of mine, begging him to excuse me one bad morning, as I was indisposed. This note, of itself, would be sufficient to shew the Court that I was neither in the habit of absence, or of treating him with disrespect.

The last, and most malignant charge of all, is, " Directing a Serjeant to make a false return, with intent to deceive." The only person competent to give an opinion this subject, is the very Serjeant in question. He has been produced against me by the accuser ; and he swears positively, that he believes I never in my life made, or directed, any report, or any return, with intent to deceive ; nay, the return in question was true, as to the fact it stated. This man knows me well ; he has been my Pay-serjeant six years ; he is now most worthily promoted by

the Adjutant General's Deputy, attending General Dundas.

And here allow me to ask the Court, as I did Major Sankey, what temptation, what pleasure, what gratification, what reward could I have by making a false return of old cobbled shoes? or, why should a man, who had always maintained an honourable reputation, all at once volunteer in infamy without any object? I remember, Swift advises servants never to tell a lie that can be found out in four and twenty hours: now, it is certain, that twice, or, at least, once every week, the men paraded at Colonel Sankey's quarters, and he himself examined their necessaries; so that, were I mean enough to attempt it, I could not deceive him.

I yesterday stated to the Court, that I might have escaped this trial, if I could have submitted to the imputation of having spoken an untruth, and if I would consent to be stiled infamous. I shall now produce the officer who put me under arrest by Colonel Sankey's orders,—not on the parade, where the imaginary offence is stated to have happened, but at my quarters at Giltown, the third day after. The Court did not then seem to think such an evidence necessary on my part; if the Court be still of the same opinion, I will not call him; but I will beg of the Court to let this paper appear on their minutes. I did also propose to produce proofs to invalidate the testimony of the accusers; they consist of the GAZETTES relative to Major Sankey's certificate; and here, permit me to say, that if Major Sankey was merely a prosecutor, I would not think myself at liberty to impeach his veracity, or allude to his conduct; but having made himself an evidence in his own cause, and prosecuting manifestly not for the good of the service, but from private ill-will and resentment, I am warranted by the practice of every court to invalidate his testimony; but, if it  
be

be not denied, that while yet an uncertified bankrupt, and having on oath surrendered every shilling to his creditors, he received three several commissions in this regiment; for each of which he must have given a certificate of possessing certain property to considerable amount; if this, I say, be not denied, I will not trouble the court with witnesses, or give a moment's delay.

After the character you heard of me yesterday, from men highly honorable, and perfectly competent to judge of a soldier's merit, I hope it will not be supposed that I would unnecessarily wound the feelings even of an enemy... I honor the generous warmth of a member of the Court expressed on yesterday; but distress does not always arise from misfortune; and if distress and misery, arising from misfortune, in consequence of loyalty and public spirit, could have shielded any man, it should have shielded me. In the course of yesterday, Major Sankey insinuated, that during the heat of the rebellion I was absent; there are members of the Court who know the fact was otherwise. On the 22d of May, by leave of General Duff, I came to Dublin from Limerick to see Captain Ryan, my nephew; He was mortally wounded by the dagger of the accursed rebel, *Fitzgerald*. The day immediately following, my son, Lieutenant Giffard, coming also from Limerick, was savagely murdered at Kildare, because he scorned life when to be purchased with disgrace. Of this dreadful event I soon heard. I left poor Ryan dying in Dublin, and went to Kildare to cover the mangled remains of my hero. I went singly through that wicked country, and was, of course, fired at from the hedges. I arrived time enough to meet Sir James Duff, and was under him for some time at Kildare, at the Collieries, at Monastereven, &c. The army then marched to Baltinglass on its way to the County Wexford. From

Baltinglass, I was detached with 225 infantry, under my command, to steal a march in the night through the mountains, and through the armies of rebels that occupied them. This is the proudest event of my life. General Dundas and General Duff know, that through good Providence, I succeeded, threw myself into Rathdrum, which I fortified in a manner much approved by every officer who saw it, and thus covered Dublin, and prevented the enemy from turning the left of our wing. Why was not Captain Sankey sent on this expedition? Was it from my *inaptitude* to command that I was chosen?

I have put into the hands of the Court a letter, acknowledged by Major Sankey, wherein he specifically requests me to make a false return for his advantage. How I acted will appear to the Court; but my conduct, being honourable, does not take away from the turpitude of the request. I wonder where were all the fine feelings of this Major, who for years hung upon the regiment by false returns!

I shall now, if the Court think it necessary, go into evidence, though, to my poor judgment, there is not an iota proved against me.

If the Court shall be of the same opinion, if they think it necessary to trouble themselves further, I shall halt here, leaving the accuser to their indignation, and, I trust, to their chastisement.

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John Crampton, Esq. late Major in the Royal Dublin Militia, was duly sworn.

Prisoner to Major Crampton.

Q. Were you in the Royal Dublin Militia, and how long?

A. Since the commencement, till within about ten months.

Q. Do

Q. Do you know me, and how long?

A. As an officer, I know you from the time the regiment was formed till I threw up my commission?

Q. What was my character as an officer and a gentleman during your knowledge of me?

A. I always thought you a good officer, extremely loyal, zealous, and active, always ready to go on any duty with the greatest cheerfulness. I always saw you obedient to your superior officers, kind and generous to the subalterns of the regiment, and to any officers under your command, and attentive to the welfare of the private soldier. As a gentleman, I always esteemed you very much, being very much in your company.

Major Sankey to Mr. Crampton.

Q. Did you not often express to me your disapprobation of the prisoner's conduct as a company's officer, and his *inaptitude* to fill a military situation?

A. I do not recollect that I did.

Q. Did you ever say, that the prisoner would spoil any company in the service, or words to that effect?

A. I do not recollect that I did; if I did, it must have been a joke.

Q. Was the prisoner on duty with you from the breaking out of the rebellion, 23d May, 1798, until it had subsided, and the regiment had encamped at Kildare?

A. To the best of my recollection, Colonel Sankey detached him with a party of the regiment from Baltinglass to Rathdrum, after the rebellion broke out, and prior to which he was with me at Kildare.

Q. Did the prisoner march with the regiment under the command of Sir James Duff, from Limerick?

A. I think not from Limerick; but he was with me at Monasterevan.

Captain



Captain O'Meara, of the Royal Dublin Militia, sworn.  
Prisoner to Captain O'Meara.

Q. How long have you borne a commission in the Regiment?

A. Since the regiment was formed.

Q. How long have you known me as an officer in the regiment?

A. Since the same period.

Q. What was my character as an officer and a gentleman, during your knowledge of me?

A. As an officer, you were ready to do any duty you were ordered on; and as to your doing that duty, (from whatever came within my knowledge,) you executed it very particular and well; and as to your conduct as a gentleman, I always knew you to act as such.

Q. Do you know any thing of my being indisposed about the middle of March last?

A. About three months ago, and before you were put in arrest, the surgeon's mate came to me at Castlemartin, and officially informed me that you were indisposed, which I reported to Colonel Sankey.

Court to Captain O'Meara.

Had you orders from Colonel Sankey to the prisoner, either to give up his rooms at New Abbey, or sleep in them?

A. Colonel Sankey called me on parade, and gave me verbal orders to that effect, which orders I delivered.

Q. Did he obey these orders?

A. I cannot say.

Q. Was the prisoner sent out of his turn to Mageny-bridge?

A. According to the roster I kept, he was not.

Q. Did

Q. Did the prisoner complain that it was not his turn for duty? and had Captain Sankey done any duty since his return to the regiment?

A. I believe he complained to Colonel Sankey. As to the latter part of the question, when we came to Kildare, it was agreed upon among the officers, that one roster should serve for guards, detachments, and Captain Sankey had taken guards, but not detachments.

Q. When you had been so long at Kilcullen, why did you not return to the regular roster?

A. Because the roster before mentioned, met the approbation of Colonel Sankey and the officers.

Captain O'Meara being called upon to prove the orderly books, proved the same, and from which the extracts alluded to in proceedings are taken.

Captain King, of the Dumfries Cavalry, sworn.

Prisoner to Captain King.

Q. How long have you known me?

A. Since the regiment came to the present quarters, which is ten months.

Q. What do you know of my attention to my duty, as an officer?

A. It appeared to me you were an uncommon attentive, good, and zealous officer.

Q. Do you know any thing of my being indisposed at Giltown in the month of March last, and attended by the Surgeon's mate?

A. I do; and frequently visited you with the Surgeon's mate at that time.

Major Sankey to Captain King.

Q. Do you know was it by a cold he was confined?

A. I cannot say what was the nature of his indisposition.

Counsellor

Counsellor Giffard was sworn.

Prisoner to Counsellor Giffard.

**Q.** Was I anxious and zealous to get necessaries for the men of my company, and did I employ you for that purpose at any time since I got the Grenadier company?

**A.** About the latter end of January last, I received a letter from you, from quarters, desiring that I would endeavour to procure shoes for you from Scotland, because you thought they might be had cheaper and better than in Ireland. I had some difficulty in finding a Scotch Factor. At length, on calculation of the delay and expence, I wrote to you, and you desired me immediately to order six dozen pairs of shoes from Dublin for your company; they were delayed by the shoe-makers a considerable time, and the difficulty of conveying them to Kilkullen, caused a further delay, so that as well as I recollect, it was the 14th of April before they reached Giltown, where I then was, and saw them.

**Q.** Were you ever with me at Magherafelt? and were you present when I received a letter from Major Sankey? Relate to the Court what then happened.

**A.** I was with you at that place in the latter end of 1795, and beginning of 1796; shortly before the return day of the 1st of January, (a letter which deponent verifies, as before, was produced to the Court;) when you received this letter, you expressed great indignation at the request contained therein. You said you would go to Coleraine and exchange quarters, notwithstanding the distance, to oblige Captain Sankey; but would not make a false return for him or any man. You set out and I accompanied you. We had got three miles of the road, when we met an orderly man from Major Crampton from Coleraine, with a letter from him, prohibiting  
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the exchange of quarters, and returned immediately to Magherafelt.

Major Sankey to Counsellor Giffard.

Q. Do you not believe, that any man situated within twenty miles of Dublin, with money, could have got 144 pair of shoes at any time between the months of September, 1798, and the 14th of April last.

A. I believe it was at many times impossible during that period.

Q. Had the prisoner been at Coleraine, agreeable to the request contained in my letter, on the day of the return, could he have made a false return for me when commanding at Magherafelt?

A. I understood the purport of the request contained in the letter, was, that the prisoner should carry to head quarters, at Coleraine, a paper which was inclosed in that letter signed by you, filled up by the prisoner, with the circumstances of the detachment at Magherafelt, and present it to the Major as a return sent by you as commanding officer at that place, at a time you might not be there.

Q. In the case you have stated, would the prisoner have been more than my messenger?

A. I think, if he had agreed to fill up the return, he would have been equally guilty of a fraud, as you intended to be.

Q. On what grounds do you state my intention?

A. From the general tenor of the letter, and from a conversation afterwards held with you when you came too late to Magherafelt to answer the return, (the conversation, as well as I recollect, was general, as to the circumstance of your not being able to arrive in time to answer the return, and the disappointment by the Major's refusing to allow the exchange of quarters, and some expressions of rebuke

from the prisoner, for your desiring him to make such a return.

The Court adjourned till to-morrow at eleven o'clock.

Tuesday, 23d July,

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Captain Giffard begged permission of the Court to read from a paper some further observations on his defence, which was granted; and said paper is annexed to the former one delivered to the Court by him.

Ensign Adam M'Mahon, of the Royal Dublin City Militia, sworn.

Prisoner to Ensign M'Mahon.

Q. Did you put me under arrest, when, and by whose orders?

A. I did; (I do not recollect the day) it was by Colonel Sankey's orders.

Q. Did you then declare, that if I would make a submission to Major Sankey, there should be no more of it?

A. Not directly those words; but I said, "Colonel Sankey desired me to say to you, that as he disliked Courts Martial, that if you would make an apology before the officers, who were on parade when the affair took place between you and Major Sankey, that he would endeavour to have the business settled without a Court Martial:" You replied, if you were wrong, you would make an apology, but you conceived you were right, and would not.

Court to Ensign M'Mahon.

Q. On what charge do you conceive you put Captain Giffard under an arrest?

A. I

A. I then heard of no other charge than improper conduct on parade to Major Sankey.

Prisoner to Ensign M<sup>rs</sup> Mahon.

Q. Did you use the word submission or apology?

A. I do not recollect which, for I think them one and the same thing.

Captain Giffard produced to the Court the Dublin Gazette, dated the 8th December, 1798; from which it appears that Major Sankey, under the name of John Sankey, of Merrion-square, Wine-merchant, is declared a bankrupt; and a certificate was to be granted to him on or before the 29th of December, 1798. Captain Giffard then produced a copy of a certificate (admitted by Major Sankey) of his qualification for the Majority of the Royal Dublin Militia, dated on the 12th day of December, 1798.

Colonel Sankey called, and sworn.

Court to Colonel Sankey.

Q. Was it by your orders Captain Giffard was put under an arrest?

A. It was.

Q. Was it by your directions that Major Sankey became a prosecutor in this Court against Captain Giffard?

A. Of course; but I must observe to the Court, that I sent a message by the officer I directed to put him under an arrest, that if he would make an apology, I would use my influence to make up the matter; and it was my direction Major Sankey should prosecute, as I thought it proper to remain with the regiment at quarters.

Q. Were the charges against Captain Giffard brought

brought forward with your knowledge and concurrence.

A. Certainly.

Q. Whether prior to the arrest of Captain Giffard, you thought he had been so negligent of his duty as an officer, as to deserve to be brought to a court-martial?

A. I was very much afraid I should be under the necessity of taking some serious steps, on account of his not providing his company with necessaries.

Q. If Captain Giffard had not been put under an arrest for disrespectful behaviour to Major Sankey, would the other three charges have been preferred against him?

A. Possibly not at that time, as I did not like courts martial.

The fourth charge having been read, the return on the proceedings being shewn to Colonel Sankey, he was then asked, if the explanation which had been made to Major Sankey, by Serjeant Wise, had been communicated to you,—that is to say, that the men in debt were only returned as having one pair of shoes; would he, under these circumstances, have considered it as a false return, intended to impose on the commanding officer?

A. I never heard of this explanation till after the Court-martial sat. But if Captain Giffard had, as an officer, assured me on his honor, that was his idea, I should not then have considered it as a return meant to impose on me.

Q. Was the return which is brought in evidence, in support of the fourth charge, shewn to you by Major Sankey, unaccompanied by the explanation of Serjeant Wise?

A. I saw this paper among others, which I gave the Major as documents to support the prosecution. But, as I said before, I never heard of Serjeant Wise's explanation till after the Court sat.

Q. If

Q. If you had heard this explanation, would you have concurred in bringing forward this charge against Captain Giffard?

A. I should have sent for Captain Giffard, and, had he assured me that was his meaning, I should have expostulated with him on the impropriety of it, but not proceeded with a criminal charge against him on that head.

Captain Giffard requested to lay before the Court a letter from Colonel Handfield, then Secretary to the Commander in Chief; one from Lieutenant General Dundas; and one from Major General Sir James Duff, as documents of the approbation of his conduct as an officer; from which extracts are taken, and annexed to the proceedings.

The Court adjourned till Thursday the 25th, at eleven o'clock.

Thursday, 25th of July 1799,

The Court met pursuant to adjournment.

Major Sankey requested the indulgence of the Court, to read a reply to Captain Giffard's defence; which the Court permitted.

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### MAJOR SANKEY'S REPLY.

THE witnesses which I have produced to this Court, having, in my conception, fully proved the charges given in against the prisoner on their direct testimony, which has, and being rather strengthened by the cross-examination and the prisoner's defence,



fence, which he took six days to bring forward after the prosecution was closed, being unsupported by a shadow of credible, or admissible evidence, I feel it unnecessary long to occupy the attention of this honorable Court.

This elaborate defence consists chiefly of foul calumnies, vile insinuations, false deductions, and assertions irrelevant to the point, which may, on some future occasion, serve the malice or resentment of the prisoner in the shape of a newspaper publication, or pamphlet. I feel too highly my own situation, and the consequence of this Court, to descend from the one, or offend the other, by commenting upon it in the same strain of indelicate language—I will not give it a harsher term; perhaps if I did condescend to do so, I might fairly retort on the prisoner, and prove by evidence given at your table; and from your bench, that the prisoner's veracity was not to be depended on: that the prisoner did, on the public parade, and in this Court, assert what were not facts; that the prisoner, who has made a paltry and impotent attempt to impeach my veracity before this Court, (as an expiring effort of his defence) stands convicted before this Court on the evidence of Captain King, and Captain O'Meara, Adjutant of the regiment, and latterly of Colonel Sankey himself; when called on by the Court, of having asserted on the parade on the 14th of April, what was not true: The Court will recollect, that he asserted he had Colonel Sankey's leave to sleep at Giltown, though the time he alluded to was when he had apartments in the barrack, in which, on the evidence above stated, it has appeared to the Court, he was positively ordered to reside. On his veracity I leave the Court to comment, as well as that of the young gentleman, his son; who, on a stale recollection of above three years and an half, has come forward as evidence for the prisoner,

to

to relate to you a conversation his father had with me in December 1795, of which I was a party; have scarcely a trace on my memory to such testimony, I am certain this Court would pay no attention, even though it had not an opportunity of discovering by the manner in which he laboured to avoid giving a plain and direct answer to the plainest question that ever was put to a witness, the influence and prejudice under which he acted.

The imposition attempted on this Court by the prisoner, to the prejudice of my character for loyalty and spirit, and which must shew the Court to what unwarrantable lengths he would go to gratify his resentment; as it stands detected, I should not glance at now, but to shew that when he made that attempt, he must have known he was not relating a fact. The paper he presented to you yesterday, states the melancholy event which brought him to Kildare. Melancholy, indeed, it was; and sorry I am to be under the necessity of averting to it: He states, he went to perform what was indeed a sad office; he recollects that he was fired at on his passage to Kildare, he recollects meeting Sir James Duff; but he does not find it convenient to recollect that he found me there, who marched to it from Limerick with Sir James Duff, and with my regiment; remaining there behind my regiment at the risque of being fired at, as he states he was, to do him an act of friendship, which, I am certain, he cannot have forgotten, and which, through delicacy, I shall not state, he should not have forgotten that I forced him out of the town, taking on myself to finish the sad work which I had undertaken. Was this during the rebellion? Could he, except for convenience, have forgot that? If not, was his assertion a knowing and wilful untruth? The Court can examine still if it should be thought necessary by him on his defence.

The

The prisoner, in his defence, seems to infer, from Lieutenant Noble's answer to me on the parade, as stated in his evidence, that Lieutenant Noble did not deem him guilty of disrespect to me—Lieutenant Noble has sworn the reverse. He has told the Court, on his oath, that Captain Giffard's conduct was disrespectful, and assigned a very substantial reason for saying so, and for forming that opinion; and he will explain to the Court, if called on, as he has done to me, that the idea he had of the offence at the time was, that though the prisoner was guilty of disrespect, yet he might not be broke for it. The delicacy of his conduct, as an evidence, towards the prisoner, could not have escaped the sagacity of the Court. The prisoner tells you in his defence, that he might have escaped this trial, if he had submitted to the imputation of having spoken untruth, and if he would be content to be styled infamous; but his own evidence, Mr. M'Mahon, and Colonel Sankey's, when called on by the Court, shew the reverse; and further shew the dislike he shewed to a Court-martial, and his determination to avoid one by any means not injurious to the service. They further shew (contrary to Captain Giffard's assertion) that so far from my coming forward as the prosecutor of Captain Giffard wantonly, and through resentment, it was through necessity apparent to both the Colonel and the General of the district, in order to support the discipline of the army, wounded through me, and for the good of the service; for which the Colonel has told you, he long feared the necessity of bringing Captain Giffard forward on some of the charges now exhibited against him. The prisoner has endeavoured to shew, that the latter charge was couched on terms unnecessarily severe; that the facts should have been brought under another charge, namely, false Returns, and that he might have demurred to being tried under it.

it. The Court will on examination find, that those facts could not have been tried under the head of false Returns, as returns of necessaries are not mentioned under that clause. That it could have been tried under no other proper head or charge than that under which, by advice, it was placed; the language and terms, therefore, are those of the law, and not mine; neither am I in the habit of expressing my sentiments in harsh terms. The prisoner states, that he was chosen for the command to Rathdrum; I say, Colonel Sankey sent officers without selection on those duties in their turn, agreeable to the roster. I disclaim insinuating that Captain Giffard was not at that time on duty; but I wished to shew, that Major Crampton could not have been an eye-witness of his exploits, when he was not on duty with him; which the prisoner has admitted. This misconception of my meaning has, however, given him an opportunity of relating achievements, which, for difficulty of execution, and brilliancy of success, *Hanabal's* march over the Alps was but a simple promenade. I was at that time sagging under General Witford, and in the way of the only little danger that was going on at Vinegar-hill, &c. though I held a Staff situation at the time, which might have exempted me from it.

For the prisoner's exploits at Rathdrum, I beg leave to refer the Court to one of its members, who was there at the time.

The prisoner alludes to something about making an Horse Major; if I was to attempt to be witty, and did not think it an insult to the solemnity of the Court, I might observe on the fitness of making a Dog Major.

Captain Giffard has asked, if Colonel Sankey thought his conduct a breach of orders, why did he not sooner notice it? I fancy Colonel Sankey has fully satisfied his curiosity on that head. He has commented on the explanation made by Serjeant

K

Wife,

Wife, offered in mitigation of the charge of making, or directing to be made, false returns. The Court will observe, that Captain Giffard never made any explanation at all, either to Colonel Sankey or to me, that it came from Serjeant Wise alone, and not even from him, as appears by his evidence, until after I had expressed my suspicion of the falsity of the return. It does not appear that Captain Giffard either directed, or permitted him that explanation; and Serjeant Wise has sworn, that had I not observed on the incorrectness of the return, he would not have made that explanation at all. Surely, then, it is not to the prisoner he has been pleased to observe on my evidence on the subject of what passed on the parade, with respect to the orderly book, which he has been pleased to state to have been contradictory in that part of it which relates to the orderly book. I have so often, and so fully explained my meaning on that head, that I scarcely can think it necessary to say more on the subject. When I said, after mentioning that he had ordered a non-commissioned officer of his company to take care to send him his orders every day to Giltown by an orderly man, that neither the custom of the regiment, or my orders, permitted it. I pointed out to the Court his giving that order as a great mark of disrespect, as contradictory to an order which I had previously given out, and shall read, which was amongst other things framed to prevent *orderly men*, or any man but a Serjeant, from taking the orderly book; and it was to that order I alluded; and the Court will, therefore, perceive, that there is not the slightest degree of inconsistency on the subject. The Court will see, that when his quarters were in barrack, [by the Colonel's order so] he was not entitled to them elsewhere; that when he gave up his apartments, I ordered them to be sent to him by his  
 Serjeant

Serjeant to Giltown, as has been proved, and that at all times they were sent to him, right or wrong. Captain Giffard has told you, for the first time he ever let it transpire, that he memorialled Lord Cornwallis to appoint him Major. He informs you, that he stated my disqualifications, which I do not conceive was either very friendly, or very candid; the subsequent approbation of his Excellency, shews clearly that his objections had no weight with his Excellency, and that he had not faith in his assertions; it shewed the little share of credibility he possessed with his Excellency; and to shew how inconsistent Captain Giffard is, he has in his defence assigned my bringing him to trial to be resentment for that act, which, for the first time, he owned having done in the course of the trial.

He states in his defence, that a memorial was presented to the Colonel, requesting he would appoint me Major, from the mess at New Abbey. There was certainly a memorial to that effect presented to the Colonel; but it was signed by every officer in the regiment not being on detachment, or on leave, with the exception of one, who being my own relation, thro' delicacy was not spoken to on the subject more than myself, until it was presented; it is still in being, and may be resorted to.

The prisoner has stated, that on his taking charge of the Grenadier company, there was a charge made that the men had not been settled with. Whether he alludes to the time that I had it, or not, I do not know; but if it was, the Court will please to observe, that my Pay-serjeant, who was Quarter-master Serjeant in the regiment, at all times, whilst I commanded it, drew from the Pay-master of the regiment the full pay of the company, of which I never touched a shilling; he also provided that company with necessaries, of which, even during the severity

of duty during the campaign, he never suffered them to want, so as to be unable to do duty; neither would they have done so since, had he been continued in that situation, or if the pay of the company had been left in the hands of Serjeant Wife.

The prisoner attempts to shew that the Grenadier company was disloyal when I commanded it, and that which I got in exchange the reverse, and that they have exchanged characters since they exchanged Captains, from which he draws an inference very flattering to himself. What is the fact? When disaffection was first discovered at Blaris, other Captains, as well as myself, were industrious to discover if any were disaffected in their respective companies, Captain Giffard excepted. I communicated with my friends at Blaris, who from their intimacy with officers of the Monaghan regiment, could find out the disaffected of my company from the disaffected there. I did discover some who were so, so did other Captains, they were brought to punishment, and the regiment was wed, except the prisoner's company. He laughed at it, when I pointed out one in his company; he vouched him and the whole company to be very loyal, fine fellows; and he nurtured the vipers from the spring of 1797, until they deserted to the numbers, as I recollect it, of four from Kilcullen camp, with arms, ammunition, &c. to the rebels, previous to my taking charge of the company, and when the prisoner was actually encamped with them.

The prisoner states, that until the majority became vacant in December, he heard nothing about deficiencies. It would be odd if he did. He commanded, and made the reports himself; and no evidence has appeared before the Court to induce the belief, that he would have reported his own deficiencies.

iciencies. The other companies appear, by the evidence of Captain King, to have been complete at that time.

The prisoner has stated to the Court, that Colonel Sankey examined the men's necessaries once or twice a week. I say the fact is otherwise; the officers of companies were ordered to inspect, and deliver in their states, signed to him, until having cause to suspect that the prisoner's returns were not correct, he ordered a field officer to inspect them, and not until then did he find out the real state. If Captain Giffard wanted to establish that point, he should have proved it through the Colonel or Adjutant. To the candour of Captain Giffard we are not indebted for that explanation, but to the timidity and candour of Serjeant Wise, on whose veracity alone I depend for his having made it at all. Certain it is, that now I have heard it, it operated more on my mind as an aggravation than a mitigation of that offence, by shewing that the deception was an act of premeditation and not of inadvertency; but, if taken agreeable to Captain Giffard's wish, that fact must establish wilful disobedience of the orders of the King and the Colonel. With respect to the letter that Captain Giffard has produced of 1795, or those other papers which he has been so anxious to put in possession of the Court, the Court are already in full possession of my orders on the subject; and are, I am convinced, too honourable and high-minded, to put on them the construction, that the prisoner, in his revenge, has done.—On that head my conscience is free of offence. His insinuation, unsubstantiated, can have no weight; and his slander must recoil upon himself. As to him, I leave him to the justice of the Court, the animadversion of the public, and to his own reflections.

The



The Court was then cleared, and the proceedings read over by the Judge Advocate.

It being three o'clock, the Court adjourned until twelve o'clock to-morrow.

Friday, 26th July,

The Court met pursuant to adjournment, at twelve o'clock.

The Court having taken into consideration the evidence adduced on the trial of Captain Giffard, of the Royal Dublin Regiment of Militia, acquit the prisoner of general disrespect; but find him Guilty of disrespectful conduct to his commanding officer on Sunday the 14th of April last.

And the Court finds the prisoner NOT GUILTY of the second charge, and does therefore acquit him of the same.

And the Court finds the prisoner NOT GUILTY of the third charge, and does therefore acquit him of the same.

And the Court finds the prisoner NOT GUILTY of the fourth, and last charge, and does therefore acquit him of the same.

And the Court having found the prisoner, Captain Giffard, GUILTY of the first charge, in breach of the second Article of the twenty-fourth Section of the Articles of War, do therefore adjudge him to be reprimanded for said offence, at such time and place as his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant shall be pleased to order and direct.

(Signed)

JOSEPH ATKINSON,  
D. Judge Advocate General.

(Signed)

G. JACKSON,  
Colonel and President.

THE

THE Court hopes it will not be considered as exceeding its duty, by observing, that from the evidence it appears, that the prosecution upon the three last charges has originated more from PRIVATE PIQUE than from zeal for his Majesty's service.

(Signed)  
JOSEPH ATKINSON,  
D. Judge Advocate General.

(Signed)  
G. JACKSON,  
Colonel and President.

The Court then adjourned until further orders.

(Signed)  
JOSEPH ATKINSON,  
D. Judge Advocate General.

(Signed)  
G. JACKSON:  
Colonel and President.

I APPROVE OF THE ABOVE SENTENCE AND OPINION OF THE COURT.

(Signed)  
CORNWALLIS.  
FRANCIS PATERSON,  
Advocate General, and Judge Martial.

APPENDIX.



A P P E N D I X.

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No. 1.

*New Abbey Barrack, February 20th, 1799.*

SIR,

AS the present ill state of Mr. M'Mahon's health (of my company) requires his immediate removal into the apartment *you formerly occupied*, which is now vacant, and of which I understand you retain the key; I am to desire you will give it up to him (if not very inconvenient) this evening, or at a very early hour to-morrow morning, but certainly early in the morning of to-morrow.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble Servant,

(Signed)

J. SANKEY,

Major R. D. M.

*To Captain Giffard.*

(Copy.)

L

APPENDIX,

## APPENDIX, No. 2.

*Grenadier Morning Parade.* (No date.)

	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Drummers	Privates.
Present on parade, - - -	2	2	1	15
On duty, - - -	1	1		14
On pass, - - -	1			
At head-quarters, - - -			2	
Sick, { In hospital, - - -				1
{ In quarters, - - -	1			7
Servants, - - -				5
Tailors, - - -				2
Shoe-makers, - - -				3
Pioneers, - - -				1
Absent, { With leave, - - -				
{ Without leave, - - -				
Music, - - -				2
Unfit for duty, - - -				2
Absent for shoes, - - -		1		8
<b>Total,</b> - - -	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>60</b>

(Signed)

JOHN GIFFARD, Capt.

(Copy.)

*Sick in Quarters.*

Serjeant Wife,	Carrol,	Kavanagh,
Ayrecount,	Creary,	M'Mahon.
Neary,	Farnall,	

*Absent for Shoes.*

Corporal Cor,	Jackson,	Baves,
Dawson,	M'Connell,	M'Queste,
Mannin,	Murphy,	Giltharp.

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DUFFY,  
FOX,  
HAVERTY,

## APPENDIX, No. 2.

*State of Troops quartered in New Abbey, January  
25th, 1799.*

	Majors,	Captains,	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Staff.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Drummers.	Privates.
Present, fit for duty, -	1	2	2	2		10	5	2	57
On duty, -		1	1	1		1	3		28
On detachments, -						4	4		66
On pass, -									3
At head quarters, -								8	
Sick, { in hospitals, -									4
{ in quarters, -			1				1	1	21
Servants, -									18
Taylor, -									2
Pioneers, -									5
Music, -									8
Prisoners, -									5
Absent, { with leave, -							1		4
{ without leave, -									
Unfit for duty, -									
Absent for shoes, -							1		8
Recruiting, -							3		1
	1	3	4	3	1	15	18	11	230

(Signed)

J. SANKEY,

Major R. D. M.

## APPENDIX, No. 3.

## ORDERS.

*Dundalk, 3d June, 1797.*

OFFICERS commanding companies, to attend and pay the strictest attention to the men's necessaries; each man is to have a pair of soles over and above the two pair shoes, and the officers commanding companies are to be answerable that the men are in every respect complete as to necessaries.

(Copy.)

R. O.

*29th December, 1798.*

THE returns of necessaries having not been made regularly on Thursday, it is the Colonel's orders that the officers may send them into the Adjutant before Tuesday next; and he desires that the Captains of companies will complete their men agreeable to his repeated orders.

He is convinced there are great deficiencies, especially in the article of shoes and knapsacks; if the companies are not completed in necessaries of every kind on Thursday next, he will order the Quarter-master to write for them, and the Pay-master to pay for them on delivery.

(Copy.)

R. O.

*January 7th, 1799.*

COL. SANKEY informs the Captains, and officers commanding companies, that in consequence of their not completing the men of their companies, agreeable to the standing orders of the regiment, that he gave orders to his Quarter-master to purchase shoes, &c. &c. in Dublin for that purpose, which are arrived at Castlemartin; therefore, his orders are, that the different companies send in states of what necessaries are wanting to complete, and apply to the Quarter-master for them; as he will have every necessary that should be wanting brought to the parade, and the men completed there.

APPENDIX,

*Necessaries wanting to complete seven Companies*

R I E S.							O B S E R V A T I O N S.
Prickers and Brushes.	Soals.	Hair-Tails.	Clabing Irons.	Powder-bags and Buffs.	Combs.	B. Ball. Brushes.	
					1		
1		1		1			24
					6		9
12	67			7	8	10	5
33		15	4	4	8	8	2
12	56	5		1	1		12
						12	2
2	56	21	4	13	24	30	9
							75

29 Blankets delivered since the Inspection.

(Signed,) J. SANKEY, Major.





APPENDIX, No. 5.

R. O. *Feb. 28, 1799.*

IT is Colonel Sankey's positive orders, that the Captains of companies do, before Thursday next, complete the companies with those necessaries, and every other necessary wanting to complete ;—if they do not, he will be under the painful necessity of reporting the Captains to Major General Wilford, for not having their companies in a state to take the field, in direct disobedience of Colonel Sankey's orders, repeatedly given out on that head.

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APPENDIX, No. 6.

R. O. *March 28, 1799.*

AS the Commanding Officer has reason to believe that the return of necessaries is not so correct as it should be, it is his orders that the inspection should be by the Field Officer of the week, who is to sign the return, of course be responsible for its correctness. It is not to be confined to necessaries, but is to include arms, accoutrements, and appointments, also the state of the arms.

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APPENDIX, No. 7.

R. O. *April 10, 1799.*

COLONEL SANKEY is much displeas'd that, after the repeated orders given by him, Captain Giffard's company still continues extremely deficient in necessaries, particularly

30 pairs of shoes,

22 shirts,

70 flints,

70 pairs of soals,

940 rounds of ammunition ;

though his orders are, that the ammunition should be accounted for weekly ; and also Captain Hodson's company, 2008 rounds of ammunition, and 70 flints. The ammunition to be applied for immediately to the Quarter-Master, who has orders to deliver it on the receipt of the captain, or officer commanding.

## APPENDIX, No. 8:

*Return of Necessaries wanting to complete the Grenadier Company, April 12, 1799.*

Pair foals:	
Shirts.	70
Shoes.	29
Stockings.	5
Watch coats.	
Coat straps.	
Forage caps.	
Leggins.	
Prickers and brushes	
B. Ball.	
Brushes.	
Combs.	
Puffs.	
P. Bag.	
Turnf. key & worm.	
Ammunition.	127
Flints.	70

(Signed) A. NOBLE, Lt. R. D. M.

## APPENDIX, No. 9.

R. O.

October 12, 1798.

IT is Colonel Sankey's orders, that the regiment shall be subsisted agreeable to the Commander in Chief's orders, as follows, viz. Each soldier at not less than four shillings for his food, and one shilling and six-pence per week to be allowed each soldier for black ball, pipe clay, whiting, and washing; the remainder of his subsistence to be appropriated to the purchase of his necessaries.

## APPENDIX, No. 10.

Serjeant Lendrum's Meis Return, January 26:

	£.	s.	d.
76lb. of beef, at $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ per,	-	-	1 2 4
5 stone of oatmeal,	-	-	0 7 6
29 stone of potatoes, at $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per,	-	-	0 5 5
1 stone of whiting,	-	-	0 2 2
1lb. pipe clay,	-	-	0 0 3
$3\frac{1}{2}$ stone of flour,	-	-	0 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Herrings for two days,	-	-	0 3 3
Butter for ditto,	-	-	0 1 8
Milk, at $2d.$ per quart,	-	-	0 7 7
Washing,	-	-	0 4 4
Pot-herbs and cabbage,	-	-	0 1 0

£. 2 17 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

13 men's subsistence at  $3s. 9\frac{1}{2}d.$  is  $2l. 9s. 3\frac{1}{2}d.$

J. GIFFARD, Captain.

GEO. FAULKNER, Lt. R. D. M.

## APPENDIX, No. 11.

R. O.

*Jan. 27, 1799.*

IT being reported that some of the companies are not subsisted agreeable to the King's orders,— it is his orders that the Captains, or officers commanding companies, subsist their men weekly at a rate of not less than 4s. for provisions, and 1s. 6d. for other necessaries, making in the whole 5s. 6d. per week, agreeable to the King's standing orders.

R. O.

*January 9th, 1799.*

IT being reported to Colonel Sankey, that several men of the companies at New Abbey cannot do their duty for want of shoes, it is his positive orders, that every man fit to bear arms of the troops at New Abbey, those on duty excepted, parade to-morrow morning, at 11 o'clock, at Castlemartin.

It is also the Colonel's orders, that the necessary returns of each company be given in to-morrow by 3 o'clock.

R. O.

*January 13th, 1799.*

IT is Colonel Sankey's orders, that the necessary roll of Captain Giffard's company, that should be sent in last Thursday, shall be sent in at 11 o'clock to-morrow..

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 12.

Prosecutor's Letter, marked \*.

*Dublin, December 28th, 1795.*

*My dear Giffard,*

I AM expected at head quarters on the first, where I cannot be, but at Magherafelt I can, and please God will be. I have written to the Major this night, to inform him that you had exchanged duty with me, which I know you will, *because we understand one another.* I must, therefore, request of you to repair to head quarters in due time, and least I shall not be able to reach *my* post (Magherafelt) time enough to sign the return, I enclose you my signature in blank, depending on you to do, or cause to be done, the needful—that is, to place the return of the party over my name, and let it go as my return *in due time.*

*You know you can return the next day to your own quarters, leaving the rest to me.*

The last man I saw to-day coming home to dinner, was the *gallant* Roberts—not Roberts Spear, for he had not a sword.

Your's faithfully ever,

(Copy.)

(Signed)

J. SANKEY.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 13:

*New Abbey Barrack, December 12, 1798.*

I CERTIFY that I am *qualified*, agreeable to act of Parliament, to hold a Majority in your regiment.

To Colonel Sankey,  
&c. &c.

J. SANKEY,  
Capt. R. D. M.

[By the *Militia* act of the 33d Geo. III. c. 22, sec. 101, the qualification to hold the commission of Major in the Militia of the City of Dublin, is a property of 150l. per ann. or 3000l. personal property.]

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Extracts from the DUBLIN GAZETTE.

*December 8th, 1798.*

WHEREAS the major part of the Commissioners named and authorized in and by the Commission of Bankrupt awarded and issued forth against John Sankey, of Merrion-square in the City of Dublin, Wine-Merchant, have certified to the Right Honourable John Earl of Clare, Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, that the said John Sankey hath in all things conformed himself to the directions of the several statutes made in this kingdom concerning bankrupts: this is to give notice, that by virtue of the statute made in this kingdom in the 11th and 12th Years of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled, "an Act to prevent frauds committed by bankrupts," the certificate of the said John Sankey will be allowed and confirmed as the said Act directs, unless cause be shewn to the contrary on or before the 29th day of December instant.

*January 26th, 1799.*

COMMISSIONS signed by the Colonel of the City of Dublin Royal Regiment of Militia:

Captain John Sankey to be Major, vice Crampton, resigned. Commission dated December 27th, 1798.

APPENDIX, No. 14.

Letters laid before the Court by Capt. Giffard.

*Extract of a Letter from Colonel Handfield, (then Secretary to the Commander in Chief) to Captain Giffard, dated 4th April, 1795.*

SIR,

THE Commander in Chief directs me to acquaint you that, till this day, he had not an opportunity of laying before my Lord Lieutenant your letter of the 22d ult. reporting the assembly of some defenders in arms in the neighbourhood of Portadown, with the steps taken by you in consequence thereof; and that his Excellency was pleased very much to approve of the measures you had adopted on that occasion.

(Signed) CHARLES HANDFIELD.

*Extract of a Letter from Lieutenant General Dundas to Captain Giffard, dated 23d April, 1799.*

SIR,

IN answer to your letter of yesterday to my Aid de Camp, Captain Reeves, desiring that I would state to you by letter my opinion of your general character, as a gentleman and an officer, I hesitate not in saying, that in both capacities, since your conduct came under my observation, I have had reason to be satisfied therewith.

(Signed) R. DUNDAS.

APPENDIX,

APPENDIX, No. 14.

*Extract of a Letter from Major General Sir James Duff, to Captain Giffard, dated April 28th, 1799.*

S I R,

I PERFECTLY recollect the unfortunate situation you were in at Kildare.

I am sorry to find you have got into a disagreeable situation with Major Sankey. While your regiment was under my command, I found you a zealous and attentive officer ; and I hope the Court Martial will exonerate you from any *flur* that may be attempted on your reputation.

(Signed) JAMES DUFF.

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APPENDIX, No. 15.

Order referred to in the Profecutor's reply.

IT is Major Sankey's orders, that when orders arrive from head quarters, or when the commanding officer here shall issue orders, the orderly drum shall beat for orders, when the orderly serjeants of the companies quartered here will attend at the quarters of acting serjeant-major. They will insert the orders in the orderly books of their companies, and immediately attend on the officers of their respective companies *at their quarters*, and shew them their orders in the orderly book. If officers are out of their quarters, their orders are to be left for them *at their quarters in writing*. All orders, general, garrison, or regimental, which relate to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, to be read on the morning parade.

APPENDIX,



APPENDIX, No. 16.

Evidence of the Prosecutor struck out of the minutes of the Court.

AFTER deponent was informed by Colonel Sankey, that Captain Giffard was to remain in his quarters, or give up his rooms. deponent perceived that non-commissioned officers used to go to Captain Giffard at night to Giltown, which was a bad place outside the posts. Deponent thought he ought to be in his barrack at the Abbey. Deponent never understood that Captain Giffard had leave to be out of his quarters. Colonel Sankey told deponent that he had got no such leave—it was not acquiesced in—it was absolutely forbidden.

Court to Major Sankey.

Q. Was there an order that he should not be out of barrack?

A. There was not. Deponent did say, that it was not right to send the orderly book to Giltown; a place so dangerous, that the prisoner was accustomed to take an escort of cavalry with him to go his rounds.

THE foregoing pages have been printed from the Judge Advocate's copy, with such strict attention to that authentic document, that even literary errors have not been amended.

Under the pressure of persecution, and in the hurry of defence, the accused may reasonably be supposed to have omitted many strong circumstances in his favor. He should not have forgotten to call upon Captain Dun, of the 7th Dragoons, who commanded a body of cavalry in the march from Baltinglass to Rathdrum; or Major Hardy, of the Antrim, whom he found commanding there; or Lieutenant Colonel O'Hara, who afterwards commanded; or on Colonel Jones, of the Leitrim, who succeeded him. These are all excellent officers, and men of high honor; they could speak of the zeal and exertion of the accused, but Major Sankey's own witnesses made it unnecessary.

As soon as the sentence of the Court Martial had been promulgated, but before it was executed, Major Sankey sent to Captain Giffard, to say, that having, in his defence, made use of some declarations severely affecting the Major's character, he must either apologize for them, or give him a meeting. The Captain replied, that he had spoken nothing but plain truth in plain language,—that this truth was necessary to his defence, against charges of an infamous nature, arising, as it appeared, from private pique; that if Major Sankey felt his reputation injured, he had a right to call for a Court Martial on himself; where, if Captain Giffard had uttered aught but truth, he might prove the injury, and cover him with confusion; that Captain Giffard very much doubted whether he ought to meet Major Sankey at all, but, certainly, he had too much respect for discipline, to do so unwarranted a thing while

while he was in arrest, and the sentence of the Court not executed.

The sentence being executed, Captain Giffard joined his regiment. Major Sankey again challenged him; and, though the Captain knew he was doing wrong, and acting against the opinion of old officers, in meeting Major Sankey before he had purged his character by a Court Martial, yet, lest his refusal should be attributed to some unworthy motive, he gave Major Sankey a meeting, and received his fire, which he refused to return; and positively rejected a proposal of accommodation, on the condition of suppressing this Court Martial.

*Paper 4<sup>th</sup>*

# U N I O N,

NECESSARY TO

SECURITY.

ADDRESSED TO THE

LOYAL INHABITANTS OF IRELAND.

BY AN

INDEPENDENT OBSERVER.

—BONAQUE AC MALA NON SUA NATURA, SED VOCIUS  
SEDTIOSORUM ESTIMANTUR.

TACITUS.

---

D U B L I N :

PRINTED FOR J. ARCHER, 80, DAME-STREET.

1800.



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# U N I O N

NECESSARY

TO SECURITY.

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THE most of the following pages were written many months ago: but as the agitation of the question which produced them had begun to subside, and had occasioned a degree of offence which required time to remove or qualify, it was judged not proper then to obtrude them upon the public. However, the Author has for a considerable time observed with some satisfaction, that the prosecution of the measure of Union between these kingdoms has been on every proper occasion announced by the Executive in both Countries, and that the British legislature has so far seriously discussed the subject as to lay a useful ground for future consideration; and he has also observed with still greater satisfaction, that there has been a gradual accession to the number of disinterested and sensible persons in  
private

private life, who discover a disposition to consider the question with candour, upon the principles of genuine publick good, free from that indiscriminating indignation against government which upon every occasion seems to be foolishly confounded with the virtue of patriotism, and from that prejudice against England, which marks the dangerous separatist, rather than the true friend to his country. Notwithstanding therefore the multiplicity of productions on the subject, and the necessary similarity of ideas in those who maintain the same opinion, yet, as the matter is of no common concern, and as almost every man has something peculiar in his views or his manner of communicating them, calculated to impress particular readers, it may be useful, perhaps a duty, to publish the simple and unbiassed result of honest inquiry.

In the consideration of the question of Union, as well as of every other important moral or political question, every man no doubt will be more or less influenced by the opinions or principles he has happened previously to receive. There are many who have viewed the late series of revolutions, or rather convulsions, and the concomitant wildnesses, in France, with satisfaction, and have followed the progress of French arms and French principles with delight. They think indeed that some new measures ought to take place; yet not such as shall bind together all the parts of the British Empire more closely, and thereby enable them more firmly to resist all assaults from without or from within, upon our common and well tried constitution; but such as shall subvert all that has been happily established, and, by forming us upon the new plans of  
France,

France, shall render us subservient to the views of that destroying nation, which they wish to see universally triumphant as the grand renovator of mankind. There are others who, though differing from the former in their opinion of the nature and consequences of French principles, yet foster very invidious sentiments against Great Britain, consider a compleat Union with that Country as, what they call, the *extinction of Ireland*, and, acknowledging the full consequence of their opinion, would rather compleatly separate than compleatly unite. With either of those descriptions of persons it is plain that any discussion of any Union, under any circumstances, or in any juncture, must meet with instant and prejudging reprobation. But, to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland, who seek the permanency of the British Constitution, the security of our religion, and the stability of the common empire, it may be usefully proposed to consider, whether, contemplating the formidable change which has taken place in the state of surrounding nations, and the desperate machinations, as new in their system as wicked in their nature, which for years have been pointed at our existence, it may not be wise to adopt some fair, liberal and just, plan of compleat consolation; which, more effectually than hitherto, shall, consistently with national prosperity, secure these kingdoms against the foreign foe and the domestic traitor.

Whatever difference of opinion may subsist among the loyal inhabitants of this country, we are all decidedly agreed, that a separation between these kingdoms would prove the certain destruction of both. Britain is powerful; and, for the sake of her own safety,



safety, as well as of preserving that integrity of power which has given dignity, prosperity and security to the empire, she would necessarily make every possible effort to recover Ireland. What must be the consequence? Either Ireland is reduced, and as a conquered country is subjected to such system of depressing dependence as to the more powerful country appears necessary; or she is aided by the formidable and ambitious nation which for centuries has been engaged in hostilities with England, and after a struggle in which Britain and Ireland become exhausted, France ever watchful for her prey seizes the fatal occasion, and subjugates to her humiliating and devouring policy these noble islands, which, closely united, are formed to rise superiour among the nations and to arbitrate for Europe. But it is obvious that if separation be effected, it must be by the assistance of France in the first instance. Rebellion, howsoever secretly and artfully prepared, and howsoever daringly and ferociously attempted, could not long succeed, unaided by a foreign foe, against the fleets and armies of Britain. The uniform history of mankind, and our own recent experience, inform us of the means that would be employed. We have already seen what can be effected by secret machinations. What more would be accomplished when the wealth, and power, and rank, and numbers should be increased of those, who under the exciting pretext of consulting the dignity of independent Ireland, should seek the rueful phantom *separation*, the mind shudders to contemplate:—correspondence—emissaries—concerted plans—powerful invasions—internal and wide-spread massacre—final success—and a republick upon a French model, under French protection,

protection, and subject to French dominion. Then follow in due course, the reign of the most vicious profligates, the murder or banishment of all the families of property, the degradation and destruction of all religion, and a legalized system of atheism and vice. *Polluta cerimonia; magna adulteria; plenum exiliis mare; infecti cadibus scopuli; atrocius in urbe sevitum. Nobilitas, opes, omnesque honores, pro crimine; et ob virtutes certissimum exitium.*

It is said, that if the interest of Great Britain were not materially concerned in a Union, the government of that country would not propose the measure: and truly it must be owned, that Great Britain is deeply interested indeed, to promote any measure that can tend to prevent the separation of Ireland. By such a separation, she not only loses an arm of strength which powerfully aids her in common defence, but a material part of her own power is converted against herself. France, a mighty, an ambitious, and a malignant state, with such additional power in her hands as Ireland—an island with great natural wealth, not without considerable acquired wealth, populous, of uncommon maritime capacity, and lying under the bosom and heart of England—France, with such aid, and with such a fulcrum on which to work engines of destruction, must soon consummate her abhorred purpose;—and then, overpowered, despoiled, and subjugated, the naval bulwark of the world resists and protects no more.

*Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.*

Without urging this obvious and alarming truth farther,

ther, therefore, it may be taken as fully admitted, that the separation of Britain and Ireland must be considered by every loyal inhabitant of this country, as an event most afflictive and ruinous to us and to our posterity, and against which it would be mad and wicked not to seek for every possible security.

But the peculiar circumstances of this country have unfortunately fostered in the minds of the great body of the people an hostility to the English name, and a disposition to separate, of which the foreign foe on every occasion has been ready to take advantage. In order to illustrate this position, it may be satisfactory to take a short review of former events.

Above six centuries ago, this country, then in a state of barbarism, was reduced to a connexion with England. A ferocious hatred to the English settlers, as well as to their laws and customs, for ages actuated the natives; and it was not until after a long period of animosity and contest, that at length English laws were adopted, and English language and manners gained any place. Ireland, it is well known, whatever might have been its civilization in a very remote antiquity, was, at the time of its reduction by Henry the second, and for centuries after, in so uncivilized a state compared with the rest of Europe, that it was little if at all prepared, to take part in those ardent scenes, in which the revival of letters first, and then the reformation, engaged most of the other nations, and England among the chief. There, intellectual light, which had before occasionally darted gleams of splendour through the prevailing gloom, began to spread a general influence; the zeal  
of

of the reformers met with a rapidity of success; and the *eccentricity* of Henry the eighth, the cherishing care of Edward the sixth, even the persecution by Mary, and the wisdom, firmness, and perhaps good fortune, of Elizabeth, all contributed to supersede a reign of darkness and superstition, and to establish in that kingdom, almost universally, a religion, mild, pure, and of happy influence. It is not meant, however, to pass *any* decided opinion on the peculiar nature of the reformation, or the means by which it was accomplished. Violent enmities, destructive wars, and lasting divisions, were among its attendants and consequences: and perhaps, had the milder opinions of the amiable and learned Erasmus prevailed, moderate and gradual corrections would have been adopted, more conducive to the general improvement of men both in knowledge and virtue. But the retrospect tends to shew, that a material and operative change had universally taken place in the minds of the people of England, and had been formed into a national establishment, at a time when Ireland, though then connected, was excluded from the operation of causes which would have assimilated her to England; and, by uniformity of opinion in the most interesting concern to man, with the natural concomitant uniformity of manners and observances, would, instead of inflaming animosity and preventing intercourse, have promoted friendship and union between the original inhabitants and the English settlers, as well as among the English settlers themselves. But the ancient feud now became embittered by religious antipathy; and by degrees, mutual offence carried enmity to the highest pitch, until at length, rebellion and  
 massacre

massacre, on one side, called forth, on the other, signal severities.

During the whole of this perturbed period, especially from the time of the reformation, England and Ireland can be considered in no other light than as hostile nations. The protestants of Ireland, unhappily involved in almost constant contention with the rest of the inhabitants, were often reduced to misery and extremity. The English nation not only considered them as their brethren, a portion of themselves, to be protected against those among whom they were settled, but looked upon their safety as involving the security of the independence of Ireland. Laws therefore were enacted in England, and through the influence of that country, laws were adopted here, which no doubt retarded the national improvement, and increased the prejudice against England, but which, apprehensions for the safety of the protestant settlers and the security of the connexion of the two kingdoms, seemed to make necessary. These apprehensions were and have been so frequently and alarmingly justified, that, though it is impossible to approve of oppressive policy, yet it was neither unnatural nor quite inexcusable in England, then frequently distracted within herself, anxious for her own safety, and earnest in the preservation of the establishment civil and religious in Ireland, to adopt the only means which circumstances seemed to permit, to prevent foreign and internal foes from accomplishing their purposes.

In the time of Elizabeth, internal rebellion conspired with the foreign enemy to destroy our religion and to  
subjugate

subjugate this country to Spain. In the time of Charles the first, advantage was taken of the distracted state of England, and every destructive engine was employed, to exterminate among us the protestant religion and name, and to cut off for ever our connexion with our best protector. And in the time of James the second a similar attempt was made, and by means which impressed deep and lasting effects on the minds of our ancestors. France, the friend that now holds forth her blessings to us and to the rest of Europe, then lent her aid; and James himself was forced to concur in the act, which, making Ireland independent of the crown of England, formed a grand step towards the accomplishment of the deep rooted scheme of separation. The sufferings, the efforts and the event of that day are universally known; and the consequences were, that the English nation and government, and the protestant settlers in Ireland, were corroborated and decided in the imposing necessity, which long and recent experience had in their apprehension taught them, of restraining the Roman catholicks, who composed the great body of the inhabitants, and of securing the independence of Ireland upon that country to which the protestants owed their origin, and to which they cherish-ed their attachment.

Now, with such a disposition, of ancient origin, repeatedly revived, and peculiarly aggravated, let us suppose these kingdoms to be equal in wealth and power, and, excepting the circumstance of the king of England being ipso facto king of Ireland, formally and virtually independent of each other. What must be

the consequence? So far back as we have any records of the nature and conduct of man, we learn with certainty that individuals or nations, whenever upon an equality of power, or approaching to that equality, have uniformly exhibited the jealousy of rivalry, and by sure consequence a contention for dominion, destructive always of mutual happiness, and fatal often to existence. In nations, these motives of action, which among individuals in civilized society are restrained by fear of the laws or of public opinion, are not only unrestrained by any principle, but acquire accumulated force from all the passions both good and bad to be found in the community. Ardent attachment to our own nation, arising from habitual associations; the pride of national dignity and power; party spirit; hatred of a rival; resentment of wrongs; heated sympathy in a common cause, inflamed by multiplied communication into undistinguishing passion; the love of violence, always operative in the unthinking but active and turbulent majority; all these constituent energies in our nature, as they may be called, and more that might be enumerated, concur, in the situation supposed, with the precious long fostered desire of separation, to produce necessarily, either that event, or a conquest by one or the other state, equally destructive and equally to be deprecated. Let it be added, that these nations are eminently wealthy and powerful: consequently their interests must be important, numerous, and complicated; and the actual collision of their respective interests, therefore, will frequently occur. When the collision happens, what must follow? From equal power and perfect independence, no yielding on either part can take place; the inveterate disposition to separate acts in the contrary direction; destructive contest

rest therefore becomes inevitable, followed by conquest or separation, with all the respective fatal consequences.

But to ensure the effect, a powerful state, of determined hostility to one of these nations, is constantly vigilant to discover, and alert to seize, every occasion for destroying the connexion. Surely no man of common sense or common information can pretend, that such a connexion in such a state of things could permanently subsist, or that it would be less than hopeless folly to labour for its preservation.

Yet the connexion has subsisted, has been preserved for centuries; and from the time of James the second to the late conspiracy and rebellion, this country has remained in tolerable security, notwithstanding the menaces of France, and her actual attempts, to invade and reduce Ireland in former wars with Great Britain, and notwithstanding the factious spirit, whetted by religious acrimony, which, operating in various forms and under various names, has encouraged the foes of England.

But how has the connexion subsisted, and how has it been preserved? Not as a connexion of two independent kingdoms, in which the claims, and privileges, and free exertions of the one, were neither interfered with nor affected by the other;—not as a connexion of two distinct kingdoms, joined by the simple adoption of the same executive, yet of so extraordinary, or rather so miraculous a nature, that whatever common regulations, enterprises, or conflicts, in their various and multiplied relations and transactions, appear-



ed necessary to the one, were constantly and spontaneously entered into with kindred zeal by the other: No,—the connexion has been preserved in a manner and by means which, howsoever necessary, and in whatever degree necessary, the friends of this country, and the true friends of both countries, have long deplored. The influence, or rather the commanding power of the superior country was complete; this country existed as a dependent province; the legal code substantially originated with, or least was modified by the government of Great Britain; restraining laws, framed to preserve the civil and religious establishment, against the great majority of the people, who were hostile to both, secured the country, but enchained the exertions of the inhabitants: and for a long period, the protestants of Ireland zealously concurred in this system of policy; which they considered as necessary to their own safety, as well as to the national dependence upon England. The consequences were, that the inhabitants in general were confined to poverty and dependence; the aristocracy, at an immense distance in rank, felt nothing in common with them, employed but rarely the means of conciliation, and ensured depression rather than promoted prosperity; while the middle ranks of life, in which are found the qualities that resist oppression on the one side and promote industry on the other, were scarcely to be found in the community of Ireland.

This kind of connexion no doubt, and preserved by these means, might subsist for ages without any serious apprehension of being endangered. But a state of society was induced, which militated against national happiness

happinefs, and which hardly the cleareft neceffity could reconcile to a liberal mind.

The linen trade, however, which had been early encouraged, and had fpread with animating fuccesfs over a large diftrict of the North chiefly proteftant; the provifion trade of the futile South; and fome other fcattered advantages, contributed, with the advancement of furrounding nations, to carry Ireland on in the general progreff of the reft of Europe. This gradual improvement; its natural confequences,—diffufed property and independent fpirit; the habit of living together in the exercife of the arts of peace; the frequent interchange of good offices; and the exemplary conduct of many of the Roman Catholicks; all tended to create in every rank and feft, the honeft wifh, that the natural advantages of the Country might be promoted; and that fome liberality on the fubject of religion might be extended, as the forerunner of cordiality and profperity. The mutual communication of fuch fentiments begat and promoted liberality and publick fpirit. A comprehensive and enlightened policy in the cabinet and parliament of Great Britain concurred with that liberality and publick fpirit. In conformity with thefe fentiments, within the laft twenty years, the reftraints of which the Roman Catholicks complained have been removed; they have now enjoyed for a confiderable time, and with very general concurrence, compleat toleration in religion, and every privilege in the acquifition and employment of property that rational men could defire; and at length has been added the elective franchife, by which not only an operative motive is given to the landholders to  
grant

grant useful leases to the Roman Catholics of the poorer class, but considerable consequence and influence follow to the general body. In the meantime the spirit of independence claimed, and the increasing power of the Country demanded, other and important privileges and benefits. The precarious state of publick affairs in the American contest, as well as the wisdom of British councils, suggested the propriety of concession. Accordingly, the parliament of Ireland was declared and confirmed compleatly independent; and this Country acquired, equally with Britain, not only unrestrained commerce with the rest of the world, but a participation in the colonial and plantation trade, which Great Britain had gained by great industry and enterprise and at enormous expence. The consequences were important. Confidence and liberality gained upon the Protestant mind. We seemed to have forgotten all former animosities and calamities, and to contend only for superiority of zeal in atoning to each other and to our Country, for all the evils which the demon of discord had driven us to inflict. Industry, activity and ingenuity were called forth: the useful and productive arts of life were more earnestly cultivated: we were enabled to reap larger benefit from the extension of British commerce: riches, power and independence increased: a scene of national prosperity opened to our view: and our hearts enjoyed the hope, that religious bigotry and hatred would never again disturb our harmony, obstruct our pursuits, or blast our prospects.

We seemed to be liberalized; we became independent; we acquired great advantages. How have these  
circumstances

circumstances operated in combination with the extraordinary opinions and extraordinary events of the present day?

We are living in a period, in which every evil that could afflict society, has been engendered, matured, and poured abroad, by a depraved nation, which, after destroying within its own territory, all law, religion, social order, moral principle, and natural sentiment, has fought, by every mean, whether of vicious ingenuity or ferocious violence, to uproot the established polity of every surrounding state. Britain saw the danger advancing. She stood in the breach. She rallied the nations. They retired, disunited, sunk, and exhausted. She alone maintained the conflict; arrested the progress of organized barbarism; and secured hope to the civilized world. On former occasions she had been commissioned to save the liberties of Europe; but now she seemed destined to save, not merely established laws and liberties, but every sacred principle that makes human society dear, and without which life would cease to be a blessing. In this arduous contest, her desperate enemy well knew the side on which only she was weak, and where only he could hope to destroy her. Advantage was taken in Ireland of the great struggle in which Great Britain was engaged. Myriads of demagogues, the most destructive and detestable things that can infest a nation, corresponded with the enemy, imported the principles of France in all their malignity, and roused the disloyalty of the people by every art and pretext: and an organization, as it is called, was secretly carried on, by which the physical force of the Country was prepared, under  
fit

fit leaders, to join the invading foe; in the wild hope that, loyalty and the established religion being destroyed, Ireland would become separated, and the religion of the multitude reign in more than fancied splendour. Now it is unfortunately to be remarked, that while Ireland was avowedly and compleatly dependent upon Great Britain, although national prosperity was retarded, yet this Country, notwithstanding occasional discontents and partial disturbances, was preserved in perfect security; and experience has shewn, that the removal of restraints, the enjoyment of privileges, even greater than had been expected, and an independent legislature, have not strengthened either our internal security or our connexion with Great Britain.

Not long before the commencement of French revolutions, a demand for a change in the legislature of this country, which should make it more dependent upon popular passions and popular arts, was so systematically and so boldly made, that parliament seemed to be overawed, and the friends of our established laws and religion trembled for the consequences. A convention, an armed convention, similar to the late ruling clubs of France, in which members of the legislature assisted, framed the plan which was to be dictated to parliament. Fortunately, the influence of the property possessed in this country by the English Aristocracy, and the discernment and firmness of many members of the legislature, frustrated the attempt: and indeed it must be owned that, many of the members of that convention, and of the then minority in parliament, have lived to witness such proceedings and events, both  
abroad

abroad and at home, as have made them regret their opinions and conduct. Conventions, however, succeeded conventions; clubs multiplied upon clubs; popular influence increased and became commanding; and popular measures were repeatedly adopted by the legislature, some of which, upon the principle of Ireland being a distinct and independent state, were to be approved of, but all of which tended to weaken the controul of Great Britain, necessary to the present state of connexion. But all did not satisfy. The nation became agitated through its whole extent by separatists and renovators. Strides were making towards separation and republicanism. The legislature seemed to look on with amazement. At last, in December 1792, the national guards, as they were affectedly called, were actually preparing, and about to march in full display, as the first act in the dreadful scene, which it was hoped, would, under the direction and aid of France, be soon completely exhibited. A considerable portion of the Roman Catholics (many, very many of them, without wicked intention, but deceived by plotting conspirators) moved in correspondent system. Roman Catholic parliaments met, discussed and disseminated the principles of insubordination and resistance, and promoted the *general plan of separation*, which had been set on foot by a tribe of active leaders, many of them men of situation and abilities, and followed by no inconsiderable part of the wealth of the country. A party in the state contending for power, and either not seeing or not regarding the consequences, courted popularity, in a moment most eventful, as the instrument of aggrandizement; and then indeed, had not the supreme executive arrested the danger, all things tended,

as at the commencement of the revolution in France, to produce the effects to be naturally expected, when rank and authority appear to sanctify popular prejudice and enthusiasm. The evil swelled into enormous magnitude, grew bold and terrible by impunity and success; and but for unprecedented exertions of power, would have perpetrated its designs.

This appears to plain sense to be a train of consequences, naturally flowing from that proud spirit of independence and distinct authority, which first grew with gradual prosperity, which strengthened into overawing assertion of perfect equality, which, spreading through the community, generated jealousy and rivalry, and, impregnating the prejudiced and violent multitude, prepared Ireland for the long-desired and now deep-laid scheme of separation.

The opportunities of acquiring property have been multiplied, and consequently we have seen a great diffusion of wealth among the lower orders of the community: but an attachment to the laws and constitution, under the protection and encouragement of which, property has been gained, has not been the consequence of success. On the contrary, a vulgar pride, an impatience of controul, a contempt of authority, have been added to the ancient hostility; and accordingly, notwithstanding that concession has succeeded concession, yet the chief effect on the minds of those to whom they were granted, has been a loud and imperious demand of new and dangerous grants, which, now that the truth has broken forth, are confessed to have been intended

intended as the means of effecting separation and a modern republick.

Although those demands, as we now clearly know, were so intended, yet the number of men of respect and influence, who, in a period of awful anxiety, joined in the call for emancipation and reform, was very considerable; and had not the destructive measures of the great conspiracy been precipitated, it is not improbable that the dangerous opinions might so powerfully have prevailed, as ultimately to sway the legislature. At all events we know, that in the very hour of dark conspiracy, *reform* upon French models, calculated in form and spirit to give force and effect to democracy, with *emancipation*, which, under the pretext of religious liberality, was clearly intended to give the spirit of democracy extensive prevalence, were splendidly proposed under the sanction of great names, and, as in France, seconded by the clubs. The executive power no doubt, and the most leading men of property deeply interested in the welfare of Ireland, defcried the tendency of such measures, and defeated them in that place, where indeed they would soon have proved fatal.

But the opinions which greatly prevail in any nation, gain by degrees upon men of condition and influence. Fear operates upon some; ambition upon others; the love of popularity upon many; and even the best characters often throw themselves into a predominant party, in the vain hope of curing or preventing evils by accommodation. The history of mankind abounds with instances of this kind of progress: but modern



France furnishes an impressive example, fresh in our observation, and pregnant with instruction.

Admit what we hope and expect, that Ireland continues, and, from the nature of prosperity, accelerates her progress in riches and power. It is by the people at large the acquisition is made: great numbers therefore of the lower ranks are daily rising into wealth and importance; consequently the immense body, which has deeply imbibed principles inimical to our laws and religion, must rapidly gain extensive influence; to be employed, as designing demagogues shall direct; who, flattering vulgar opulence, not confirmed in loyal principle by ages of useful habit, point the power of the country to destructive ends. The religious antipathy in the meantime operates; lends pretext to every scheme, and gives force to every effort; while the idle and the vicious, the vain, the enthusiastick, and the theoretick, of every religion, or of no religion, swell the overpowering multitude of those who demand renovation;—a renovation, pursued no doubt from various motives, and generally plausible in the commencement, but approaching every hour, by hastened strides; to total overthrow.

*Mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo.*

*Parva metu primo; mox sese attollit in auras.*

In such a state of things, no man can be so unobserving of human affairs as to suppose, that the legislature could remain ultimately uninfluenced. In the degree that general property and influence embrace particular opinions, most of the same opinions must find their way into the legislature. What must follow? Demands in fa-

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your of democracy become formidable. Demands granted increase the power of democracy, and generate new demands. The power of the democracy becomes irresistible: the ancient antipathy to England gains strength from that spirit of rivalry which grows with towering prosperity; and the destructive wish for separation is prompted by pride as well as by prejudice.

Ireland then become immensely powerful, and actuated by distinct interest and distinct patriotism, feels herself equal to a contest with Britain: or if prudence, suggesting some disparity, or apprehension of a party remaining favourable to Britain, should look out for aid, a powerful foreign nation, near at hand, is perpetually ready with all its might, to co-operate in the subjugation of a power, the object of its envy and the determined foe to its designs. The separation of Ireland, the downfall of establishment, and the destruction of all now held dear by the loyal inhabitants, could not then be far off: and the elevated prosperity of Ireland, with her accumulated wealth and power, could in the end serve no other purpose, than to promote the ambitious designs of a malignant enemy, and, in her own ruin, the more certainly to effect the ruin of Great Britain;—in the downfall of which great nation, not only the loyal protestants of Ireland would lose their grand protector, but the civilized world an example and defence.

The union of these kingdoms in the same crown, or the same executive presiding over both, constitutes a bond of connexion, which has hitherto been preserved. But the legislative power, that which creates law, is  
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the supreme power in every state: and, in this grand essential of state, the most vital and the most powerful, these kingdoms are distinct and separate. The legislature of Ireland has emphatically asserted its compleat distinctness, by insisting on the institution of solemn public acts, which accordingly have been made in the parliaments of both countries, whereby the entire independence of the legislature of Ireland constitutes a sacred and irrefragable mutual record.

The legislature of Ireland, distinct and independent, consults by its distinct nature the interests only of Ireland: while the British legislature, equally distinct and independent, consults by its distinct nature the interests only of Great Britain. No doubt, so far as a sense of the necessity of preserving the connexion between the two kingdoms may happen to operate upon the two legislatures, each will consult the interests of the other country; but from the essential nature of distinct legislatures, such attention to mutual interest must ultimately refer to the respective interests of the kingdoms for which they respectively legislate. In the degree therefore in which the views of the separate legislatures, respecting the interests of their respective countries, happen from time to time to be incompatible, the legislatures, that is, the respective supreme powers, must act in opposition to each other. Such interests respect not merely a progress in national wealth, but *right*, and *privilege*, and every good, *real or imaginary*, which can gratify the sentiments and raise the dignity of a nation. The more important the interests from which arise incompatible views, the more strenuous and violent must be the consequent opposition. The more manifold and complicated

cated those interests become, the more frequent and the more incapable of accommodation the contending opinions and claims. If increasing wealth and power, operating as in all past ages, should quicken a jealousy of interest (understanding interest in the enlarged sense mentioned) and magnify the national pride and spirit of independence, the legislature, intimately connected with and flowing from the general community, must necessarily imbibe the same sentiments; which, co-operating with the other causes, cannot fail to ripen into destructive effect all the seeds of dispute, discord, hostility, and separation.

Surely no rational man will deny that history, observation, and experience, demonstrate this to be the nature of man and the necessary tendency of human affairs.

It would be an idle as well as tedious display, to take the volume of history, and extract the innumerable instances there recorded, which prove, that in whatever degree provinces or states, connected with, or dependent upon a parent or superiour state, have acquired power and independence, they have discovered discontent with their connexion, and a desire to become perfectly distinct states; and that whenever that power and independence have grown so great as to enable such provinces or states, by their own mere vigour, or with accidental aid, to effect their purpose, they have constantly asserted their perfect distinctness, and formed themselves into separate states.

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The separation of the colonies, now the united states of North America, from Great Britain, furnishes an applicable instance. While they were weak and dependent, while a sense of their need of the care and protection of the parent country prevailed, no difficulties embarrassed the connexion; no distinctness of interest, no provincial pride, pointed to dependence and separation: and yet, the rights asserted and the powers exercised by the legislature of England, and afterwards of Great Britain, over the colonies, had long been more authoritative, and more inconsistent with the independence of their assemblies,\* than those which afterwards supplied the occasion of the unhappy contest that ended in separation. Those who knew the colonies intimately, were aware long before the rupture, that the advanced state of prosperity at which they had arrived, with the proud spirit of independence which it produced, and which from time to time had strongly manifested itself, tended powerfully to the ultimate dissolution of the connexion: and several plans, among others, plans of union, were suggested for the purpose of preventing it; a modification of some one of which might have been adopted, had not untoward circumstances hurried on the important event. It is not meant either to contend for the right of taxation which Great Britain asserted, or to justify the colonies in the refusal of every specifick plan of contribution to the general expence of the empire:—the case was difficult;—claims and supposed interests interfered;—and the consequences followed which might have been apprehended. But the instance is adduced, if so recent an instance were necessary

\* See Pownall's administration of the Colonies, ch. 5.

necessary to demonstrate, that the connexion between states, not compleatly incorporated, and not identified in interest, becomes precarious and mortal, whenever the inferior state advances so far in prosperity, as to assert independence, and to rival the superiour state in power.\*

It is not easy to imagine two connected states to which this reasoning applies more conclusively than to Great Britain and Ireland. They are great and powerful states; which have vast, and many, and various connexions and transactions with each other and with the rest of the world; therefore their interests are important, manifold, and complicated; and consequently, the probabilities of incompatible opinions in their separate and independent legislatures, respecting distinct national interests, must be numerous and weighty; and in the degree that these states advance in greatness and power, such probabilities become multiplied and approach to certainty. Conceive instances of this dangerous nature to have frequently recurred, and that in consequence an invidious and hostile disposition has been created. Every plan of accommodation by sure

\* The separation of the Colonies from Great Britain has happily not proved fatal to either country; perhaps has not actually injured either, excepting the temporary evils of the lamented war: the distant situation of the United States has preserved them from becoming the prey of the ambitious power which promoted their separation, as well as from becoming in the hands of that power an instrument of destruction to the parent country. But Ireland, lying close to Great Britain, through whom Britain can be destroyed, upon whom if abandoned France fixes her talons—Ireland, so situated, sinks for ever, and Great Britain finally along with her.

consequence alarms suspicion, and inflames pride; the facility of constant dissension necessarily follows; and then an unfailing ground is laid for the successful intriguing of foreign and domestick enemies, who in the meantime will not have neglected, as occasion favoured, to promote discord and disorder, as the sure means of the grand scheme of separation.\*

In this state of the co-equal supreme authorities of these connected yet independent states, the British legislature may determine that a mighty effort is necessary to be made against the alarming attempts of an ambitious foe. Admit that the views of separate and independent legislatures, now involved in dissensions, should be repugnant on a matter so essential to the existence of the Empire. What must follow? Either Britain must submit to whatever terms an ambitious power shall impose, or she must maintain alone the cause of the Empire. In the first case, obvious destruction quickly succeeds. In the latter case, it would be impossible to permit Ireland to remain neutral:—her power increasing with rapidity; her people too generally infected with antient hatred repeatedly revived; demagogues through every class of society maliciously active to make the occasion fatal; emissaries of the enemy concerting

\* In the seven United Provinces, the French, ever artful and intriguing whatever form they assume, had been long busy in promoting discord among the states. Those states in which the burghers chiefly prevailed, were set in fierce opposition to those in which the Stadtholder and the nobles chiefly had influence; and by degrees their contests, inflamed by incendiaries, so distracted the national councils and efforts, that they have at last become wretched and repentant victims to French ambition.

destructive

detractive plans with the disaffected;—these sure circumstances must necessarily, if not prevented by Great Britain, urge the country beyond the line of neutrality, and add its power to the power of the enemy. Civil contest ensues, with certainly a train of sad calamity, and if Britain should fail, as certainly the ruin of both kingdoms.

This is a strong instance; but in the progress in national prosperity of these kingdoms, many instances must from time to time occur, tending as certainly, though perhaps not so immediately, to hostility, separation, and destruction. We know that at present Ireland enjoys her commerce with the British colonies, plantations and settlements on the express condition, that whatever duties, securities, regulations, and restrictions, the British legislature shall from time to time think proper to adopt, respecting the commerce of Great Britain with the British colonies, plantations and settlements, shall be adopted also by the legislature of Ireland, respecting the commerce of Ireland with the same colonies, plantations and settlements. We also know that on many occasions the sole and exclusive right of the Irish parliament to legislate for Ireland in all cases whatsoever, has been asserted in the parliament of Ireland, in the highest tone of proud and independence; and that the right of the British legislature to interfere actually or virtually, in any case whatsoever, with the legislature of Ireland, has been reprobated with indignation. The progress of Ireland in those acquisitions which invigorate the spirit of independence, may most probably induce the people and parliament of Ireland to consider, and consequently to reject,



ject, as inimical to their interests, and as inconsistent with independence, the duties, regulations and restrictions alluded to, which new and various circumstances may lead the parliament of Great Britain to adopt, and which the spirit of jealousy and rivalry may more probably attribute to an invidious disposition in the British legislature, directed against the interests of Ireland, than to necessity and sound policy. What consequences ensue? Great Britain refuses the valuable privilege of trading to and from her colonies, plantations and settlements; proud independent and powerful Ireland insists upon the privilege as an indisputable right, and continues the important commerce: Great Britain, as proud independent and powerful resists the exercise of the alleged right:—a train of events ending in destruction necessarily follows.

Nay farther. Inferring from experience, it may be pronounced, that Great Britain in her imperial course, if not prevented by events to be ever deprecated, will extend her Empire and acquire new fields of exclusive commerce. These advantages will be attended with terms and compacts, resting upon the sanction, and ultimately modelled by the wisdom of parliament. In the meantime, distinct interests, guided by legislatures distinct and every day virtually more independent, generate frequent commercial jealousies. The terms and compacts in those new cases, agreed to and confirmed by the parliament of Great Britain, may, nay, must, often militate with the views of separate interest, and the distinct national prejudices, of the parliament of Ireland. At the same time party leaders of every description, whether actuated by ambition, enthusiasm, or disaffection,

magnify

magnify and inflame disagreement. Ireland must yield, and thereby acknowledge dependence; or the two states must be committed. The consequences, it is plain, would either immediately or by sure gradations, involve the series of destruction we are solicitous to prevent.

Another point of view may be suggested. A spirit of reform appears to have taken possession of the minds of great numbers in this country, even of many who are sincerely attached to our constitution civil and religious. The measure of reform has been occasionally proposed in the legislature of Great Britain; and there are many respectable characters in that country who think that some reform, in a less turbulent and more auspicious season, might be usefully adopted. In Great Britain, from the union of the people, from the general attachment to the established laws and religion, and from the deep and steady interest which all ranks feel in the preservation of their constitution, it is morally certain, that whatever reform may take place there, will be moderate, cautious, and constitutional. But in Ireland, where the principles of jacobinism have been so deeply imbibed and so extensively propagated, and where the antipathies of contending sects, and the jealousy of English dominion, have so long fermented in the community, there is powerful reason to apprehend, that, the opinions of a distinct nation influencing a distinct legislature, the independence of the parliament of Ireland would exhibit itself, in the adoption of a reform, different from that in Great Britain. Reform, by its own nature, has a tendency to beget reform; but among an unsteady people, not strongly attached to established laws, it propagates

pagates more rapidly and more daringly. The natural consequence of such progress must be, that the reforms of the two states, would in due course so far diverge, as necessarily to produce the separation which our enemies pursue, but which we anxiously seek to avoid.

This may perhaps be answered by suggesting, that the opposition parties in the two legislatures have very well understood each other on the subject of reform; and that they not only concerted together the means of carrying their purpose in a parliamentary way, but the opposition in England were employed to take up the cause of the Irish conspiracy in the British parliament, whereby, had they succeeded in their professed views, the rebellion would have gained countenance and strength, resistance on the part of the executive would have been retarded and weakened, Ireland might have been lost, and Great Britain at last have become a victim to the schemes of jacobinism. A proof this, as demonstrative as matters of a political nature admit, that separate and independent legislatures in one Empire, tend to disunion and weakness, must often prove embarrassing and dangerous, and, in a period of great political movement among surrounding nations, may occasion actual destruction. Think but for a moment on the leading circumstances of these two kingdoms:—so peculiarly situated on the maps of Europe; so slightly connected, yet so essentially distinct; so different in the prevailing through the same in the established religion; so exposed to machinations at home and to hostilities from abroad; but particularly, the inferior country, hitherto dependent, now so progressive in power and independence;—and then say, is it possible, from all that we know of  
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the history and nature of man, to conceive that, without a miracle, two kingdoms so circumstanced, can continue long in any amicable or useful connexion, or can avoid ultimately a hostile separation.

Great Britain and Ireland, all the loyal are agreed, ought to be one in the enjoyment of the same constitution, and one in a common interest : and in truth, it has been the regret of the best friends to Ireland, that whether from a less advanced state of society, or from the unhappy difference in religion, or from whatever causes, the British constitution has not been so compleatly enjoyed, or so compleatly operative, here as in Great Britain; and we all know that the interests of the two countries, have been too generally considered and acted upon, as distinct and even incompatible. But while the legislatures, the supreme powers in the two nations, remain separate and independent, no common system can possibly operate to preserve a common interest, and to support and improve a common constitution. Separate legislatures therefore, differently connected, and differently interested, must necessarily, so far as they are independent, adopt different views and sentiments on those leading points. And accordingly, within a few years past, while virtual dependence still remained, though no doubt considerably weakened, we have found this conclusion palpably verified on two important occasions ; and what is remarkable, those occasions occurred after, and not very long after, the repeal of the British statute which declared the right of the British legislature to bind Ireland, and the renunciation of the right itself. The first of those differences of decision in the two legislatures, was upon a subject of commercial compact

compact and regulation, which, if it could have been effected, would, in the opinion of those who best understand the interests of this country, and who were most attached to the connexion between the two kingdoms, have materially contributed to prevent the dangers of disunion, and to promote mutual cordiality and benefit. But the subject being of a nature which necessarily led to the discussion of the distinct interest, and the constitutional rights and independence of Ireland, and consequently a subject into which jealousy and pride easily intruded, party spirit, supported by a zealous popularity, had full opportunity to operate, and succeeded in defeating a measure of great publick utility. The other was an occasion of greater moment. But because, among the lesser cabals of jealousy and rivalry, it stands pre-eminent as a successful instance of dangerous advantage taken of a state of political weakness in Great Britain, it has been treated lightly as a solitary example: yet, when so soon after the confirmation of the compleat independence of the Irish legislature, we find a vast majority prepared to commit the executive authority into the hands of a regency, with powers materially distinct from those then about to be limited by the British legislature, we rationally conclude, notwithstanding all that has been said of the operation of good sense and regard to mutual good, that whenever new occasions should arise, the same spirit of independence, grown more confirmed and vigorous, and actuated by the constantly operating motives of ambition, self-interest and party zeal, would impel to similarly dangerous conduct, but probably with destructive effect. We say, the same spirit of independence;—because, although it is well known, that the subsequent conduct of that majority,

too clearly evinced other motives of action, yet, had the parliament of Ireland been subject to the same dependence and controul as formerly, the act of the British parliament would have bound Ireland in a matter of such imperial concern, and no such embarrassing and alarming event could have taken place : besides, though an independent spirit in the individual is always attended with other valuable qualities, yet, in party commotion, we often find the meanest characters rallying round the standard of independence with hollow and destructive views ; just as, among the jacobin preachers on political purity and bkis, we daily see cold-blooded theorists, whose individual benevolence is wasted in their universal philanthropy.

Such an unhappy cause as then made a regency necessary might easily be of very long continuance, during which wars and conspiracies might easily afflict the country. These kingdoms, in the midst of danger and distraction, would then labour under the additional embarrassment, of being governed, not only by separate legislatures, but by distinct and inconsistent executive authorities : And upon the same principles which enabled the legislature of Ireland, to invest the regency with powers distinct from those limited by the legislature of Great Britain, a different *person* might be entrusted with those powers, whereby the rage of party would aggravate and enforce all the distraction and inconsistency of distinct legislative and executive authorities. The occasions for dissension between the legislatures are as numerous as the subject matters of legislation which touch both kingdoms. Such subject matters multiply with the progress of these nations and of surrounding states ; and

the probability as well as danger of dissension, rise with the importance of the matter, and in the degree that it involves the interests and sentiments of the community. To the immense horde of jacobins and separatists, legislative dissensions give alarming force; they increase their numbers, disunite the loyal, and furnish legalized ground for intrigue, conspiracy, and all the political machinations that ultimately threaten the national existence. In the probable recurrence therefore, of differences between the two legislatures upon important subjects, the most strenuous opposers of union acknowledge manifest danger to the imperial state; and propose to guard against such recurrence by compacts, which shall provide, that whenever the legislature of Great Britain shall adopt certain important measures, the legislature of Ireland shall be bound to concur: and as a commencement and a specimen, an idle and inefficacious bill was introduced last session, with the professed purpose of supplying supposed defects in the existing laws, respecting the matter of regency, and of preventing in future, the possibility of difference between the two legislatures, upon any question similar to that which so nearly committed these kingdoms in 1789. All such remedies, however, are as futile as they are inconsistent with the now loudly professed principles of those who propose them, and are calculated for no other purpose than to rouse the spirit of independence into disorder and violence. By the act of annexation, the king of England enjoys the title and prerogatives of king of Ireland by virtue of his being king of England, and the crown of Ireland is expressly united and knit to the imperial crown of the realm of England. Now, as has been justly and incontrovertibly observed, the crown, that

that is, the executive authority ruling the realm of Ireland, can be, by virtue of this act, no other than the executive authority ruling the realm of England; and consequently, the person exercising that authority in both realms must be the same, and invested with the same prerogatives or powers. But the person who shall enjoy the royal authority, the line of succession in which it shall descend, and the regulation and limitation of its powers, are subject to the controul of the British legislature: and therefore, in every new case that can happen respecting royalty, the parliament of Ireland, by the act of annexation, is bound to await the decision of the parliament of Great Britain.\* The case of regency was fully provided for. But if any explanation or confirmation was wanting, the act of the Irish legislature in 1782, whereby it is enacted, that no bill shall pass into a law in Ireland unless it be returned under the great seal of Great Britain, was fully adequate to convince the parliament of Ireland, that until the regent was appointed and invested by the British legislature, they could not, consistently with their own settled principles of connexion, proceed one step in the important business, but were bound merely to recognise the decisions of the parliament of Great Britain on that subject: and indeed it is remarkable to recollect, that in the debate on the regency in the year 1789, the force of this act was strenuously urged by a gentleman in office, who on that occasion, acted such a manly, disinterested,

\* See a condensed demonstrative and eloquent speech, delivered by William Johnson, Esq; in the debate on the regency bill, last session of parliament.



and loyal part, as then gained him deserved respect, and will ever reflect upon him true honour.

“ His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal ;

“ Nor number, nor example with him wrought

“ To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind—”

yet, in defiance of law, remonstrance, and consistency, the popular paramount principle, that independent Ireland ought not to be bound formally or virtually in any case whatsoever, by the British legislature, influenced a full parliamentary assembly of Ireland, seconded by whatever other motives, to commit to hazard the harmony and dearest interest of both states. But we are notwithstanding, told most confidently, that this act of the year 1782 effectually secures union and connexion on a firm and lasting base, because forsooth it makes the British minister answerable to the British nation, if any law should receive the royal assent in Ireland, which could in any way injure the empire, be incompatible with its imperial interests, or tend to separate Ireland.\* The royal negative is a prerogative of a very delicate nature, and the right has lain so long unexercised, that in an ordinary case it would have become obsolete and extinguished. Differences may occur between the concurrent determinations of the two houses of parliament and the real interests of the nation, in which the king's dissent may rightfully and usefully intervene for the publick good : yet even these cases must be attended with great clearness ; for otherwise, parliament and the king might be committed in a doubtful struggle for predominance, of the sad effects of which, Great Britain once had fatal experience. But delicate and dangerous

\* The Speaker's Speech, page 24.

as must always be the case, wherein this prerogative interferes between the parliament and the nation, of infinitely greater alarm would any case prove, in which the prerogative should be called into exercise between the legislatures of the two kingdoms: What would the independent legislature of Ireland regard the responsibility of the British minister? How easily could they vote any man an enemy to his country, who should dare to support the right of the crown of England, or the right of the minister to advise the crown, to suppress the concurrent determination of both houses of the parliament of Ireland, as they formerly voted any man an enemy to his country, who should dare to enforce the right of the tithe of agistment, whereby the burthen was thrown upon the potatoes of the poor, in that great province where grazing has chiefly prevailed? The very circumstance, of the British minister advising his majesty to, refuse the royal assent to a bill passed by the Irish parliament, would inevitably inflame the legislature, and rouse the nation of Ireland. Would the British minister be acknowledged a better or fitter judge of the interest of Ireland, or even of imperial interests, than the co-equal and independent legislature of Ireland? Would not the minister be rather represented as acting under the influence of the British legislature, as sacrificing the interests of Ireland to those of Britain, and as insulting the dignity and independence of a distinct kingdom? Would there be no pseudo-patriots, no factious demagogues in parliament, and no jacobin separatists and conspirators out of parliament, ready to fan the flame, and to hasten the conflagration of two great states? It would be idle to pursue farther a matter so palpable. But, the weakness of the confident conclusion alledged  
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to, as well as of several others, of an extraordinary nature, delivered to parliament in a high tone of popular authority\*, has been ingeniously exposed by an able member of parliament, who early supported with manly eloquence, in the face of prejudice, the utility of legislative union.† It is evident, however, that the compacts and provisions whereby the legislature of Ireland should be bound to adopt the acts of the British legislature, must be as wide as the whole sphere of imperial concerns; for otherwise, whatever remained would leave the two legislatures so far exposed to all the consequences of difference, upon the innumerable and weighty imperial concerns which must arise in the imperial and distinct progress of two powerful, proud, and independent kingdoms. But, to adopt such remedies, would be, to make Ireland virtually a dependent province of the empire, limited to its own internal legislation; and in truth, they would soon effect no other purpose, than to produce new and more alarming differences, and furnish opportunities to the multitude of separatists, to perpetuate their designs: for, it is inconsistent with the plainest reason, that as Ireland advances in riches and power, her sentiments of dignity and independence will become less vivid and active; or that

\* Among others—that, because it has been found useful in the British constitution, that to the creation of law, the concurrence of several branches of the same legislature or supreme authority should be necessary, therefore it may be useful, that in the same empire or state should exist two supreme and independent authorities, equally invested with the power of making law in all respects whatsoever. This surely needs only to be announced.

† See a review of a publication, entitled, the Speech of the Right Hon. John Foster, by William Smith, Esq.

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the legislature, which, under the influence of national sentiment, formerly commanded the repeal of the sixth of George the first, would not contend for the honour, and the paramount right, of deciding on all the essential concerns of the Imperial state, equally with the legislature of Great Britain.

Let it not be said (it is too offensive to the plainest understanding) that good sense and mutual interest and affection have secured and will ever secure the connexion and harmony of these kingdoms.\* The degree of good sense and benevolence floating in any community, would operate to very little effect, in preserving the harmony or even the existence of an individual state, if there was not a supreme authority vested in some part of it, sufficiently powerful to enforce necessary regulations, and to deter or redress the destructive efforts of folly, passion, and vice. Still less can good sense and fleeting sentiment secure, or have they ever secured, the harmony of distinct states, which happen to be so situated or related, that questions of national interest, and distinct national claims, make frequent subjects for discussion and adjustment. The legislature of Ireland has adopted the existing navigation laws enacted by the British legislature, and the parliament of Great Britain has permitted the importation of colonial produce from Ireland, therefore we are assured that all subjects of jealousy and contention are for ever done away, and that every thing which human wisdom can devise has been effected for the perpetual security of

\* See the Speaker's Speech, page 51.

our connexion. But these acts of the respective legislatures have effected no more than daily takes place between states which happen to be in amity, but between which incompatible interests and inveterate antipathy create frequent and bitter wars. Regulations, apparently for mutual interest, are agreed upon and ratified. They may be observed for a long time, and produce mutual benefit; but when new cases arise, contending interests occur, or different parties rule, the fabrick of amity dissolves, and dissension and hostility rage unconfined. *That* government must surely be acknowledged best, which provides for the most and worst contingencies, and which most effectually guards against the disorders produced by human passions. Every day, new subjects of difference, and calling for adjustment, must by necessity arise between great and distinct nations, whose situations involve them in many important relations; and in every one of these differences must as necessarily mingle all the plottings and workings of ambition, party spirit, self interest, and wicked cunning. Identity of interest and identity of dominion and controul, therefore, can alone permanently preserve the harmony and connexion of great and independent states. The instances of dissension and incompatible pretensions, which have occurred within the few years of declared independence, proclaim aloud the danger of future discord: the progress of these nations accumulates matter for discord: society is every where impregnated with principles hostile to political harmony: and an enemy bent upon our ruin, watches, and will ever watch the moments of our weakness and disunion. It  
would

would be the madness of folly not to descry and prevent the danger before destruction becomes inevitable.

In whatever contentions in parliament from time to time take place, the self interest and the influence of the superior country must, nay actually do, constitute the subjects for resistance and popular harrangue. The more independent and powerful the inferior country, the more universally and fatally national interest and national feud become necessarily roused, by this perpetually, recurring cause of discontent and disunion; especially when inflamed by all those acts which the political adventurer and the factious demagogue employ, and which in no former days were employed with more destructive effect. Have ancient causes, in barbarous time, created hate? Have mutual injuries occasionally revived and aggravated antipathy? All are viciously displayed, painted with invidious colouring, and converted into pretexts, for infusing and disseminating, every opinion and principle, baneful to useful or permanent connexion.

Who can pretend to be blind to the effects which must follow to two distinct and powerful nations, whose deepest interest requires that they should uniformly act as one, but between whom, in former times, so many sad causes of offence and rancour subsisted, and in whose independent claims, various pursuits, and increasing greatness, lurk so many contingencies fruitful of discord?

The uniformly operating principles of our nature assure us, that the jealousy of distinct interest will progressively aggravate these alarming tendencies. *That* jealousy has frequently been roused, as we have all seen, and as we have been assured by the leading opposer of Union. *That* jealousy must increase (as we have been told by the same authority) with two independent legislatures; it must still farther increase as the objects of interest become more numerous and important; and, national interest is so interwoven with political regulation, that common sense concurs with the same authority in concluding, that without a united interest, political union will receive many shocks, and separation of interest must threaten separation of connexion.

What can prevent a progress of this nature from terminating in destruction, but an overbearing influence, which in its turn, creates new disgust, indispositions to mutual amity, and prevents the two kingdoms from gaining the full effect of those advantages with which nature and cultivation have supplied them.

If, however, compleat Union cannot be effected, the only hope then remaining for the permanency of our connexion is, that the virtual dependence of the legislature of Ireland upon the legislature of Great Britain may be inviolably secured. The executive, as has been observed, is no doubt the immediate instrument to secure that dependence; but the executive can act only by the aid and under the controul of the supreme power, the legislature of the state: and it is too plain for controversy, that unless the legislature of Ireland had been ultimately controuled by the supreme power  
of

of Great Britain, and rendered to all substantial effect dependent, Ireland could not have been preserved in that connexion which has been deemed necessary to the well being and even existence of both kingdoms. Party rage, joined to popular commotion, and aided by foreign intrigue and power, must in some of the many periods of difficulty, have long since produced separation, or such subjection as is totally inconsistent with any degree of publick prosperity.

But the growth of this country has been such, as at length to resist and spurn dependence. It has rivalled the superiour, or as it may substantially be called, the Parent Country, and has claimed, almost enforced, a perfect equality of rights: and the legislatures are now professedly and by solemn declaration compleatly independent, and, if such an expression can properly be used, equally supreme. There is therefore no rightful dependence whatsoever, no avowed regular means by which to preserve the necessary dependence; and consequently, the means to be used must be irregular, unjustifiable, and offensive, and such as cannot fail to furnish additional causes of discontent and dissension. The growth of distinct Ireland in power, must certainly render this dependence the more precarious, and consequently, render means more powerful necessary. Ireland, advancing in power and dignity, could not but feel and act as all other nations have felt and acted in similar situations. Her people, through all their ranks, would imbibe the spirit of resistance. We are well aware how, and by whom, the occasion would be improved; and looking at the present transformed state



of surrounding nations, we cannot think on the consequences without the deepest anxiety.

To whatever side we turn, we are assailed by new difficulties and distractions, and can find no ground on which to build a stable hope of lasting and useful connexion, while the supreme authorities in the imperial state remain distinct. But by a Union of the two legislatures, liberally and wisely adjusted, in which the essence and form of the British constitution should be completely preserved, every ground for recurrence to former offences and animosities, or to their unhappy effects, and all jealousy arising from distinct national interest and distinct national pride, would be for ever done away. The only influence then to be exercised, would be that of the executive, flowing from and maintained by the constitution, for the purpose of preserving the necessary equipoise of the several powers and orders of the one great state, and of carrying on with promptitude and effect the necessary measures of national concern. There could not then be distinct laws for different parts of the same Empire; but in like manner as the great security of the civil liberty of the subject, under the British Constitution, consists in this unalterable fact, that whatever laws the members of the legislature enact, bind themselves and all their interests and connexions, equally with those for whom they legislate, so the laws to be enacted in the common legislature, could not bind or affect any district or division of the united kingdoms exclusively; but must equally affect all and every part, and by uniform operation, produce not a distinct but a common interest; and in conformity with the opinion of the late Doctor  
Franklin,

Franklin, respecting Great Britain and the colonies, we might expect, "that by such a Union the people of Great Britain and the people [of Ireland] would learn to consider themselves, not as belonging to different communities with different interests, but to one community with one interest; which would contribute to strengthen the whole, and greatly lessen the danger of future separations."\*

The members to be sent by Ireland to the common legislature of the two kingdoms, would be considerably less in number than the present legislature of Ireland; the members for the commons, as we have now good reason to believe, would be chiefly, if not entirely, chosen by the counties and great towns; while the lords of parliament would be chosen by the great body of the nobility: the representation for Ireland therefore, would contain at once, the highest birth the most independent property, the best education, and the first abilities. Such a number of leading characters, deeply interested in the welfare of the country, and placed on so conspicuous a theatre, could not see, with indifference or without resistance, any attempts of palpable partiality or injustice: and truly, any attempts of such a nature must be palpable indeed; for, what would they be? They would be attempts in a common legislature, to act the part of a separate, nay hostile legislature; and certainly, great ingenuity as well as great violence would be necessary, to enact laws, calculated to deserve one third of the common territory, for the purpose of serving the remaining part. Indeed such a system seems to be

\* See his Letter to Governor Shirley, dated 22nd Dec. 1754.

impossible

impossible in its own nature: for, so nearly similar, in all the leading features and circumstances, has nature formed and placed these islands, that it is not in human power to frame a regulation, which should serve Great Britain at large, and which would not also serve Ireland at large, or a regulation which should disserve Ireland at large, and which would not disserve Great Britain at large. No doubt laws could be conceived which might serve some particular town or towns, district or districts, of either country, to the detriment of the great remaining part of both countries. But in a parliament composed of the leading interests of the united kingdoms, in which so many of the most liberal and enlightened characters of the age would always act a commanding part, it is not in human credulity to believe, that the local interest, the narrow policy, of a particular town or district, could influence the lords and commons, in violation of reason, in defiance of opinion, in destruction of the common interest, and in diminution of national strength, to conspire in sacrificing the great to the little, the whole to a part.

All reasoning from what the parliament of Great Britain has done, or would probably do, as a separate legislature, is totally inapplicable to the present subject, even if all were founded that has been invidiously insinuated.

In all such cases, a separate legislature guards and promotes a separate interest; and the laws deemed partial, operate by way of privilege and protection, in favour of the subjects of a distinct kingdom, as against a foreign state, so far as a distinct interest is concerned.

But.

But a united parliament can have no separate interest to consult. The whole united people of Great Britain and Ireland become the subjects of its legislative care: in its composition would be found not only the proper representation of Ireland, but also many respectable representatives for Great Britain, as deeply interested in their own property for the peculiar welfare of Ireland as for that of Great Britain: the subject matters to be discussed would be subjects of common interest, could be presented only in that form, and must preclude all invidious debate as between distinct states: while the frequency of deliberation on the common interest of the subjects of both islands, could not fail, operating by the sure principle of habit, to create and strengthen in the legislature, the sentiment and principle of a common interest, and by necessity diffuse the sentiment and principle through the constituent body, the whole united community.

Two mighty instances indeed have been vehemently urged and idly repeated, not of partial laws, but of laws unjustly, as it is said, and in breach of faith, enacted as against Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain; and these are relied on as proof, that the interests of Ireland as well as of Scotland, would be sacrificed after a Union, to the interests of England. But these instances have been so clearly and repeatedly proved to be unfounded, that it would be tedious, as it is unnecessary, to repeat, or to add to, the refutation. It may be proper however to remark, that from the part taken by the Scotch members of parliament in the matter of the malt tax, it cannot easily be shewn, that they were indifferent to the interests of their particular country;

country, nor in truth can it be shewn, that in any matter in which the interests of Scotland have come into discussion, the Scotch representatives have not strenuously supported them. The proceeding on the occasion of the malt tax proves to have been merely an effort of the then opposition, to give to a quibble more effect than to substantial and equal justice. The act which placed Scotland on the same footing as England in respect to the law of high treason, is acknowledged by those who invidiously adduce it, to have been for the benefit of Scotland; while on examination it appears to have been enacted in exact pursuance of an article of the Union. We may therefore, in opposition to modern calumny, continue to give credit to the most respectable historians of the times subsequent to the Union, who concur in testimony, to the good faith and impartiality of the parliament of Great Britain in observance of the compact, as well as to the many and lasting benefits which have resulted to Scotland from the Union, notwithstanding the gloomy and inflammatory forebodings (long since falsified) of Lochart, Fletcher and Lord Belhaven.

The leader of the opposition to Union is so sensible of the failure of all such instances in proving a breach of compact, that, in the whole of his long speech, he pretends not to adduce or to support one: and even when he attempts to shew these, that by the income tax the articles of Union are virtually broken, ye the disavows any insinuation that the measure is a breach of any article of the Union, or that it was intended to evade it.\* The

\* Speaker's Speech, page 96.

weakness and futility of his endeavours to shew that by this measure the articles of union are virtually broken, serve to confirm rather than weaken our reliance on a united legislature. He says, that by annihilating the measure of a land tax, another is raised by the name of the income tax. But the land tax is not annihilated; it remains substantially as it was; it is merely disposed of in order to raise a large principal sum for the exigencies of the state; and whether the proprietor of an estate purchases in, or continues to pay the tax, is to all real effect the same. But if it were annihilated, the effect would be the same in Scotland as in England: the tax according to the proportions agreed on at the union would be done away as to both countries: and all other taxes, whatever they were or might be, would remain the same. But how the annihilation of the land tax, supposing it annihilated, produced the income tax, is most inconceivable. The large sum arising from the sale of the land tax, we should more naturally expect, would have precluded the necessity of the income tax; for the income tax has not been raised to pay the interest of loans, or in any respect to stand in the place of ordinary taxes, but is expressly adopted in place of a loan, and so far to preclude the necessity of loan or of permanent taxes. The proposition therefore is as inconsistent as it is unfounded, and by the by is equally irrelevant. The lands of Scotland, by the articles of Union, were, he says, to pay only one-fortieth of the British land tax; but he adds, an income tax has taken place; and income arises out of land; and estimating Scotland in her income at one-eighth of England, her lands will therefore pay henceforward one-eighth instead of one-fortieth of what those of England do.

Now, in order to give any semblance of reason to this argument, it must be previously shewn that the proportion of land tax for Scotland, was at the Union, most absurdly and unjustly, adopted as the ratio of all other taxes to be paid by Scotland; for no tax was ever invented, or can be conceived, which is not paid out of income; and whether a man pays a certain amount, by the name of an income tax, in the form of one-tenth of his revenues, or in the form of taxes upon consumption, window lights, hearth money, or the like, makes not to common sense the slightest difference. But we know, for we are accurately informed by the historians of that day, that the proportion of land tax was not adopted as the ratio of other contributions, but was merely a regulation of that particular tax then subsisting in England, adopted according to circumstances. Many objections had been made as to the different modes in the two countries of valuing the lands, of setting them, of the payment of rents, and of levying and paying in the sums charged upon land; which rendered it difficult to adjust this tax equitably by any rate or valuation; and therefore, to accommodate all differences, and to smooth the way for so desirable a purpose as they were about to accomplish, the commissioners agreed that, as to this particular tax, whenever it should be laid on, Scotland should pay a certain fixed sum, in the event of England paying another certain sum, and so in proportion. But this mode of regulating a particular tax was never till now dreamt of as a standard for regulating any other taxes, whether called customs, excise, assessment, or contributions of income. Be the land tax existing or annihilated, disposed of for a principal sum, or remaining as a tax with government, all other taxes remain

main as before, and regulated in the long used and acknowledged way. This insinuation therefore, or disavowal of an insinuation, instead of serving, mars the purpose for which it is insinuated.

There is no reason then for apprehension, that the legislature of a great nation, like united Britain and Ireland, would sacrifice the interests of one great and essential part to those of another; nor, if the apprehension were rational, can it be conceived, that the executive could countenance such absurd schemes, evidently destructive of the well-being and safety of the whole over which it presides, and tending to weaken as well as degrade the government: but even if the vicious folly were possible, a penetrating and active opposition, joined to the members for the great portion of the state, against which the weak and wicked conspiracy would be formed, must expose and defeat such wild attempts.

In the present state of connexion indeed, which becomes necessarily more slight and precarious as Ireland becomes mighty, mighty to destroy as well as to support Great Britain, it would not be surprising if the British legislature were to consider the interest of the two countries as incompatible. An invidious spirit has been long carefully kept alive among us; and, whatever has been supposed to serve the interests of Great Britain, has been generally represented, for that reason, as baneful to the interests of Ireland. Hence the cry for non-importation agreements, and the demands of prohibitory duties, hostile bounties, and the like; which, so far as carried into practice, have hurt our own valu-



able exports in a far greater degree than they have diminished the imports from Britain; and at the same time have been productive of jealousy and hostile regulations on the other side: a spirit and a conduct on the part of both, no doubt, almost equally destructive.\*

But if we consider the political principles, peculiarly inimical to Britain and the British constitution, so sedulously propagated, which have not only possessed the unthinking mass of our people, but have put in motion so many of the educated; if we add the unfortunately divided state of this country as to religion; and then review the destructive progress of France through Europe, and recollect her malignity to Britain as the grand obstacle to her designs; can any rational understanding conclude, that it remains the interest of Great Britain, to regard the interest of Ireland as her own, and to use every mean for the promotion of a distinct prosperity, which necessarily conferring power, may ultimately exalt an implacable foe, upon the ruins of that grand system of civilization, which it has cost industry, wisdom, and patriotism, ages to erect?

On the contrary, if the representatives from every part of these islands, constitute the legislature for the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, all the acts of which equally affect both united kingdoms, then are the interests of all so bound up together, that the motives which have hitherto influenced the legislatures for the distinct kingdoms, to prefer distinct interests, are wholly taken away: nay, the subject matter no longer remains;

\* See Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Trade of Ireland.

for there can be no separate national interest in any part or member of a consolidated state, the national interest and the common interest being then one and the same. The laws cannot operate partially; for the same laws are made for the whole, and there is no separate interest to be promoted. Partial regards and invidious considerations affect the laws of neighbouring states; for the interests of neighbouring states have been, from the beginning of time, almost constantly in opposition: but in one undivided state, the national interest, the grand object of legislation, being the same, partial regards as opposed to a common interest, howsoever they may influence individuals, cannot materially affect the general law. We do not find that partial attachments operate in the legislature of Great Britain, to the detriment of any part, or to the benefit of any part, in opposition to the common interest; but, whatever may be the struggles of party for political power, and whatever differences of opinion on publick measures may take place, we never hear of the interest of any particular district being opposed to the national prosperity. Partial attachments must ever be various in a numerous legislature, and therefore counteract each other: besides, the fear of successful opposition to partial measures; respect for opinion; regard for a common cause, which the habits of consulting on the grand subjects of publick policy naturally beget; the useful intermixture of opinions, flowing from constant intercourse and discussion; these, and innumerable combinations of similar nature, concur to create, union of views, and union of exertion, to a common good.

In such a consolidation of interests, the prosperity and power of every part, form the prosperity and power, and contribute to the stability of the whole. Consequently, in the United legislature, engaged in advancing the wealth and greatness, not of a separate state, but of one undivided and inseparable state, every encouragement that an enlightened zeal for national interest could give, would be extended to every beneficial exertion of every part of the perfectly United Empire. The United parliament would be composed, not of a narrow aristocracy attended by a tribe of devoted and uninformed dependents, but of the numerous great interests of the United kingdoms, aided by the various and extensive information of every profession, art, and occupation, of a most active, prosperous and enlightened nation. Unembarrassed by the contending claims of distinct and rival states, such a legislature, therefore, would be at once actuated by motive and furnished with ability, to call forth every latent power, and to cherish every rising effort, in the promotion of particular, and consequently of general, industry and prosperity. One part of a great state, from produce, situation, or habit, is often capable of cultivating a valuable art, which is, both physically and morally, beyond reach of another. This fact in an extended territory takes place to manifold effect; and by being skilfully improved, tends to multiply the riches and resources of a country. Such advantages flow, in a considerable degree, even from intercourse with foreign states; but, in far greater proportion, and to happier effect, in the various and multiplied relations of different parts of the same country, whereby the peculiar industry, and products, and wants, of vari-

ous districts, contribute reciprocally to the prosperity of each, and, in entire effect, to the enlarged prosperity of the whole state. Hence, various and extensive interchange of benefits necessarily begets corresponding intercourse; real interest becomes better understood; prejudices submit to experience; and amity and success, going hand in hand, mutually promote each other. And hence may be inferred, the futility of all those invidious statements and calculations, which are manufactured by party disputants, for the purpose of shewing the superiour advantage of either kingdom in its intercourse with the other. These are not necessary to prove that the separation of Ireland would ultimately ruin Great Britain, or that Ireland could not exist unconnected with Great Britain. All the garbling, misnaming, and sophistry, with which some of them have been introduced and displayed might easily have been spared.\* These Islands, it appears clearly enough without all this machinery, are formed by nature, by relation, by habit, by common hope and fear, to coalesce and to become perfectly one, in political essence, form, and energy.

But it seems, the woollen, cotton, iron, and pottery manufacturies, are those in which British capital is chiefly employed, those for which Great Britain is peculiarly fitted, and in which her people eminently excel; therefore Ireland in all the enriching arts of industry, is to degenerate after Union, British capital will no longer contribute to support her trade, and

\* See shamefully sophistical statements detected in observations on that part of the Speaker's speech which relates to trade, from page 16 to page 29.

British settlers will be more deterred than ever from making, or taking part in, establishments among us. That Great Britain is unrivalled in those manufactures is neither to be denied nor regretted; they contribute considerably to her riches, and to that might which she is now putting forth in a common defence. But even in these arts of industry we have a share; and so far as may be consistent with the application of our capital, and with our attention to those objects for which we are best fitted, and in which we have eminently prospered, we may justly encourage the hope of taking, in progression, a larger share. That this country is capable of cultivating the woollen manufacture to considerable extent is undoubted, from the very instance, which the opposers of Union adduce, of the prosperous state of that manufacture in Ireland at a very early period; and from the fact that, for a good while past, and at this moment a respectable trade has been and is carried on in the coarser branches of woollen goods. It may be true that in 1698, Ireland exported woollens to the amount of above 100,000*l.* and in 1798, to the amount only of 12,000*l.* and yet in the latter period more woollen goods may have been manufactured in Ireland than in the former period; for, the prodigious increase of her people, and of their ability to purchase cloathing, within the last century, has been such as to annihilate any inference which can be drawn from this difference of export. A similar observation is applicable to the statement that, about ten years ago Britain exported in woollen manufacture to the whole world 4,368,936*l.* in value, and in the last year, 6,836,603*l.* and that out of the former there went to Ireland 353,781*l.* and out of the latter

latter 580,723l. so that in ten years the increase of export to Ireland was more than in an equal proportion to the increase of export to the rest of the world\*. It follows not hence, that a less quantity of woollen goods was manufactured in the year 1798 than in the year 1788, either in Ireland or in the rest of the world; but it may follow, as the fact is, that in the progress of nations, Ireland, as well as the rest of the world, but in greater proportion than in many parts of it, has, within the last ten years, increased in riches, and particularly in the numbers of those descriptions of people, who have acquired the means of purchasing the finer woollens which Britain supplies. In the coarser woollens manufactured at home, we see the great body of our numerous population clothed; and this is abundant proof, that whenever circumstances shall make it our interest, to extend or vary this branch of industry, we have it fully in our power. But it is acknowledged that Ireland works up all the wool it has, and it is added that there is little reason to expect that the quantity will be enlarged, as the increase of the linen manufacture and of agriculture gives a greater profit in land than sheep afford†. Is it not obvious therefore that Ireland is now in possession of other means of prosperity, which it would be folly to sacrifice to the premature and forced cultivation of certain branches of manufacture, which other parts of the same empire, (an empire every loyal man wishes to be one in interest) happen to cultivate with peculiar skill and to prosperous effect?

\* Speaker's Speech, 72.

† Speaker's Speech, 72.

In the cotton manufacture also, particularly in the coarser branches of it, which do not require superiour skill, and which are best fitted for common consumption, considerable advances have been made. The cotton manufacture established and conducted with great spirit and on great capital by Messrs. Orr, (natives of Great Britain) affords a most respectable instance indeed of what may be done in this country, when the advanced state of Ireland shall give an equally cheap raw material as Britain procures, and shall afford from more essential occupations a superfluity of capital.

In the manufacture of Iron for the more general and useful purposes of life, some spirited efforts have been crowned with success. Not to mention others, Mr. Blair's extensive works on the River Liffey near Dublin, furnish a striking example of what may be effected. Even in what is called the pottery manufacture, this country has proved itself not incapable; and that it possesses all the requisite natural advantages in a superiour degree, has been fully shewn\*. And till now it has not been denied, that capital, enterprise, and skill, are only wanting to raise Ireland by degrees, to the highest state of prosperity in which cultivated arts can place a nation. No doubt, until long establishment has given capital and skill, it may be necessary to encourage those who have engaged in manufactures in which Great Britain has long excelled,

\* See Observations on that part of the Speaker's Speech, which relates to Trade.—See also Mr. Wedgwood's Evidence before the House of Commons in England, in May, 1785.

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by fixing upon such articles, duties which may preserve to our own rising fabricks the home consumption, which home consumption in a populous country is always sufficient, in a reasonable length of time, to establish whatever employment the circumstances of a people fit them to pursue. Such encouragement makes part of the plan of Union laid before his Majesty. Whatever capital has been embarked, therefore, and whatever industry exerted, under existing laws, in any infant undertakings, have compleat effect secured, so far as may be consistent with the collective good of the country. Under such encouragement for a considerable time, (and in justice and good policy, ought to be for a considerable time) the capabilities of success in various pursuits will have taken root, while those in which we could but struggle by the aid of a tax upon the consumption of our people, will gradually yield to others in which capital may be more beneficially employed.

In one branch of manufacture we are confessedly unrivalled; and the increasing demand from other countries, particularly from the great continent of America multiplying with people, opens to industry and capital a field for enterprise of indefinite extent. In agriculture, notwithstanding the increased produce of corn, at the expence and under the operation of bounties, this country is in an incalculable proportion inferior to Great Britain\*; and yet, its very superiour soil, and

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numerous

\* The contrary is indeed most strangely insinuated in the Speaker's Speech, page 106, where it is said, that Ireland supplies largely that kingdom whose prosperity we are desired to imitate, and who cannot maintain itself. It is surely an extraordinary inference that, because  
a country



numerous people, render it peculiarly capable of surpassing almost every other country, in the blessings to be derived from this prime source of national wealth and happiness. Look to Great Britain, and observe the quantity of capital employed in agriculture, the knowledge and spirit with which it is carried on, and the scene of industry, plenty, and comfort which it exhibits; while in Ireland, starved for want of capital, and chiefly conducted by an ignorant and torpid class of men, this fine country has hitherto but conjectured what it is capable of, and instead of presenting a race of flourishing occupiers of the land, the happiest and most useful members of the community, has too generally exposed a wretched aspect of poverty and failure. To put this country in the same state of agriculture as that at which Great Britain has arrived, would cost, according to Mr. Arthur Young's calculation, little less than one hundred millions sterling,

Now, whence can we expect an accession of capital, knowledge, industry, and enterprise, but from that supereminently flourishing kingdom, with which we are partially connected, and with which a perfect Union

a country occasionally imports corn, therefore it cannot maintain itself; for, if the same country happens to export in a greater proportion than it imports corn, it follows that it can more than maintain itself. Now, in the last edition of *Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations*, the enlightened and accurate author states, that Great Britain imports only a quantity of grain equal to about the five hundred and seventieth part of its home consumption, while it exports a quantity equal to about the thirtieth part of what it consumes; that is, it exports more than eighteen times as much as it imports. And yet it seems Great Britain cannot maintain itself! A conclusion, if it were true, unhappy for Ireland as well as for Great Britain.

must

must give to all ranks of its people, confidence, and, by progressive consequences, all the cordiality of co-patriotism?

Already considerable sums have from time to time been lent to this country by Great Britain upon landed security; and it is notorious that a very considerable part of the trade of Ireland is carried on by aid of British capital. Whatever we can produce which, in any part of the immensely extended correspondence of Great Britain, can supply demand, is taken with avidity from Ireland, paid for in advance, and transported to the ultimate ports of destination, to be widely diffused under encouragement of the indulgent credit given by British wealth. Of the prodigious quantity of our staple manufacture, the linen, sent yearly to Great Britain, above two thirds of the value are paid in advance by the merchants to whom it is consigned; and some British capital has even been vested in establishments of that manufacture in Ireland. In fact, so connected and interwoven is the prosperity of this country with the prosperity of Great Britain, that almost exactly in the proportion that British commerce has extended, the demands for what Ireland can supply have increased, and the assistance of British capital to call forth that supply has been extended. So sensible of these truths are many of the northern linen manufacturers, and many leading commercial men in Cork and other convenient sea ports, that no efforts of party violence or affected patriotism, have been able to prevent them from seeing and acknowledging, the accession of benefit to be derived, from more intimate connexion with Great Britain.

In that highly improved country, every active pursuit has been carried to such extent, that enormous capital and animated enterprize seek new fields of action. Before the political convulsion of France, establishments in that country were meditated, and some actually commenced by enterprising Englishmen. Even in this tremendous war, so has the course of events concurred with the ability and spirit of Britain, that her wealth and her enriching sources have increased beyond all former experience or hope. Consider then the circumstances of Ireland. Our climate as good and our soil superiour; the means of subsistence more easily raised than in almost any other country; a hardy and numerous people capable of furnishing, at moderate rate, a prodigious quantity of useful labour, to all the arts of life; and a coast superabundantly supplied with commodious havens for all the purposes of ready export and import. Think also of the situation of Great Britain. The national principal stock swelled to enormous amount, by the accession of emigrated property, and by the profits of enlarged commerce; the sum of wealth employed in war returning, on the establishment of peace, into the bosom of an already incalculable capital; and her people active and experienced in every industrious and enriching occupation, acute to discern where and how advantages are to be pursued, and bent upon enterprize beyond all other nations. Thus circumstanced these kingdoms become perfectly united, whereby all separate interest is annihilated, distinct nationability is lost in the entireness of the one consolidated state, the same supreme authority flowing from the whole presides over and regulates the whole of both countries, and the same laws equally controul, encourage,  
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and secure, all the inhabitants of the united kingdom. What must naturally follow? No longer considered as a distinct or hostile country, but as a district of their own country, and blessed with superiour advantages, enterprising Englishmen, not yet fixed in permanent establishments, with a superfluity of capital open to their use, must occasionally gratify the spirit of adventure in a comparatively new and unoccupied field. Frequent successes cannot but operate to encourage new undertakings; and our various advantages, whatever they are, must consequently become better understood and more successfully pursued, whether in agriculture, in long established manufacture, or in rising or in new undertakings. It is strange to say, that all this must fail because we have not the cheap fuel with which Great Britain, raising it within herself, is furnished; and at the same moment to inform us, that if urged to it we can raise abundance in our own country. No doubt we can, and it will naturally make a useful part of our progress, to raise that valuable article in abundance, and to supply it at cheap price to all the arts in which it is employed. In the meantime, the difference of the price of fuel makes so small a part of the cost of most manufactures, compared with that of many other materials employed, but particularly with the cost of labour, and is so fully-compensated by the present duties, which are to remain for a considerable though limited time, and afterwards to be continued or gradually diminished as publick good may require, that no real discouragement takes place or can rationally operate.\* The circuitous means by which  
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\* It is material to observe, that the flourishing state of manufactures, depends not so much upon the rate of profit as upon the extension

so many of the raw materials are obtained by this country, enhanced in price by additional profit, freight, insurance, and other expences, contributes more perhaps than any other circumstance, to retard those manufactures in which we have not eminently excelled; and the low state of industry among our people, which prevents the extension of home consumption adds to the discouragement. The smallness of capital employed in foreign trade and in agriculture is the cause of both these deficiencies. Let men possessed of property, or capable obtaining the enlarged use of it, in the sister kingdom, and ardent for active employment, see this happily circumstanced country, no longer governed through the medium of an interested and doubtful oligarchy, no longer liable to be regulated by laws distinct from their own, no longer influenced by separate or incompatible interests, and no longer, by the very nature of a distinct state, and in the daily proceedings of its separate legislature, cherishing and bringing into action invidious and alienating principles, but in every particular of interest government and regulation the same; then, apprehension and discouragement removed, all our natural advan-

tion of sale, which extension of sale is best promoted by skill and capital. A manufacture making only ten per cent. on the capital employed may be far more flourishing than one making fifteen per cent. on account of the far greater quantity of business done by the former than the latter. In several manufactures in Ireland, at this moment, the rate of profit is greater than in those of the same kind in Great Britain; but the greater capital employed, and the greater extent of sale, make those in Great Britain generally more flourishing and productive. Under the encouragement of duties, fixed for a limited but considerable time, and afterwards to be gradually diminished, Ireland will have full opportunity, to improve her skill, increase her capital, and extend her sale, so as with a less rate of profit, to flourish more eminently in all the arts, for the enlarged cultivation of which nature may have endowed her.

tages are left at liberty to operate, with full force of motive, upon every active energy to be found in any part of the united whole. We may therefore confidently expect that the skill in every branch of agriculture, now arrived at such a height in Great Britain, and still cultivated with a degree of ardour pregnant with future blessings, will, with the assistance of overflowing capital, reach the rich and extensive tracts in Ireland, which may be obtained upon terms far inferior to those on which the naturally inferior lands of Britain are farmed; and that the commodious ports of our finely indented coast, will from time to time invite many to make establishments or take part in establishments, for the purpose of supplying foreign nations with our productions, and of importing the various articles useful at home or fit to be easily distributed to other countries.

Should such instances be at first but few, should they multiply but by slow degrees, yet still the effects would be happy. Men of condition and property in this country would occasionally imitate the example, and in their own exertions, or in directing the attention of their sons to useful employment, would promote individual and collective interest. Hence, motives to industry would be multiplied; hence, skill and enterprise would follow; hence, our people would be more generally employed and consequently ameliorated; and hence, in the enjoyment of the fruits of industry, a taste for the comforts of civilized life would be created, and every active pursuit invigorated.

To a foreign state the superflux of capital is not easily trusted; in a foreign state the apprehensive stranger is

not confident of protection : therefore the advantages of a foreign state are neither sought nor cultivated. But in the same state, where security of property and protection of the individual are maintained and guarded by the same universally pervading authority, the subject is confident in every part of the common territory, and consequently the numbers are greatly increased of those who, stimulated by the desire of acquisition, search for the means of improving their fortunes, and in the search, multiply the probabilities of discovering the natural, and improving the cultivated sources, of individual gain and national prosperity. Ireland has been in material respects as a foreign state. The supreme authority which regulates all its important concerns is different ; the debates in the legislature are constantly grounded on an opposition of interests ; and jealousy and rivalry maintain and extend an unfortunate religious and national antipathy. But the two kingdoms, on the plan of Union, are no longer to be foreign in any respect ; the opposition of interests can only be that of the united state and of foreign or hostile nations ; jealousy and rivalry being removed, and the one superiour legislature directing its attention to the healing of differences, Union of sentiment and affection will consequently by degrees follow Union of political constitution. Hence with confidence we infer, that easy and free communication among all the subjects of the common state, and more enlarged and various interchange of benefits, will greatly increase the prosperity and happiness of the whole.

The plan of the economists of France for establishing a free, unburthened and uncontrouled intercourse of nations in the interchange of their peculiar benefits,  
and

and mutual supply of their peculiar wants, will then (so far as regards these islands) be no longer visionary.

The very circumstance of being divided by a narrow sea, instead of furnishing a reason for supposing that Providence intended they should ever remain separate states, points out the superiour utility of their political Union. It enlarges the extent of common coasts; it tends to increase their common commerce, and to augment their common wealth; it contributes to multiply that bold and hardy race of men, upon whose skill, activity, and gallantry, depend the safety, dignity, and prosperity, of this maritime empire, formed to be the great defence of human rights; it assists to spread wider our shipping through the world, to extend our influence, and to add to our resources; and, in varying the peculiarities of human character, which various situation occasions, brings more varied occupation and pursuit to operate, to the great common and valuable purpose, the publick good.

Neither need Great Britain be at all apprehensive of any loss to her by the gain of united Ireland. The world is sufficiently wide for both. Besides, it has long been discovered, that industrious nations thrive not by the poverty and loss of their neighbours, but by their wealth and prosperity; for so has nature diversified this earth and its inhabitants, that the possessions as well as wants of different countries contribute to common benefit. Were Great Britain and Ireland, acting upon the principle of distinct and therefore frequently inconsistent interest, to counteract each other by hostile commercial laws, they might easily drive to foreign coun-



tries, the advantages which each is peculiarly fitted to pursue; whereas, by compleat consolidation, by acting under the same regulations, more various arts may be preserved and cultivated in the common territory, more various classes of useful subjects may be employed, and the more effectually and happily may the pursuits and productions of each country, and of every district of each country, be extended to their full capability.

In such a scene of things, it is not improbable indeed, that the comparative consequence and power of the aristocracy of Ireland might become somewhat abated. They would no longer rule this country in the form of a small faction, commanding the greater and distributing the lesser favours of the state; but, mingled with the other great interests of the empire, would learn to understand and to respect the nature of a useful gradation of ranks: and, instead of forming an anomalous and distracting imperium in imperio, would fill their proper and important place in the scale of government. Hitherto a destructive chasm in society has long subsisted between the higher and lower orders of the community; in consequence of which, sympathy and intercourse having been excluded, the prejudices and bad sentiments, which the natural situation of each fosters in minds not corrected by necessity or discipline, have had full scope to operate, and have not only prevented mutual cordiality and usefulness, but have promoted fraud and lawlessness on the one side, and insolence and oppression on the other. But, in a state of society growing daily more similar to that of Great Britain, in which every order takes its just situation in the great system of subordination, and in which rank approaches and blends into

into rank, mutually supporting and supported, self interest, necessity, opinion, every powerful principle, bind together the community, form a chain of good offices, and at once secure the tranquillity and improve the character of the nation. We should then hear not long of an overbearing aristocracy or gentry, too many of whom (certainly not all, for we have happy exceptions) have taken little interest in the condition or fate of their inferiours and dependents; but, in the progressive improvement of society, we should see an aristocracy, the chief in example as the chief in rank, as eminently the stewards as the favourites of Providence, who, considering their own interests as interwoven with the interests of the lowest in the community, would regard with scrupulous observance the fair claims between man and man, would subdue inveterate prejudice by manly intercourse, and, in a career of enlightened beneficence, enlarge the general happiness;—characters, allied to those whom after ages venerate,

*Quique sui memores alias fecere merendo.*

The complete consolidation of these kingdoms, however, chiefly impresses the mind of every friend to Great Britain and Ireland, in its powerful tendency to give to the British Empire strength and stability; in which is necessarily involved the security of our liberties, our laws, and our religion.

In any other case than the present, in which prejudice, pride, and party spirit take such a lead, one should suppose, that the mere statement of the situation of these kingdoms, would satisfy every man who  
has

has at all considered human affairs, that the nature of our connexion tends to difunion and weakness, and that in compleat Union only, can rational hope be found of permanent stability.

It is not pretended that the best concerted Union, though it might immediately add force to the exertions of the Empire, and impress enemies and traitors with awe, would operate as by magical power, and instantly compose the violence, eradicate the secretly working mischief, and change the character of this country. No—We are well aware that we must now brave the fury of the storm: and, under the auspicious lead of Great Britain, we hope and look for, a favourable issue to the contest, in which we are engaged with jacobin France and the jacobins of Ireland. But the fiery trial through which we are passing, may well make us dread, and prepare against, the consequences of such a future day.

The return of peace will remove the imminent danger which unites the loyal and makes them vigilant. It will also remove the extraordinary restraints which necessity has imposed, but which, however necessary in the present conflict for existence, make part of the evils of a war imposed upon us, and would be incompatible with established peace, from which we hope for the advancement of national prosperity and power, in all the freedom of exertion congenial to our happy constitution. But we cannot expect that, notwithstanding peace, restless and ambitious France would cease to forward her schemes against the British power; neither are we to expect that, in a period of peace, the disaffected at  
home

home would not basely employ themselves, in preparing, under specious pretexts, those various political measures, which operate by sure though perhaps moderate gradations, to the subversion of established government.

In the meantime, the prejudices and jealousies that subsist between these kingdoms, the prodigious spread of democratick principles in this country, the distinctness of the two supreme authorities, the growth of the national spirit of independence, and the increase of popular influence, present to the intriguing spirit of France, most prolifick sources of disorder: and, should new conflicts with the same depraved and destroying power hereafter become necessary, it appears morally certain that, in some of them, distraction of counsel and disunion of operation, would supply what might be wanting to realize the schemes of the enemy.

Now, on reviewing the evils produced by the nature of our connexion, which in former times distracted and afflicted this country, and on considering the dangers which, under all the circumstances of our situation, are connected with and must necessarily flow from separate and independent legislatures, what prospect of permanent stability remains but in a legislative Union, which shall consolidate our interests, authorities and powers? If the wealth, power, and loyalty of the Empire be divided, a facility is presented of being wrought upon by vicious influence, or awed by the menaces of force: but a united legislature would give to the incorporated kingdoms a grand and resistless phalanx, of the rank, property, abilities, and fidelity  
of

of both countries; no part of which could any longer be employed in setting in opposition the interests and prejudices of their respective distinct states; but, undivided in national sentiment and national objects, must, in its essential nature, supply powerful resistance to whatever dangerous influence might prevail in any part of either country. In the present convulsed state of the political world, distraction of views or of action: must prove more fatal to a state in which they take place, than in any former time: but, in a united legislature, we should derive security, from Union of mind and Union of operation, in the pursuit of every national object, whether of peace or of war. In peace, the dangerous movements of surrounding nations would be attended to with the united vigilance of all the great and loyal interests of the Empire, and counteracted, in promptitude of preparation, by the one directing spirit and authority of the whole state: And if actual war become necessary, we should dread no disunion of decision in the two distinct, powerful, and independent authorities, but, in the immediate exercise of one legislative will, regulating the resources, and ultimately directing the power of the Empire, we should find the surest confidence of defeating the designs of our enemies.

The United States of America were so sensible of the danger likely to flow from distraction of counsel in distinct and co-equal legislatures, in matters of national concern, that, when in the year 1787, they changed their confederation into more intimate Union, powers were given to the Congress, that is, to an imperial and common legislature, to the following effect,—“ To  
 “ lay

" lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and exci-  
 " ses, to pay the debts and provide for the com-  
 " mon defence and general welfare of the United  
 " States—to borrow money on the credit of the Unit-  
 " ed States—to raise and support armies—to provide  
 " and maintain a navy—to make rules for the govern-  
 " ment and regulation of the land and naval forces—  
 " to provide for calling forth the militia, to execute  
 " the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and re-  
 " pel invasions—to provide for organizing, arming and  
 " disciplining the militia—to make all laws which shall  
 " be necessary and proper for carrying into execution  
 " the foregoing powers." Here are the most impor-  
 tant of legislative powers, which the United States have  
 judged it necessary to commit to a common legislature,  
 but which are respectively and distinctly vested in, and  
 respectively and distinctly exercised by, the separate  
 legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland: and yet, the  
 United States are divided by an ocean of three thou-  
 sand miles extent, from all the states that can materi-  
 ally affect them; and, the number, complication, and  
 importance, of their political relations, as well as the  
 magnitude of their exertions, are of no consideration,  
 compared with those of the British Empire. From so  
 early an opinion of the necessity of closer Union, and  
 from the instances we lately witnessed of particular  
 states, in a time of danger, entering into resolutions  
 repugnant to the determinations of Congress, the strong  
 probability follows that, when the United States be-  
 come more powerful, when the effects of national con-  
 duct become more numerous and important, and when,  
 in the progress of society among them, men of leisure  
 and active spirit, form parties, and create political dis-  
 cord, the good sense of that people will lead them to  
 L. incorporate

incorporate in still closer Union, in order the more effectually to secure the commonwealth, against the destructive consequences of internal convulsion and foreign violence. But, in our greater and more important situation, all the considerations that have induced or can induce the United States, to consolidate their powers, weigh with ten-fold force, and seem to point to Union, as the great fortress, which nature and reason have provided, for the permanent security of these islands.

In a united legislature also, where local prejudices or influence could not prevail, whatever grievances might occasionally claim consideration, would meet with most equitable discussion and most secure redress; while complaints or claims, generated by party spirit or party designs, whether political or religious, would meet with that determined resistance, which must naturally inspire the collective representation of nearly all the loyalty to the Constitution, and all the attachment to the Protestant cause, to be found in the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In this point of view, the situation and claims of the Roman catholics are necessarily presented to the mind.

The whole train of events in the history of Ireland, joined to our own experience, perfectly assure us, that the great body of that sect cannot be entrusted with political power, in our present distinct state, consistently with the security of our religion, and by consequence, of our civil establishment. Most of the relaxations and  
concessions

concessions that have been made in their favour, seem to have been dictated by a benign spirit and an enlightened policy; but the elective franchise, which necessarily confers so large a portion of political power, cannot but be considered as a most dangerous grant, to an immense body, the greater part of which, unhappily, are inimical to our religion and our connections with Great Britain. Their growing importance, their active zeal, and their spirit of combination, directed in a steady and systematick course of action, to the objects they have constantly held in view, must, by the aid of this political engine, unless frustrated by an accession of resistance, procure to them, in process of time, such pervading influence through the nation, as necessarily to ensure powerful influence, in the legislature, and the final accomplishment of their purposes. But whether, under all circumstances, the step at the time it was made, was justifiable or not, yet, in having made it, we may be said to have passed the Rubicon; and we cannot recede, without exposing the country to such critical danger, and devoting it to such actual calamity, as revolt every liberal mind.

In whatever light therefore, this important body of people are considered, the government of the country must be embarrassed, and the publick safety endangered. But in a united legislature, all embarrassment and danger are done away, in a matter of such essential influence on our peace and safety. We should then become incorporated with a people more powerful and numerous than ourselves, almost entirely protestant, attached to their religion, and anxious for its preservation; the legislature emanating from that country must



always remain protestant, and subject to protestant influence; no consequences therefore could follow dangerous to the established religion of Ireland, whether the comparative influence of Roman catholicks in this country remains as it is, or should in progress of time extend its power.

It is equally absurd as dangerous to act upon the inconsistent principle, of maintaining our constitution, exclusively of the security of our established religion. What do we mean by our constitution? We mean that system of regulations, rights, and privileges, which, weak and imperfect at infancy, has grown with the growth, strengthened with the strength, and become grand and compleat with the improvement, of Great Britain. With the reformation, the human mind in Britain greatly advanced; and the beauty, order, and fixed principles, of civil society, became daily more intimately blended with the protestant system of religion. The genius, the manners, the customs, and the laws of this protestant Empire, have flowed, and still flow, from this mingled source; and to separate or weaken the auspicious Union of religion and law, would be to subvert our constitution, shake our stability, and endanger our existence. But, whatever hope we may have entertained, whatever efforts of liberality we may have made, it is now out of controversy, that the ultimate design of the great majority of Roman catholicks in this country, instigated by too many of their inferiour clergy, has been, by the aid of civil privilege, and under foreign auspices, to overturn our religious establishment, and to acquire, at the expence of whatever convulsion, the triumphant ascendent to their

their own. At the same time, we are fully convinced, that the extension of civil privilege tends to enlarge the publick mind, and to give motives to all those useful energies, which make the power and prosperity of a nation.

The Roman catholick accordingly, enjoys all the religious toleration that under a protestant constitution can be conceived; he is furnished in his perfectly equal dominion over his property, with every motive to useful exertion that can inspire the protestant. And nothing remains withheld but the capacity of gratifying an ambition, perhaps not a wise one, of possessing place, and rule, and authority in the state.

In order therefore, to preserve toleration of religion with establishment of religion, civil privilege with civil security, we seek to strengthen and to render inviolable, the comparatively weak state of the protestant cause in this country, by an incorporation of protestant power and authority, with that great country, the nature and character of whose people through all their ranks is protestant, and whose laws and liberties are so cemented with their religion, that they must cease to be anation, before their religious establishment be overthrown.

Then would all hope be cut up by the roots, of sap-  
ping the foundations of our religious establishment, and  
of perverting our constitution, in order to give to this  
country a Roman catholick establishment; and in the  
destruction of that hope, the Roman catholick would  
attend to, cherish, and improve, the substantial bles-  
sings he actually possesses; in consequence of which,  
both publick and private enemies of our constitutional  
happiness

happiness must lose motive and encouragement; and we should present to the world, a powerful, free, and happy, protestant kingdom and empire, in which, about one sixth of the people of a different and even repugnant religion, would be seen to enjoy such blessings under a mild and benignant sway, that absurdity and bigotry would most probably, from day to day, yield to the light of reason, and take part with establishment, constitution, and loyalty.

And in truth, even at the present moment, we rejoice in knowing that society is qualified and blessed with many, very many liberal, enlightened, and benignant Roman catholicks: and we earnestly hope that their numbers may increase, as well as their influence over a multitude, whose excesses they lament, and whom they pity as the infatuated instruments of vicious conspirators. Of such Roman catholicks we entertain no dread; we consider them not only as our fellow subjects, but as our friends and fellow christians. We are aware that they regard the British constitution as a system which has grown out of experience, which has been improved by wisdom operating upon experience, and which has proved in practice, at least among the people who have fully enjoyed it, the best calculated to preserve to the eccentric nature of man, social order, liberty, and happiness. We know that fellow christians of this description, recognising religion as a Divine gift to man, to make him good and happy, could be very little inclined indeed, to aid the overthrow of a religious establishment, which, though not exactly agreeable to their opinions, yet obviously contributes, in a considerable degree, to preserve among  
all

all rank, the sacred obligations of morality; and the destruction of which would be ultimately followed, (if we can judge from what has actually taken place in other countries) by the most dreadful monster that ever devoured a people's blessings,—cold, unfeeling, malignant irreligion.

If then, in the event of a Union, it should be deemed expedient (as seems now probable, indeed almost morally certain) to take into consideration, at a fit season, in the united legislature, the utility of doing away all that remains of invidious distinction, between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic of Ireland, we may expect the most benign effects. The privilege of sitting in the legislature of these realms, would, by the very nature of man, ensure to us, in the leading families of the Roman Catholic body, new and invigorated motives, to the cultivation of every valuable quality that makes the loyal and useful subject: the constant intercourse of respectable Roman Catholics with their co-representatives from Ireland, and with the members at large of the first assembly that ever graced the world, must gradually destroy every unworthy prejudice; and consequently, they would return to their constituents with such dispositions and views, as could not fail to diffuse through the whole body, the happiest influence. All subject and all occasion for jealousy and offence being for ever removed, we might confidently hope, that under the impartial conduct of the common legislature, the inhabitants of this country would, ere long, cease to embarrass and weaken, by discord and disunion, the exertions of the empire, but that, in a course of cordiality and prosperity, they would grow in attachment to the  
common

common cause, and powerfully contribute to the common security.

In legislative Union also, it is material to add, the abounding demagogues of this country, lose every hope of creating an influence which should overawe the legislature. Their invidious pretexts respecting a depressed religion of the great majority of the state, a separate interest, and national independence, could no longer find distinct subject for operation: they would not then employ the parties in a distinct parliament as engines to promote their covered schemes; but if they should continue their malignant efforts to distract society, they must stand forth in their proper character, and in their native deformity, in defiance of the united legislature, and of the united and prompt force of the whole and every part, of consolidated Britain and Ireland. Political adventure, at one time acting under the form of a bravo for the ruling powers, and at another under that of the high minded patriots, but, in every shape, the bane of tranquillity and usefulness, then deprived of motive, must relinquish its unprincipled and factious pursuit; and we should see in the paths of business, literature, and science, in the pursuit of objects useful to their country and to themselves, those vain, restless, or ardent characters, who, without originally vicious designs, have been too long carrying into effect, the views of a jacobin conspiracy.

If improvements in our constitution, or regulations in relief or encouragement of the subject, should be found necessary, the united legislature, composed of the loyalty, zeal, wisdom, and firmness, of both countries,  
unaffected

unaffected by any dangerous influence, would naturally, and in the course of occurring circumstances and events, as the British legislature has long done, adopt such wholesome measures, as might best serve the well weighed interest and happiness of the united kingdoms.

And in fine, in the one legislature of the undivided and inseparable state, every motive of patriotism and honourable pride, would have full, safe, and useful scope of action; and, in all those enlightened exertions, of which the admired example of Britain gives a sure promise, to multiply and expand the resources, and to enlarge the prosperity and power of the empire, the hearts of the loyal in both countries, would be animated and supported, under every effort for private or publick benefit, by the confident hope of permanent security.

The circumstances which led to the Union of Scotland, and the effects which have flowed from it, fully corroborate every reason offered for a Union of Ireland. Scotland had subsisted long as a separate and independent state, engaged in all the rivalry and conflict with England incident to their contiguous situation: The two nations had harassed and distracted each other for ages, to the detriment of both, but particularly of Scotland, which, except in the gallantry of her turbulent nobility, and the bravery of her poor and scattered people, exhibited no marks of national prosperity. The calamities resulting from their situation, had been often lamented by the wiser men of rank and authority in both kingdoms, and plans had been frequently concerted by which they might become united. These all failed; but at length, the accidental Union of the two

crowns in the same person, seemed to promise a Union of laws, privileges, and interests, which should destroy all former animosity, and establish the tranquillity and domestick happiness of the whole island for ever. To effect so excellent a purpose, an incorporated Union was earnestly sought, and in the parliament of England, even proposed, in the reign of James the first; but national prejudices frustrated the conciliating and wholesome plan. The two kingdoms therefore, until then perfectly separate and independent, were to travel on together, connected simply by the identity of person in whom the crowns were vested. That complete independence should be preserved in a connexion of this nature, was impossible; and accordingly Mr. Hume says, it might easily have been foreseen, that the independence of Scotland would be lost, and that, if both states persevered in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker must sensibly suffer subjection. The consequences were exactly such as might have been foreseen. The interests of the two countries being distinct, and antient prejudice continuing to operate, the influence of the superiour country was employed in depressing a dangerous rival rather than in elevating an inseparable friend; and except on occasions when England was involved in difficulties and disasters, we find that the influence of the superiour country prevailed. In a state of political Union so slight and defective, England was naturally led to watch with a jealous eye, and to guard against an increase of power in Scotland, which might be employed in schemes, dangerous to the constitution of the more prosperous kingdom. The part which the Scotch had acted during the civil war in England, furnished an instructive proof, of the effects to be dreaded from

from the interference of Scotland in times of public commotion; and accordingly, it is to be remarked, that after the restoration, means were used to restrain the trade, to prevent the resources, and to depress the power of Scotland. This system continued during the reign of Charles the second and of James the second. In the reign of William, however, advances were made in the Scotch parliament, by political leaders supported by powerful parties, which not only aimed at and asserted the complete independence of Scotland, but tended to endanger and even totally destroy the connexion with England. For, when the convention of estates in Scotland conferred the crown of that kingdom upon William, he received it attended with conditions, which tended to strengthen their authority, and to weaken considerably that of the crown. These were taken full advantage of, as well as the peculiar disposition and situation of the king, who, having accomplished a revolution in the cause of liberty, and being surrounded with danger from the partisans of the abdicated monarch, was not prepared to resist the plausible but dangerous claims of national enthusiasm and party spirit. Some of these demands were at first so palpably dangerous (among others, that of the right in parliament to appoint the judges) that they were evaded for a time. But new difficulties arose, dangers accumulated, and it was found that a considerable degree of concession was necessary to ensure the peace and stability of government in Scotland. Among other concessions, the king's supremacy in matters of religion was surrendered, whereby the Presbyterians became established in the fullness of their claims; and the institution of *the lords of articles* was completely abolished. These concessions composed



the nation for a short time, but soon opened new sources of disorder. The Presbyterians inflamed by the recollection of their sufferings and by the furious zeal of their intolerant teachers, now became in their turn persecutors of all who adhered to Episcopacy. These latter, though by no means so numerous, yet being composed of considerably more of the nobility and higher gentry, and of the whole of the old tory party, were nearly as powerful; but the former having accomplished the revolution in Scotland and conferred the crown on William, gained an ascendancy which they were little fitted to use with moderation; and consequently the nation became torn by all the violence of party. The preparations of France in favour of James, and the machinations of his numerous partisans, rendered the authority of William precarious; and finding it impossible to gain both parties, he was forced to yield too far to the prejudices of the ruling party, who, peevish, headstrong, self-sufficient, and always ready to take advantage of the king's situation, urged him occasionally to sanction measures which inflamed the publick disorders. Meantime, the abolition of the *lords of articles* had given full scope to the influence and zeal of active leaders in the parliament, who, step by step, so far inflamed the nation, and excited the parliament in pursuit of popular measures favourable to distinctness and independence, that the power of the crown became weakened to inefficiency, and a spirit was created and fostered, which hastened to dissolve the connexion between the two kingdoms. The institution of *the lords of articles*, as it was modified in the reign of James the first of England, as it was revived after the restoration (having been abolished in the troublesome reign of Charles the first) and as it continued

continued till the reign of William, consisted of eight bishops chosen by the temporal lords, eight temporal lords chosen by the bishops, sixteen knights and burgeses chosen by the elected bishops and temporal lords, and eight officers of state appointed by the crown. Without the previous consent of this body, the formation of which rested ultimately in the power of the crown, no motion could be made in parliament. It is evident therefore, that so long as this institution remained in force, the dependence of the legislature was perfectly secured; and Scotland could be considered as only a dependent province, with a subordinate legislature acting under the controul of the cabinet of England; in like manner as Ireland and the parliament of Ireland were to be considered, while the law of Poynings continued to operate. But the same spirit which seized the opportunity of abolishing the *lords of articles*, soon abused the liberty that had been acquired; and the king was actually forced to concur in acts of the Scotch parliament, which alarmed the parliament of England, and which brought on inquiries and contests nearly fatal to both kingdoms. The repugnant interests and mutually invidious sentiments of the two nations and parliaments, continued to embarrass and endanger the reign of William during his whole life; and that sagacious prince, foreseeing the destruction which in time must have necessarily followed from the unnatural and precarious situation of the two kingdoms, earnestly recommended, in one of the last acts of his life, an incorporating Union, as essential to the safety and happiness of both.

In the succeeding reign, the violence of parliamentary leaders, the contentions of discordant parties in the  
nation,

nation, and the enthusiasm in favour of distinct national authority and independence, soon precipitated the disagreements between the two kingdoms to a compleat crisis. Any concurrence in, or sanction of, the regulation of the succession to the crown, which had been established by the parliament of England, was obstinately refused, until such measures should be carried, as tended not only to the separation of the kingdoms, but to the subversion of all regular or stable government. It was demanded that an act or acts should be passed to the following effect;—that it should be high-treason to administer the coronation oath, but by the appointment of the estates, or to own any person as king or queen until they should accept such terms as should be settled in parliament: that elections should be made every Michaelmas for a new parliament every year, to sit the first of November next following, and adjourn themselves from time to time until next Michaelmas: that the king should give the royal assent to all laws offered by the estates: that a committee chosen by parliament out of their own members, should under the king have the administration of the government, be his council, and accountable to the parliament, with power on extraordinary occasions to call the parliament together; that the king without consent of parliament should not have the power of making peace and war, or that of concluding any treaty with any other state or potentate: that all places and offices both civil and military formerly conferred by the crown, should ever after be given by parliament: that no regiment or company of horse, foot, or dragoons should be kept on foot in peace or war, but by consent of parliament: that no pardon for any transgression should  
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be valid without consent of parliament: and that if any king should break in upon these conditions of government, he should by the estates be declared to have forfeited the crown. In the midst of this political ferment in Scotland, England was engaged in war with France; the jacobite party concerted with the foreign enemy the means of overthrowing the government, and those who, under the name of patriots, urged popular measures to the verge of anarchy, exercised unbounded sway. The royal authority was coerced by difficulties and dangers; and the famous act of security, was actually passed, by which the crowns became legally disjoined; and unless a renewal of Union could be effected upon satisfactory terms, both nations must inevitably have been plunged into all the horrors of a civil war. Upon the eve, as then appeared, of that awful crisis, both of them began to make hostile preparations, without reserve, and under the sanction of laws. By virtue of a clause in the act of security, fencible men were raised in the several counties of Scotland, furnished with arms, and trained to war. From a spirit of retaliation as well as from necessary policy, the parliament of England addressed the queen to give orders for the fortifying the towns bordering on Scotland, for arming the militia, and augmenting the regular troops stationed in the frontier counties; acts were passed tending to destroy the commerce of Scotland; and the commissioners of the admiralty were instructed to issue orders to the navy, for making prizes of all Scotch ships trading to France or to any of the ports of his majesty's enemies; and an additional number of cruizers were put into commission for the more effectual execution of these orders. Thus, the two kingdoms,

kingdoms, inflamed by prejudice and resentment, both ancient and recent, stood awaiting a most awful issue; doubtful, whether they were to become eternal and mutually ruinous foes, or friends united for ever in common interest, prosperity, and patriotism, and in all the eventful energies, which history now records to their united honour. The degree of wisdom and virtue which, spite of violence, operated in both nations, effected not long after the only measure that could heal all ills. What the consequences have been, admit of no controversy. Notwithstanding two attempts on the part of France, aiding the abdicated family, in the years 1715 and 1745, to overturn our constitution as established at the revolution, all that could be effected on either occasion was, to raise a few thousands into rebellion, while the immense majority of Scotland remained loyal and firm. The attempts proved futile, and served only to confirm the attachment of Scotland. A country naturally poor and comparatively incapable, has grown progressively rich, and in all the arts that adorn and cherish human life, advances step by step with England. Agriculture has been cultivated with such spirit and ability, that the native barrenness of the land yields daily to the introduction of plenty; manufactures of every sort have spread from the Leven to the Tweed; and all Scotland, in the face of the country, and in the exertions of the inhabitants, as well as in the testimony of her historians, owns the blessings of a Union, which rescued her from separation, internal war, and lasting misery, and joined her in a participation of all that had made England, and has since made Great Britain, powerful, free, and happy.

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Now, here we have seen a kingdom, connected with England by the same slender link which connects Ireland with Great Britain. We have seen that connexion secure and unaffected, while Scotland remained dependent upon England: and we have seen that when that dependence was done away, every difficulty, suggested to parties and their leaders, a fit occasion to assert new claims, more congenial, in their apprehension, to the nature of a distinct and independent kingdom, until finally, a train of events, perplexing to the government, and dangerous to publick security, urged both kingdoms to the verge of mutual destruction. Can facts and events be imagined, substantially more applicable to the situation of Ireland and Great Britain? We have not arrived indeed at that state, in which hostility, separation, and connexion with other powers, are announced or sanctioned by respective laws; but these destructive purposes have been long pursued by a considerable party in the nation, naturally grow out of distinctness and independence, and for full accomplishment await only new difficulties and new trains of untoward events, which may serve as occasions, to give to the distinct and independent state, the designs hitherto fostered by a considerable portion of its people.

Are we then to rest secure, after all the symptoms and warnings we have observed, not only in the community at large, but in the legislature, until the evil grown too great and approached too near, becomes inevitable? No—we dare not rest secure. All that happened, far worse than happened in a kingdom similarly situated, may, must take place in Ireland, where

every internal tendency is more malignant, and at a period, when externally, we are threatened with every danger that portends ruin to all regulated society.

A great deal has been said, and very unfoundedly, respecting the superiour prosperity of Ireland to that of Scotland, notwithstanding the supposed advantages of the Union; as if, in truth, such superiority, taking it as fact, could materially affect the question.

That Ireland is of greater extent in territory, that it possesses more than double the quantity of productive soil, that the natural fertility of its land is in general incomparably superiour, that its climate is more mild and genial, that its situation for commerce with the rest of the world is far more commodious, that all its capabilities are incalculably greater, cannot be denied by any man acquainted with both countries; and indeed, is universally acknowledged by all who pretend to speak or write upon the subject: but whether, in proportion to their respective natural advantages, Ireland be superiour in prosperity to Scotland, makes a very different question.

Ireland, from the circumstances mentioned, is capable of maintaining at least three times the number of inhabitants; of carrying on every profitable art and occupation in a manifoldly more enriching degree; and of affording to the common support and protection of the Empire, a very superiour accession of resource and power. Yet, in these great criterions of prosperity, collectively considered, Scotland, relatively to its natural

tural capability, is considerably superiour. Her inhabitants, almost to a man loyal, industrious, and effective, amount, according to actual enumeration of two thirds of the parishes, published in the statistical survey, to nearly two millions; while in this country, by every sober and rational calculation\*, taken from such documents as were founded on any thing like actual enumeration, the number of inhabitants, including not only the merely idle and profligate, but the immense multitude of traitors or internal foes, cannot at present amount to more than three millions. With respect to the linen manufacture, in which Ireland has all along been fostered by Great Britain, and for which she is by nature, happily, more peculiarly fitted than any other country in the world, Scotland, in her inferior situation, produces annually at least half the quantity produced annually by Ireland.

In foreign trade, that is, in the trade carried on with nations properly foreign and distinct from England, Scotland is greatly superiour. In the years 1764 and 1765, the foreign exports of Scotland amounted to 1,200,000*l.* per annum. Afterwards, in the war with the Colonies, the exports were indeed materially depressed, because a considerable part of the exports of Scotland was to the Colonies, and *that* commerce was then, for a time, turned into other channels. But, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785, the exports of Scotland again revived; a considerable portion of Scotch capital having been, in the meantime, employed in the improvements of agriculture. In the latter year, they amounted to above a million sterling; and

\* See Doctor Price particularly.



if Scotland has, since that time, continued to keep the same proportion of pace with England, which it had done for a long series of years before, the exports of Scotland must at this time amount to at least two millions annually: whereas, the average annual foreign export of Ireland, for the last seven years, ending <sup>1797</sup> Lady-day 1767, amount only to one million sterling. But there remain yet more decisive proofs of the superior industry and enterprize, and of the relatively superior state of prosperity in Scotland. The greater extent and multiplicity of commercial correspondence evince the former; and the greater quantity of shipping, and greater produce of revenue shew the latter. In the year 1797, the receipts of the post office in Scotland amounted to 109,793*l.*; whereas, in the same year, the receipts of the post office in Ireland amounted only to 68,256*l.*\* In the year 1793, the register tonnage of shipping belonging to Scotland amounted to 159,175; in 1795 to 145,391, and in 1797 to 136,532; whereas, in the year 1793, the register tonnage of shipping belonging to Ireland amounted only to 67,790, in 1795 only to 58,765, and in 1797 only to 53,181. In the year 1797, the net produce of Scotch revenue amounted to 1,487,000*l.*; whereas, in the same year, the net produce of Irish revenue amounted only to 1,437,516*l.*

Now, taking together all these facts, respecting that country to which nature has been so unpropitious, and on the poverty and wretchedness of which, at and be-

\* There may probably be more franking here than in Scotland, but it cannot account for the difference between 68,000*l.* Irish, and 109,000*l.* British; for, it has been calculated, and is generally believed, that two-thirds of the correspondence carried on by means of franking, would cease to exist, if franks could be no longer obtained.

fore the Union, the enemies of such a measure for Ireland, seem to descant with satisfaction; and adding the universally admitted fact, that Scotland, during the greater part of the eighteenth century, has advanced in far greater proportion than England itself; it appears, that the Union of Scotland with England has greatly promoted its prosperity, as well as its tranquillity and security. We have no reason therefore, from the experience of the measure in Scotland, to dread a Union of this country with Great Britain as the blight of our blessings, but rather to hail it as an event, auspicious to our prosperity, as well as to our security; if, in truth, any state of things can with propriety be called prosperous, in which there is no intrinsic security.

But, be the great national benefits resulting to Ireland from a Union what they may, it seems, that the circumstance, of one hundred commoners, and thirty lords, attending their parliamentary duty in England during half the year, will ruin the city of Dublin; and therefore, the measure is to be indignantly rejected, without farther consideration.

Now, what will be in fact the different state of circumstances as to the city of Dublin? simply, that one hundred and thirty persons of considerable property, will spend one half of the year in London instead of Dublin. These very persons would, in the present state of the two kingdoms, spend a considerable portion of their time and property in England, in the long intervals of parliamentary duty. It is natural, and perhaps proper, in men of their rank and fortune, to improve their minds, and by consequence, improve their

their country, in frequent personal intercourse with the rank and property of the great sister kingdom. Such intercourse is necessary also, to preserve and promote cordiality of sentiment, uniformity of habits, and correspondence of opinions and principles, on the great subjects of constitution and policy. It is the men of rank, property, and education, who ultimately lead the opinions, and form the habits, of the most important part of society; and therefore, the more similar such leading characters respectively become in both countries, the more similar by degrees, will respectively become all the orders below them; and the more especially, and the more effectually, when the chasm between the ranks in this country, shall, in the progress of industry and enterprise, and their sure consequence diffusion of property, have been filled by those useful orders of men, who bind together the higher and lower ranks, and who give to each, virtues, which, without their intervention, would for ever remain unknown. These one hundred and thirty persons, having performed their duty, in parliament, will then most naturally, and it may be said, necessarily, in order to vary the scene, to preserve and improve their local interests, and to regulate their property, retire to their country, and there, among their constituents, employ their time, their property, and improved understandings, in useful intercourse, and valuable improvements. The probability follows, that more of their property will then be spent in their own peculiar country, and particularly more among that useful race of men, the peasantry, than in the present state of things. And, if the country at large improves and flourishes, it is weak indeed to suppose, that the capital will not be abundantly

abundantly supplied with those, who having acquired affluence, will seek, in the gratification of all the desires generated by wealth, the superiour conveniencies of a large and commodious city. It is not merely by the nobility and higher gentry, that luxuries and expensive conveniencies are affected. They who are daily gaining riches and consequence, by means of their own industry, or the industry of their fathers, (and their number must constantly increase,) are generally the most profuse in their expences: they aim to surpass in costly appearance, those who are their superiours in rank; and though their conduct may be individually unwise, yet the active industry of society is promoted. Besides, in the court of the chief governor; in the general resort to the courts of law; in the seat of the university; and in the centre of aggregation, which the habits of ages have made unchangeable, there is more than sufficient security, that an abundant proportion of the rank and opulence of the nation, will constantly contribute to the full support of the city of Dublin.

Surely, every county and town in Great Britain, except Middlesex and London, has equal reason to complain of the periodical residence of its nobility and representatives at the seat of government, as any of the counties or towns in Ireland. The counties and towns in Great Britain, are in general as distant from the seat of government, as those of Ireland, and as tenacious of their particular interests: but, experience and common sense have long taught them, that the reciprocal benefits, derived to and from the different parts of the same state, are so multiplied and so mutually en-

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riching, as to annihilate all consideration of the occasional or periodical change of residence of any of its subjects.

But, if the city of Dublin particularly, needs an example to calm its apprehensions, it has but to look to Edinburgh; which, in common with the rest of Scotland, has gradually flourished since the Union; has, not only, increased in inhabitants, in wealth, and in extent, but rivals in beauty and magnificence, and in a numerous nobility and gentry, the greater part of the capitals of Europe.

To represent the benefits of Union, however, or to answer objections to it, we are told, can nothing avail; for that, if it could be demonstrated, that the measure is fraught with the purest blessings, or even necessary to our existence, yet the parliaments of the two kingdoms are incompetent to the accomplishment of it. But, if parliament be incompetent to accomplish a measure of extraordinary benefit to the community, there must be some other power which is competent, and which must be resorted to for the purpose: for, it cannot be admitted, that so melancholy an absurdity can exist in our constitution, or in any wise or rational constitution, as an utter incompetence to adopt, any new regulation of state, or any change in the system of supreme authority, which may be found necessary to security, or, in any other way, productive of great publick utility. Yet, our constitution, from its earliest history, to its last improvement, has recognised no other power, by which such great purposes can be effected, than the concurrent will of the three estates of parliament. This concurrent power, has  
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not been confined to the enactment of laws, or authoritative decisions, binding on the whole community, *merely for* the direction or controul of the actions of the subject; but extends to the enlargement or diminution of the dominions of the state; and to such changes and improvements in the constitution itself, as may best serve the happiness of the great community, according to the existing situation of the country, internal and external, and according to the varying circumstances of human affairs. It adopts and confirms compacts with other states, which compacts often make material changes in the property, and even in the territory of our own state; it admits foreigners to all the privileges of citizenship; it confers and takes away franchise, according as publick good may require; it regulates, limits, and alters, the succession to the crown; it varies and limits the regal prerogatives; it alters the duration of parliaments; and no loyal subject has yet denied that it is competent, (though he may strenuously deny the competence of any modern popular convention) to adopt any, the most essential, reforms, in its own formation, and consequently in the constitution, which the security and happiness of the community, may point out as necessary, or materially useful. Precedents, which prove the repeated exercise of these inherent powers, have been so copiously adduced by others, that to do more than allude to them, would be idle and tedious. The principle, which founds them, as it is extracted from the history of human nature, is so justly unfolded, and so elegantly expressed, in a published speech of a member of parliament\*, that no words could more

\* See—the Substance of Mr. William Smith's Speech, page 43.

aply illustrate the doctrine of parliamentary competence. "Our constitution" said he "is not one of those obstinate and incorrigible systems, which must hobble on through ages, accumulating abuses, or only getting rid of them by periodical revolution: our constitution admits the principle of self-correction: steady to its objects, which are freedom and good order, it pursues the path which the period supplies, for their attainment; and possesses, in the boundless competence of its legislature, the means, as it rolls its blessings through ages to posterity, of peaceably and imperceptibly adapting itself to circumstances as they arise, of attending, with suitable provisions, the successive changes of powers and interests, manners and opinions, and of keeping pace with time, by safe and gradual innovation."

But the great precedent of the Union of England and Scotland, prominent in the records of the English constitution, *that* constitution which was early adopted, and has long taken root, in this country, so fully applies to the present question, and has so long been sanctioned by the approbation, and justified by the experience, of the great and united people from whom we are chiefly derived, that it may be safely inferred, that no other power than the concurrent authority of the several estates of parliament, could consistently be called upon, in the present analogous case, to make the decision which shall prove obligatory and conclusive.

In an appeal to the *loyal* inhabitants of Ireland, it is almost unnecessary to shew, that, to call together conventions

ventions of the people, or to resort to any of the popular and newly invented modes of deciding upon matters of national concern, would be to dissolve the bands of society, and to invalidate the securities, by which, the possession of the fruits of industry, and the good order of human life, are preserved,—and, in this day of mad vanity, *with difficulty* preserved.

In all inquiries into the nature and ends of government, nothing can be more idle and futile, than attempts, to decompose human society into its original elements, and to investigate that state of things, which is supposed to have taken place, before society or government assumed any form, or adopted any laws for the regulation and control of human conduct. History records no such state of things; no man has ever yet seen such a state; and hitherto, it has existed, only in the imagination of those ingenious or idle theorists, who compose romances upon the nature and right of man. According to the natural situations and accidental relations, in which tribes or nations of men have been originally placed, they palpably appear to have adopted, as circumstances required, the rules or laws of conduct, with respect to themselves and to their neighbours, which experience pointed out to them as necessary. These rules or laws could not operate without effectual sanctions; and therefore, some supreme power, in every stage of society, has been found to exist, for the purpose of making law powerful and respected. Under the protection of these laws, in every progressive step of civilization, the various individuals in a state, make the innumerable exertions, which give whatever of riches, power, and general improvement, it happens to acquire.



quire. In the progress of ages, we clearly observe, a system is formed, constantly recognised, and fully established. This system is constituted of constantly recognised, and long established authorities; and of the various rank, exclusive property, civil security, and useful privilege, which have gradually grown out of the peculiar nature, circumstances, and experience, of the people or nation, under the protection and energy of those authorities. Now, it is evident, that, to refer the decision on any great national measures, to the general mass of the people, in any form whatever, would sink the dignity, and shake the fixed nature, of those established authorities; would withdraw all protection from the rank, property, and privilege, which the accumulated exertions of ages had created; would betray all the principles, on which those exertions had been made; would eradicate from society all useful motives; would destroy the whole system of civilization; and consign, naked and defenceless, to a state of desert nature, all those characters, which illustrate and exalt the nature of man. The history of the world, the simplest common observation, and, if it were necessary, the example of France, make the conclusion too plain for discussion. If, however, any great question of state be referred to the decision of any other than the established authorities, it must necessarily be to the great body of the people. There is no third, no middle, party, to which the power can be committed; for, to any such party, or body of men, are opposed in full force, all the objections, as to want of universal consent, which can possibly be urged against parliament, added to those of a more irresistible nature, which arise from the  
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constitution under which the people of England live, as already has been hinted, *that* which we enjoy was derived. At first, the English settlement here was unfit to make use of the perfect form of the English constitution: such part as was necessary, and could be rendered operative, took place under English authority; and, from time to time, as the English settlers increased, and the rest of the country became incorporated with them, the English constitution was more perfectly adopted and established. At last, the whole of the country became completely subject to English laws; and accordingly, the principles and form of the English constitution, have been, by degrees, so perfectly adopted in Ireland, that, considering the executive of England is the executive of Ireland, and constitutes one branch of her legislature, we may with truth and propriety be said, as we generally are said, to live under the English constitution. The people of both kingdoms speak the same language; the same religion has been long established among them; they are regulated in almost all respects by exactly similar laws; and their whole sum of interests is bound up in one fate. They inhabit two maritime islands, placed near each other in a corner of Europe; their chief power and defence are maritime; they are particularly fitted for mutual assistance; they are feared and envied, and almost surrounded, by many of the most powerful states in the world. Could any aggregate of circumstances, more forcibly point out the propriety of Union, or tend to make the transition more easy and effectual? and surely, no violence can be offered either to principle or precedent, if the constitutional power, which originally emanated from the English constitution, which took  
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absence of established authority, and of that prescriptive usage, under which the state, from infancy to maturity, has been formed.

The example of distinct states, incorporating with each other, for the purpose of mutual security, or of promoting the prosperity of both, is not unfrequent in the history of civilization: and we find such Unions constantly effected through the known and established authorities, which had respectively governed such states. In England, in France, in Germany, in Batavia, in Switzerland, there have been abundant instances. In every instance indeed that can be adduced, it must be admitted, that, nearness and convenience of situation, similar disposition, language, and usages, and common security, have, in whole or in part, induced the measure: and it must also be admitted, that the supposed cases, which, in controverting the general principle of Union, have been objected, of the possible incorporation of states totally dissimilar and unfit to coalesce, would probably prove equally destructive as unnatural. Such objections, and every extravagant supposition that has been made for the same purpose, prove no more than, that particular measures, in their tendency, would be bad and ruinous, and that, probably, they would meet with a corresponding fate; but they prove nothing against the competency of the established authorities of one state, to concur with those of another, in a mutual incorporation, calculated to produce lasting blessings to both.

But, widely different is the case of Great Britain and Ireland from all those wild imaginations. From the constitution

root and grew up under English authority and protection, and which, has attained the nature, and usages of the English constitution, should, in conjunction with the constitutional power of its parent, adopt a Union of constitution, in spirit and in form, the same as the component parts.

But, apprehension is entertained, that the junction, of a proportionate number of lords and commoners for Ireland, with the lords and commoners for Great Britain, must impair the constitution; because, as it is insinuated, it would increase the proportion of the influence of the crown. This apprehension, whether real or affected, strengthens the necessity of consolidating the legislatures of the two kingdoms: for, it amounts to this; that the motives to unprincipled adventure in, what has been called, the trade of parliament, will be considerably diminished, if not eradicated; and that, consequently, the important concerns of the state, will not be so often impeded and injured, by those inflammatory harangues, and that mischievous spirit of intrigue, through which, the factious purposes of party, and the selfish views of individuals, are too often promoted. But the apprehension has, in truth, very little foundation: for, the patronage of the crown cannot then have so extensive an influence in parliament as at present; because, many of the members now enjoy profitable places here, which require an attendance on the duty attached to them, and which, consequently, they could not enjoy, if attending parliament in England: besides, the residence of a parliament and a corresponding administration here, requires many offices, which then would  
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not be necessary; and, the members to be returned for Ireland, upon the liberal plan in contemplation, would all be men of that superiour rank and fortune, which at least give considerable probability, that they would in general be actuated, by higher and more generous sentiments, than interested wishes for a few paltry places; and if, as we hope, the talents of many of them, should frequently point them out, as fit persons to take a leading part in the conduct of the empire, Ireland will reap her share of honour and importance, in the dignified progress of the imperial state.

At all events, whatever may be the calculations on the eventual proposition of the influence of the crown, it is certain, that the Union of Scotland, has not produced such increase of regal influence, as has, in any degree, diminished the force or effect of constitutional opposition; and, it is as certain, that, within the last twenty or thirty years, some of the most popular measures, have been carried in the British parliament, that are to be found in the history of the English constitution. It has been determined, that commissioners of customs or excise shall not sit in the British parliament;—revenue officers have been deprived of the elective franchise;—the general issue, in informations and indictments for libels, has been completely committed to the jury. These and many other acts of similar tendency, have fully demonstrated the power and independence of the people, and the full proportion of influence in the democratick part of the constitution. And, with regard to the effect of the measure now in discussion, let it be impressed, that the lords and commoners,  
 who

who would appear for Ireland, in the face of observing Europe, would be of a description, not likely indeed to engage in profligate or interested opposition, but most likely to join, with respectable and independent members like themselves, in effectual opposition to every encroachment, that might be attempted, upon established rights; because, in established rights, are at once involved, the interests of every rank in the community, and the extended well being of the whole.

In the consideration of the relative state, and the proposed Union, of two kingdoms, so connected and so constituted as Great Britain and Ireland, the *sentiment*, respecting the distinct name, dignity, and independence, of a distinct and independent kingdom, which seems to have roused many to a kind of rage, is of so vague and elusive a nature, that the understanding finds in it nothing substantial, on which to found any rational inference or opinion. But, if national security, prosperity, virtue, and happiness, be extended, and rendered mutually more effectual blessings; if both kingdoms, in the act of conferring benefits, receive reciprocally greater; if prejudice and jealousy yield to cordiality and amity; if the power and dignity of each, contribute to the greater power and dignity of both incorporated; and, if all the valuable and honourable qualities in either people, conspire to elevate the character of the united people; then shall national independence, national dignity, and national character, magnified, refined, and exalted, give nobler sentiments to every subject of the United Kingdoms and incite him to

greater efforts of patriotism, in the common and illustrious cause. Under impressions, thus liberal and enlarged, may this be the motto, engraven for ever on the heart, of every inhabitant, of Great Britain and Ireland,

*Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agatur.*

**FINIS.**

*Paper 5<sup>th</sup>*

IRISH INDEPENDENCE;

OR THE

POLICY

OF

U N I O N,

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*Interest is a sure guide to nations, and it never was, nor never can be the interest of the smaller number to differ from the larger, or the weaker to differ from the more powerful.*

*Right Hon. John Foster.*

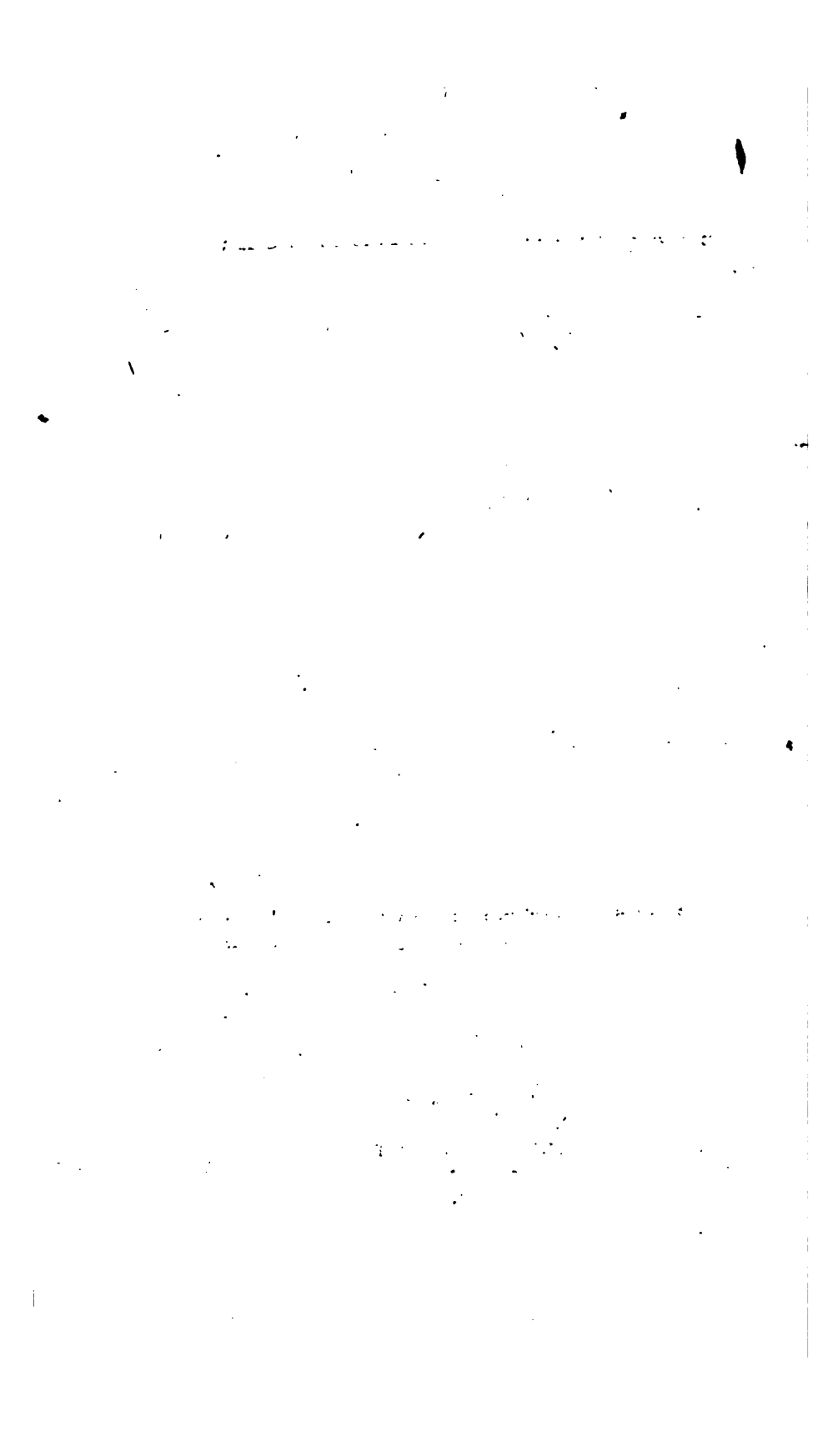
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Dublin :

PRINTED BY J. MILLIKEN 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1800.





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## INTRODUCTION.

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I SHALL preface the following observations on *Irish Independency* and the *Policy of Union*, with the sentiments of two great and leading characters respecting what is called *the working* of the constitution of 1782.—In MR. GRATTAN we have the founder of the system, and it is to be presumed he understands the principle of his own creation, and what ought to be the practice.—In MR. FOSTER we have the defender of that system and its operation. The reader will find that the Founder and the Defender entertain very opposite sentiments on *the effect*; and when such men disagree in opinion, he will, if he is not morose, pardon the effort and errors of an individual,

individual, whose only aim is to unveil the evil (for evil there unquestionably is) and with a boldness not meaning to offend, but perhaps inspired by the energy of the subject, impress the remedy.—The question of a Legislative Union is of so important a nature, as to awaken the feeling of every thinking man in the community:—The human mind, like the human body, is various—we are not all blessed with genius or with beauty—a perfect freedom of discussion is necessary to call forth what we have of the one, as a becoming ease and liberty are necessary to shew the graces of the other.

Let us now, by way of introduction, to the succeeding pages, produce Mr. GRATAN and Mr. FOSTER on the subject of Constitution, Parliament, and Independence.

MR.

MR. GRATTAN.

MR. FOSTER.

The birth of the borough inundation was the destruction of liberty—it is a court instrument that *murders freedom*.

The price of boroughs is from 14 to 16,000l.; this 14 or 16,000l. must ultimately be paid by you—thus things go on—it is impossible they can last—the *trade of Parliament ruins every thing*.

It is this increase of the price of boroughs which has increased the expence of your establishments, and this increase of your establishments which has increased the price of your boroughs; they operate alternately like cause and effect, and have within themselves the double principle of *rapid ruin*.

The recognition of our Parliamentary rights has been rendered abortive by *unexampled exertions of bribery and corruption*.

I state its perfection, talking of the constitution, to urge its value and its efficacy for *every end of happiness*.

—That country, whose safety at this instant is endangered by a theoretic proposal to reform the system—at the time that it is *working with ease and increasing benefit*.

—No—no—cherish the Parliament—all natives of one country—their stake is in it—their hearts as well as their interests are engaged in *its preservation—its prosperity—its glory*.

It is not your Constitution he (Mr. Pitt) wants to take away for any supposed imperfection, but because it keeps the purse of the nation in the *honest hands of an Irish Parliament*.

MR.

MR. GRATTAN.

The government agreed to the establishment of the independency of the Irish Parliament, and then created a multitude of offices to make *that independency a name.*

The famous *half million*, or the experiment of the castle to *secure the dependence of the Parliament.*

The *present Parliament* whose narrow and contracted representation *excludes liberty*, and whose *fatal compliances* have caused for a course of years a succession of measures which have collected upon us such an *accumulation of calamity!*

MR. FOSTER.

Preserve that Constitution which was confirmed to you in 1782; and which has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, *freedom*, and *independency.*

Adhere to the constitution of 1782; the *immense value* of which *every enquiry* into the *state of things* since, points out to you in every circumstance.

The Constitution of 1782 has not only *worked well* to promote the strength and energy of the empire, but to *raise this kingdom into prosperity*, and keep it in a steady and rapid advance even *beyond the utmost hopes of its warmest advocates!*

IRISH

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## IRISH INDEPENDENCE,

&c. &c.

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**I**N taking a view of the question of *Union* the writer of the following pages may, by some persons, be thought to lean more to the *Roman Catholic* than is either just or politick; he can only say, that in looking into the state of this country he found the *Catholic* so prominent a feature that his attention was compelled, and for the reasons which he shall advance, he is penetrated with the justness of their claims, and, speaking as a member of the empire, with the *saving policy* of their *full* emancipation.

The writer is neither a bigot in religion or in politics; he hopes he looks with a clear and liberal eye on *MAN*; it is for *him* that religions are formed and polity established; it is for the *good of man* that his mind should be impressed with certain tenets leading to and compelling the moral duties; and that the licence of natural liberty be  
restrained

refrained within the honourable bounds of social order. Sparta was free, but she had her helots; Rome was free, but she had her slaves; Britain is free, but she has her negroes.—Can we say Ireland is free when she has her Catholics? The slave has the same right to liberty as his master; his motions may be directed by a superior force, but whenever he can he will rise, and assert the great charter of his nature; and who shall presume to censure his effort? It proceeds from a feeling marked upon his heart by the indelible finger of God! and therefore he is the best friend of Ireland, and the true friend of Britain, whose counsels and exertions go to the destruction of that partial policy which feeds the fire that may consume the state.

The first safe step to that destruction is a legislative Union with Great Britain; without Union you cannot emancipate, and without emancipation there can be no real, efficient, operative, and indissoluble Union. If the British connexion is an advantage (and who but a fool or an incendiary would deny that it is?) union will secure it; if it is necessary to the existence of the Protestant establishment in Ireland, union will convert that necessity into a duty on the part of Great Britain; at present her aid is precarious, it lies at her own will—union would leave her no choice—she must defend *herself*. We are now distinct governments, under the same King! independent States, mutually dependent! Britain depends

depends in a great degree for her political safety on our connexion, and we depend upon her for our commercial existence—nay, and we owe the land on which we live to the protecting power of her fleets and armies—and yet we are told we are independent!—union indeed will make us truly independent—it will shake off the necessity of our actual dependence on Great Britain, and raise us to the proud eminence of being equally free.

That there are many errors in this irregular essay is not to be doubted; the writer, however, hopes there will be found in it some useful truths:—he has thought it for the general good to speak those truths in simple plainness—it is a fore mind that shrinks from an honest statement of facts, and it is a rotten political establishment that cannot bear the touch-stone of free inquiry.

Union is a great question, its effect embraces every man on the land, and every man has a right, within the law, to give his opinion on the subject. Opposition says, Parliament is incompetent to enact the measure, but the very reverse is established by shewing where the English parliament did enact Union with Scotland, *which* formed the British parliament, *which* repealed the laws restraining Ireland, *which* made her theoretically free: now if parliament (I speak of the English, and ours is founded on the same principles) is incompetent to enact



union, and has enacted union, every law flowing from that union is constitutionally null, and even the theoretical independence of Ireland is illegal. But Ireland triumphantly acceded to the British acts of repeal, and dates her freedom from them—parliament must therefore possess complete competency—our present constitution draws its being from that very principle.

The writer will be sparing of quotation—had he merely wished to *make a book* he might have swelled the page by applicable passages from Tacitus down to Hume; he might have scribbled French from Montesquieu, and been very profuse of law from Coke and from Blackstone; from the parterre of Burke, abundant in flowers! it were easy to have culled some rose with its recompanying thorn; and from his flashing adversary Thomas Paine\* a thorn without its rose!—Quotation sometimes illustrates happily enough—but it is a heavy auxiliary, and seems fitter for the main body than for the light detachments of an army—the page has therefore been incumbered as little as possible with this sort of assistance.

\* Thomas may be left to his own conscience; and it is to be hoped he will endeavour to dispel some of its murky gloom by comforting, if he can, his former friend the unfortunate *De la Fayette*, that great and virtuous sufferer for his KING and for his COUNTRY!

The

The writer has mentioned Sparta, and Rome, and Britain, and Ireland; he cannot avoid observing that the two first did not possess *true* liberty—for where a great portion of the people are kept in actual servitude, as was the case of the Spartan Helots and the Roman Slaves, there is no real and uncorrupted freedom; there may be a hard, a partial, and a state liberty, supported by the profanation of individual right, but *true liberty*, where every man is equal in the law, was not in Sparta or in Rome. Britain is at this moment in possession of as pure political liberty as a community can know;\* the defects of her system may be pointed out *on paper*, but *in practice* she has all the possible perfection of a human institution, and by consequence she is individually more happy and collectively more powerful than any state in the world; it will be here understood that the writer has a reference to her extent and population.

What a contrast when we turn our eyes to Ireland! her people divided—discontented—now turbulent to phrensy—now sunk in the very sloth of apathy and indolence!—partial rights—partial feelings!—a country—no country!—theoretically free—in reality dependent!—the pomp of state—the beggary of the land!—society unhinged, and man regarding with doubt and apprehension the motions of his neighbour!—the

\* This is strictly applicable to the *people* of Britain—the writer laments the slavery of the negroes under her government.

lower orders detesting the rich, and the rich breathing in fearful suspicion of the lower orders! Religious bigotry unwisely roused from its wholesome lethargy, and bursting into fanaticism!—Political bigotry nursing the folly and widening the breach;—discord—insecurity—plunder—murder! “Try conciliation?”—agreed—but how?—not a partial, and therefore an unavailing conciliation—Palliatives may mitigate, but they never radically cure—no—strike at the root of the disease—the restoring conciliation must be “broad and general as the casing air,”—it must embrace *the whole*, and be lasting as the land; uniting man with man, and state with state; and securing by the enlightened policy of that glorious Union the political and civil liberty, the safety, the tranquillity, and the happiness of Ireland.

Popular clamour can neither establish or refute the political virtues of any meditated measure; if it could, the Union with Scotland would never have taken place, and the projected Union of Great Britain and Ireland would now have been in the “family vault of all the Capulets”—and if it had, both British connexion and legal liberty would soon have followed to the same tomb!

Our unhappy factions have distracted this land; our religious distinctions of Protestant and Catholic have led to persecution on the one part and to fanaticism on the other.—Merciful God! that Christians, at the close of the eighteenth century, should forget the benignant spirit of their  
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Founder, and destroy the root because the branches are different!—We have heard much of the infidelity of Voltaire and of Hume, but such civil horrors, between sects of the same religion, give deeper wounds to Christianity than all the far-donic sneers of the one, or the paradoxical reasoning of the other.

The gentlemen who stiled themselves Patriots had for some years rung such a peal in the public ear of corruption, reform, emancipation, &c. &c. that a portion of the people were brought to believe themselves very slaves, and to think that nothing would go well till his Majesty's ministers were turned out and the patriots turned in—How weak sighted is man! While this faction was labouring and abusing, not to destroy the government but to remove the ministers, it gave birth to another faction of a much more dangerous nature—the Catholic faction—this faction combined for *emancipation*, one of the cant words of the patriots, and for a while each countenanced the other, and went on, in their way, well enough: but the patriots, though full of fire, and eager to take the Treasury Bench by storm, were yet true to the British connexion, for under it they expected to flourish, and would at any time loudly join in the resolution to stand or fall with that country. The Catholics did not entirely relish this sort of conduct—they grew impatient, and, aided by a few hot-headed persons of no religion at all, they treated with the French Republic, in hopes, with the assistance of that unde-

signing

signing and innocent government utterly to root from the land the British Oak, and fix in its place that democratic plant of Gallic growth, "whose taste is death, and whose fruit is not the fruit of knowledge."

What followed this leading step to French fraternity? an organized treason; then, but of numbers too weak to secure the state, a noble loyalty; then, open rebellion; then, British protection,—the subjugation of the French, and the crush of faction.

How did the patriots act during this awful period? did they with virtuous indignation throw aside their *petit querre* of political opposition, and assist the government to maintain the peace of the country? did they start forward with the energy of *true* patriotism, and enrol themselves in the yeomanry corps to repel the invasion of a foreign enemy?—no—some kept aloof from the assembled senate, and by a sulky silence abetted the views of faction—others said—"may the kingly power live for ever;"—"may the parliamentary constitution prosper,"—"may the connexion with Great Britain continue"—and "may the liberties of the people be immortal." They *spoke* to this purpose, and—withdraw—they abandoned the vessel of the state at the moment of her danger, and at least encouraged the storm by not lending a heart and hand to counteract its effects:—they became obnoxious to Solon's celebrated law, for their *neutrality* was criminal.

Is there in the circle of the land a man who with an unblushing front can contradict this statement?

ment? not one—or if there is, his mind must be blind to action, and his heart callous to truth.

Here let us pause—United in blood, united in language, united in constitution, the Anglo-Irish, while their government is distinct, can have no rational security against the workings of faction, because that very distinctness is the cradle in which democracy may rock the ricketty offspring of her hopes and of her devotion: that very distinctness will impel the Protestant traitor to misguide the Catholic peasant, and to wheedle over to, at least, a culpable inaction, the wary Presbyterian: that distinctness, while it lasts, will be an inviting principle to the French Republic, (or to any power at enmity with Britain) and she will seize it, if it does last, to the utter ruin of Anglo-Irish, Protestant and Catholic.

Impressed with this great truth, I feel myself justified in obtruding my opinions upon the public; if my reasoning shall appear generally feeble, I consider it may in some parts be found strong and clear—as a rill is constricted by certain impediments, and then flows on with force. If in any part it is found strong it may convince, and my labour will have ample reward; if it convinces but one enemy to the measure, that a full, free and unequivocal Union with Great Britain is the only final settlement that can secure to Ireland the kingly power, the parliamentary guardianship, and the liberties of the people.

The Protestant will find me his friend, because I wish to lead him to the security of his possessions,

and to the continued enjoyment of his political ascendancy; the Catholic will find me his friend, because I wish to conduct him through the portal of peace into the temple of liberty; and the country will find me her friend, because I wish to do away every baneful distinction, so disgraceful to the period in which we live, and so dishonourable to the pure spirit of that constitution whose base is freedom, and whose arms should embrace every soil:—where there is safety there will be no exclusion, there will be general content; and where there is general content there will be no rebellion.

Something must be done;—in a state of civil bondage you cannot build upon the Catholic mind. —Throw France for a moment out of consideration, still our best policy is Union with Britain, and why?—because it is the only measure that can secure the connexion; without union you must, in your own defence, keep the Catholic at the door of the temple; he cannot remain there satisfied, because he has been taught this truth—that man is born with the same rights; without union, therefore, the Protestant interest must be in danger from the discontent and physical force of the Catholic: union with Britain would put the Protestant interest out of danger, because it would assimilate its strength with the strength of that mighty nation,—thus union would indubitably establish the political safety and ascendancy of the protestant—it would do more—it would open the  
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the door of constitutional participation to the catholic :—thus security would be bound in the liberal chains of Freedom, and the united kingdoms would indeed stand and fall together.

When this great question was first promulgated, clamour, in the effervescence of its folly defeated the operations of reason ; but clamour can never alter the nature of truth—party has had its day—the public mind has cooled, and is now open to the calm investigation of the subject.

Our constitution is the British constitution, with this main difference—we have no *distinct King*—the King of Great Britain being *necessarily\** King of Ireland :—She is bound by no laws but what are passed by her own three branches, and thus she is *constitutionally* a distinct and independent state ; it must however be confessed, that her King being *always an absentee*, being also the King of, it may be said, adjoining country, greater in every point of consideration, and that Ireland must therefore be governed *in reference* to Great Britain, her independence is more theoretical than real. Her King is directed by British ministers ; all the great acts of state for Ireland originate in the British cabinet—it is therefore, the British cabinet that governs the kingdom of Ireland ; and the British minister always has a representative in the Irish House of Commons to *manage* the affairs of the Irish nation !

Had

\* “ By this junction of the Crowns (says Mr. Foster, talking of Scotland) she became subject to foreign influence in all her national concerns.”



Had Ireland been placed on the central surface of the Atlantic ocean, she might have been a perfectly independent state; but nature having fixed her among the more potent powers of Europe, and the occurrences of time having blended with her original inhabitants, and rooted on her soil a large portion of the people of a neighbouring country, forming at least one-fourth of her present population, and naturally leaning to the parent power, the eye of reason cannot see a possibility of her maintaining a perfect political independence. France on one side, Great Britain on the other, it is the nature of power to become more powerful—it is the policy, and the best policy of Great Britain, to possess Ireland in amity; she does possess her, but it is a possession from distinct government eminently open to interruption, and assailable by party. Mourning for his credulity—bleeding for his rebellion, his eyes beginning to open to the fatal folly of French fraternity, the Irish peasant fits a sad and melancholy example of the effects of faction! It was the interest of France to encourage the spirit of discord, and invited by the distinctness of her government, it will be her eternal aim to wound Great Britain by the ruin of Ireland—the leading feature of French policy is to foment a contest of blood, that she may weaken and devour.

It must also be confessed, that in Ireland the religion of the state being protestant, and the religion of the people being Roman catholic, potently contributed to nourish the hopes of France  
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against the British establishment. There are two leading religious and political parties (for alas! religion and politics are here unhappily blended) in this little island; the protestant possessing all the power of the state, and the Roman catholic, shorn of political power, but possessing three-fourths of the population of the land. The presbyterian is a collateral branch from the protestant, possessing neither political nor physical force comparable with the other two, but most respectable for its numbers, its industry, and its general decency of conduct.

Now, in a country tasting, though partially, the fruits of commerce; in a country enlightened by the luminous events of the American and French revolutions, is it astonishing that three-fourths of the people should feel disgraced by political exclusion, and dishonoured by non-representation? I put the question to unprejudiced man, and I think no man of mild and liberal principle but must reply—the effect is the legitimate offspring of the cause.

I know the body of the people, like the majority of all communities, is ignorant as to political arrangements, and thoughtless of consequences—and, it is a hard sentiment, but I fear it may truly be said, that man would be happy were he suffered to continue in ignorance—but bodies can be worked upon till they move, and the mass may move till it destroys. I would remove the cause that we might not bear the effect. The black blood.

blood of rebellion is still warm, and circulates in the hearts of the people. I would purify the fluid without wounding the body. I would indeed make them proud of being called the brethren of Britons, by pouring into their political existence the restorative energies of the British constitution. But can we safely admit the catholics into the legislative body?—As a *distinct* state we cannot—if we keep them without the pale they are still an inferior cast, and their degradation continues—continue their degradation and you continue the danger of the state—what then is the wise and safe means of doing away this dangerous degradation? what will secure the protestant and make the catholic free? UNION—By uniting the legislatures of Great Britain and Ireland you secure the protestant ascendancy, because the united kingdoms will beaggregately protestant, and you safely open the door to catholic emancipation, because where there is no danger there will be no exclusion.

That the terms of Union would be liberal on the part of Great Britain there can be no rational doubt, because it is her *interest* to render Ireland content with the change and politically productive; now she can be rendered productive only by promoting her commercial ability, the promotion of her commercial ability would therefore, and by necessity become the peculiar care of the United Parliament.

But it may be asked, how can the Union of the Parliaments satisfy the Catholic, when  
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even in that union his political incapacities would continue? I answer, union would bring him nearer to the object of his wishes by lessening the danger of the collision; nay, it would by one happy stroke destroy the danger, and render him harmless, for what danger could there be in identifying all the people with the parliament, when the parliament by the very act of union would identify the protestant superiority?

Again; by uniting the parliaments the visible effects of superiority being removed would be softened; the irritation of the Catholic mind would have room for repose; repose would lead to retrospect; retrospect would shew the ruin consequent to French connexion; a more apparent equality of condition would prove a spur to industry—and thus by the silent but certain working of time, the Catholic would be admissible to the constitution of his country, not only by his weight in the body politic but by his civil merits. This, it may be said, is mere speculation; granted—but recollect it is speculation founded upon a distracted and fatally divided country; and surely, it is reasonable to conclude that her condition must be meliorated and improved by tranquilizing her state, and by blending her with the civil manners and commercial habits of the most truly free and powerful nation in the world.

But how is this union to be accomplished?

How

How was the Scotch union accomplished? By the solemn assent of the parliaments of England and Scotland—And why cannot an union of Great Britain and Ireland be accomplished by the solemn assent of the King, Lords and Commons of these countries?—Is there any other legitimate power in the land to enact a law for the direction of the community? The constitution knows no legislative power but that of the parliament.

The British minister has placed the measure of uniting the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland before the parliament of his country with clearness, candour, and precision—On his general arguments I need not descant, but it is plain that he established, against the opposition of Mr. Sheridan (who at first denied the power of parliament and then seemed willing to forget his denial) the full and perfect competence of the parliaments to enact the measure of union; and this doctrine has received the deliberate and collective sense of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain.

Here, then, we have, after time given for deliberation, and after elaborate discussion, the solemn and recorded opinion of the two houses of the British Parliament, that the legislative body is, and *is alone*, capable and competent to decide upon this great imperial measure.

The question has not yet been brought directly before the Irish parliament; but my Lord Cornwallis, his Majesty's representative in this  
Kingdom,

Kingdom, having, in his speech delivered to both Houses on the 22d of January 1799, expressed "His Majesty's anxious hope that the parliaments of both kingdoms would be disposed to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of *consolidating*, as far as possible, into *one firm and lasting fabric*, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British Empire,"—and His Excellency's secretary, Lord Castlereagh, having avowed that "although there was in the address" (which embraced as usual all the points of the speech) no specific pledge to a measure of union, yet he did intend at an early day to submit to the House a specific motion on that subject,"—this avowal of the *future intention* on the part of government did in a manner bring the abstract question before the House, and Mr. George Ponsonby proposed an amendment to the address destructive of the minister's *intended* specific motion.

In the Lords, too, the address was combated on the same grounds, but the opposition was feeble, and the address was carried without a division.

The debate in the Commons was warm: the general good policy of the measure was not only doubted, but many members of weight did not hesitate to proclaim their absolute belief that the parliament had no right to enact union, because (they said) the enactment of union would

invade the constitution by altering or changing the established government of the land; they hinted at first principles, and deprecated the danger which would, they said, inevitably flow from a perseverance in the measure. On a division there appeared, but a majority of *one* against the amendment; and thus the Commons—for government could not proceed on so great a question without a decided majority of the House—thus the Commons precluded its reception—created an alarm—and the measure is now suspended between the approbation of the Lords, and the disapprobation of, apparently, one half of the Commons.

Of the constitutional power of parliament to enact the measure the opposers of the Scotch union seem not to have entertained a shadow of doubt; they—and they were men of high name, high character, and high ability—they opposed it on the ground of general impolicy, and their indignation was roused by the belief that an union would entomb the ancient and proud independence of their country. The union, however, was enacted—the act may be truly said for ever to have destroyed the seeds of dissension between the two Kingdoms; and Scotland, from being turbulent, factious, and poor, is now calm, loyal, and rich—this is a great authority for the competence of parliament, because it is the authority of a *whole nation*, and that too an integral part of the kingdom.

dom of Great Britain, conceding to the determination of her *constitutional governors*.

In treating of the Scotch union, Blackstone, a sound and constitutional lawyer, does not entertain an idea of the incapacity of parliament to make the alteration—he states the power of parliament to be *unlimited*—that it can change and create afresh even the constitution of the Kingdom and of parliaments themselves—“it can alter the succession to the Crown”—it threw aside the real heir and willed a Protestant branch to inherit—if the settlement at the revolution of 1688, is not constitutional, the present King is an usurper, because he derives under that settlement; but even the violent republicans allow him to be almost “the *only lawful King in Europe*” because of that very settlement, and, therefore, upon their own principles, the power and competence of parliament to alter the constitution is full and incontrovertible.

In truth, of the power of parliament to bind the people I believe no man who loves the constitution will seriously deny; the denial may serve for a season the purposes of party, but practice and precedent establish the point: were *first principles* to have been reverted to upon every *necessary* and *unavoidable* alteration which has taken place in the British constitution, that constitution would not now be the wonder of the world! “absolute

\* Vide Dr. Price's famous sermon delivered on the  
at the old Jewry.



and despotic power must in all governments reside somewhere ; and in these kingdoms it is entrusted by the constitution to the parliament ;” glorious constitution ! that entrusts the despotic power of the state *only* in the *representatives of the people of the land !*

If a democrat starts up and tells me that parliament has only the right to enact laws for the *good* of the state, I agree, and answer that union is essential to the health, may to the very existence of the state ; if, as is probable, he denies my assertion, I bid him recal to his recollection the danger we have been in during these last two years of a total separation from Great Britain, by faction, treason, and rebellion, aided by a French army even on the soil ; I tell him that the mere *enacting* of a law does not make that law *good*—it is the working of that law on the body politic that stamps its value. Experience has shewn that what is called the *final settlement* of 1782, has not worked well either for the peace and security of the protestant, or for the political liberty of the catholic ; for there is neither peace nor security where there is an enemy at your threshold, and there is no liberty where there is any exclusion ; imperious *necessity*, therefore, calls, and calls loudly, for a *great final settlement* indeed, which can secure the protestant, make the catholic free, and bring peace to the land ;\*—your distinct government has failed in

\* And this final settlement would establish the position of Sir Hercules Langrishe—the Catholics would enjoy *every thing* under the state, but they would not *be the state*.

these

these great and primary objects—nay, your settlement of 1782, was at best but a partial arrangement; it was a monopoly of rights on the one part, and a continuation of wrongs on the other—you acquired a constitution, and you excluded the people—you have felt the consequences, and if the monopoly is to be eternal, eternal will be the danger of the protestant establishment; but a wiser policy prevails; Great Britain offers for our acceptance “a complete and entire union founded on equal and liberal principles.” Union with Britain will assimilate our strength with the strength of that mighty nation; that union of strength can alone secure the protestant government in church and state, and that security of church and state will infallibly accelerate and establish the entire emancipation of the Roman Catholic.\*—Without a legislative union with Great Britain the protestant of Ireland can have no security, nor can the catholic of Ireland have a hope

\* “The exchange,” says the very sensible Mr. Wm. Smith, “which by communicating to Ireland a full participation in the benefits of the British constitution, must, (such is the spirit of that constitution) at the same time produce happiness and freedom to her people.” Mr. Smith I presume means *all* the people of Ireland; here I am with him—but I do not think that the moment of Union would be the moment of emancipation to the Catholics.—My ideas on this point are more moderate, and perhaps more sure—I think would infallibly lead to emancipation; but that some time must elapse, a consequence of recent events, before the arrival of that unavoidable act of wisdom and justice.

of

of obtaining political liberty. The protestant and catholic are two corrosive poisons in the body politic, both acting against that body by each exhausting the other; union will render those poisons not only harmless, but by a complete admixture correct the humours, purify the blood, and renovate and restore the health of the whole.

Still my opponent may exclaim, what! can the parliament at its will *alter* the constitution? I answer, yes, it has the constitutional power, and the exercise of that power is left to its wisdom—where the state is in danger the constitution has been altered, and may be altered again—“Formerly,” says Blackstone, “the descent was absolute, and the crown must go to the next heir, without any restriction; but now upon the *new settlement* the inheritance is conditional.”—Who made this alteration? was it the people? no—it was the parliament, and it is either *pure* constitution, or every act succeeding is *corrupt* and *illegal*.

The power of parliament, says Sir Edward Coke (that oracle of the English law)—“is *absolute*, it cannot be confined within *any* bounds,”—and why? because it is the only *legal lawgiver*:—“it has,” says Blackstone—“*uncontroulable* authority;” and why?—for the *tranquillity* of the community. The acquiescence of the people has stamped the omnipotence of Parliament; have they ever warred against the exercise of that power? History gives a melancholy instance where a king, indeed, warred against the authority of parliament—but  
the

the people supported that authority, and the catastrophe need not here be related.

Let us now look towards the policy of the measure.

Great Britain, the first commercial country in the world, double our population, and the force of that population doubled by her industry, offers to unite her political existence with Ireland, a country of small commerce, little capital, and less industry. I speak generally; and when I say small commerce, I do not forget the linen trade of the North; and I recollect with esteem the persevering spirit and great talents of its parent and promoter John Foster:—Yet when it is considered that were Great Britain to withdraw her preference of that manufacture, which in fact acts as a bounty of thirty per cent. in its favour, exclusive of its free admission to the British market, and the bounties granted by Britain on its re-export; I say, when it is considered that were Great Britain, from whatever motive, to withdraw these decided advantages, the linen trade of this kingdom would linger, and might be brought to perdition by the legislature of that country politically encouraging the import of foreign linens, and nursing in her own bosom a similar manufacture.

The poverty of our capital springs from the feeble state of our commerce; for with regard to trade, really as such, except in the article of linen, and that confined to a fourth portion of the kingdom,

dom, we have little or none—we are, in truth, a nation of consumers, and by consequence the capital which might be employed in commerce, and which would in that case increase with the increasing industry of the people, is unavoidably devoted to the luxuries of the rich, and to the necessities of the poor.—Those who know Ireland know this to be a melancholy truth, that her people are not *generally* employed in trade or manufactures, and the consequence is conspicuous in their nakedness, in their indolence, and in their habits of inebriation:—now the proposed measure of Union would at once, and effectually, strike at the very root of these evils; it would for the particular benefit of Ireland, and for the general benefit of the empire, secure every political preference (that preference is now precarious) to the linen trade of the North; by establishing harmony it would awaken the dormant faculties of the people; the natural advantages of the land for tillage, manufacture, and commerce, would be searched, discovered, and improved; the fruits of industry are sweet, and once tasted do not diminish, but increase the appetite for full possession; and *equal rights*, that strong national ligament that ties a community together; and *self-interest*, that particular and general principle of all human bodies, would be, and would be without impediment, the grand promoters of universal exertion.

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The measure thus seems to promise lasting advantage to Ireland; and it may be asked, what is the cause of this liberality on the part of Great Britain? Assuredly she can have no commercial advantages in view, for she may be truly said at this moment to possess the commerce of the world; no,—her leading wish is to *secure the physical power of the Irish people*; to attain this great, and, for her safety, this necessary end, she opens to Ireland all the incalculable benefits of her establishment: Irrevocably united in interest she sees, and she sees with pain, that separate independence endangers the connexion; she beholds France, that modern monster of civil government, invited by faction and encouraged by rebellion, not only willing to seize, but actually dispatching fleets and armies to subdue the country; she finds that portion of its inhabitants who are well affected to the British government, a proportion most respectable in number and decided in property, is yet too feeble to withstand the torrent of a foreign force, swelled with the more deadly waters of domestic treason; to defend that portion from the baneful fang of French fraternity, to secure the country from a perpetuity of warfare, political and religious, she opens to it the door that leads directly to peace, safety, industry, and prosperity; she offers entirely to blend her being with the being of the Irish nation, and by Union to become *one and indivisible* in all political and physical capacities.

Here I may be desired to pause, and call to my recollection the religion of the people ; I may be told the Catholics in Great Britain are excluded by law from all political power ; that their admission could not endanger the state, because *there* their body is proportionally small ; and I may be asked, why then does not Great Britain shew the liberality of her spirit, and allow her Catholic children the full rights of the constitution ? if she refuses it to them, upon what grounds can the *Irish* Catholic expect a benefit which to the *English* Catholic is denied ? to this question I answer (and in answering I do not justify the conduct, I only state the policy) that the English Catholics may *safely* be refused the privilege, because *the body is small*, but the *Irish* Catholics, being the *great body of the people*, may reasonably expect to obtain by Union every political right, because it would be *dangerous* to withhold those rights from the preponderating power of the nation.

Mr. Pitt, in his admirable speech on this meditated measure, uttered the following remarkable words—talking of Protestant Ascendancy and Catholic Grievances:—"Between the two," said he—"it becomes a matter of difficulty in the minds of some persons, whether it would be better to listen only to the fears of the former, or grant the claims of the latter ;"—"but," says he, a little afterwards, "no man can say that while Ireland remains a *separate* kingdom full concessions could be made to the Catholics without endangering

gering the state."—It is clear his argument goes to remove the danger, and that therefore it is in the mind of the British government, if the measure of Union should be adopted, by one great act of justice and sound policy, not only to unite the kingdoms, but to unite the people.

Without this, Union would be but a half measure, keeping up the ball of grievances, rancour, and animosity.—Would you have the people content—and without a contented people, can you build upon their obedience to the Laws, or their loyalty to the Sovereign? What! can they be content under laws which keep them in *esclavage*? The King personally they may love for his private virtues, but being the head of a crushing system, their allegiance is air. Would you have the people content? give them *equal rights*—proscription is the fermenting hot-bed of civil distraction—it is a hag more disgusting and detestable than Milton's Sin—the Genius of Britain would weep over a nation of slaves—and while the Catholic of Ireland is marked by any political exclusion, that exclusion will in his mind constitute his slavery.

Goddeſs of rational liberty! benignant, placid, ſteady; not the mountain nymph that ſweeps along like a torrent, and tears with licentious violence even nature up by the roots——no—Goddeſs of civilized ſociety! defender of rights! promoter of concord! calmly thou moveſt along, and in thy train is found peace, induſtry, property, ſecurity:



security:—O touch with thy omnipotent wand the leaders of this nation! open their eyes to the horrible progeny of proscription, and pour upon their minds the fulness of thy wisdom! place before their political vision the blessings of political Union—reciprocal rights, reciprocal benefits— one people— one strength— supported by, and supporting, that constitution whose virtues could hand them down to an almost immortality of duration!

There can be no “complete and entire Union” between Great Britain and Ireland unless they possess equal and reciprocal rights; and there can be no reciprocal rights where the great body of the Irish people are denied their full participation—If you exclude the majority of the people, your Union will be but an act of more determined oppression; and surely such an act could neither confirm nor continue the security of the Protestant or the safety of the state—no—this cannot be the policy of Great Britain—she may be liberal where she has nothing to fear, and where her liberality must insure her domestic peace, and nourish her political being.

Union would destroy domestic faction;—would be a death-blow to the hopes, and the machinations of a foreign enemy; would rapidly lead to the overthrow of that baneful and dangerous preference which the policy of the state is, in the present order of things, compelled to shew the

the Protestant; it would ultimately open the rights of the constitution to every man of the country; it would act as a caustic against the proud flesh of religion, and reduce it from being a sore to be a smooth and a healthy part of the body politic; it would prove the nurse of a generous loyalty, and the parent of a general industry; in securing public peace it would be the firmest security for private property; and if it is true that British exertion has overgrown its soil, it is surely but reasonable to expect that upon the establishment of tranquillity it will shoot across the channel, and take root in Ireland, for the safety of private property would encourage the migration of speculative men, whose talents for trade or manufacture, in finding so noble a field for exertion, could not fail of a rich reward while they enriched the country. These are the blessings which would inevitably flow from a *liberal* union, and which without a *liberal* Union this fertile, populous, and loyal land can never hope to experience.

The question is not Union or immediate separation, but Union or political uncertainty. The Protestant power in Ireland, and the assisting strength of Great Britain, are fully adequate to keep off separation---but they must fight it on the threshold; civil discontent will feed the fire of faction, encourage foreign invasion, and the only thing certain in the land will be a ruinous continuance of its domestic horrors.

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In the present order of things the chances of separation are many; it is evident that Union would reduce those chances, and by consequence the danger of separation would be less.

Allowing the *general* good policy of the measure, let us now look a little at particulars; with, however, this observation, that where a measure affecting a whole community is found in all the probabilities of human reason, to be generally good, the interests of some distinct branches of that community are not to be held up as a stop or impediment to the accomplishment of that measure. If a man has a mortification in his limb, he calls in the opinion of the faculty, and willingly and wisely sacrifices the limb for the salvation of the body.

By a Legislative Union it is said Dublin would be ruined; and why? from the removal of Parliament, and the extinction of the Court. That the Parliament would be removed is certain, and that the removal would in a degree affect the splendor of the city is allowed. With respect to the Court, or what is commonly called the Castle, its splendor we have not for some latter years been much accustomed to;—the lowering darkness of the times threw it into shade, and if the citizens are to feel a loss in this instance, at least it will come recommended by custom. The extinction of the Court, however, is by no means to be expected, supposing the Union to obtain; the presence of the Viceroy will, from our geographical

graphical situation, be found essentially necessary by the Imperial Government; the splendor of his establishment must equal the dignity of his station; and, presiding over an united people, he will surely enjoy the happy and peaceful opportunity of reflecting upon the capital, the uninterrupted and undiminished rays of royal magnificence.

The removal of the Parliament, alone, is then to ruin Dublin:—has the removal of the Scotch Parliament been the ruin of Edinburgh? She can point to her new city and smile at our apprehension. Dublin must continue the seat of judicial proceeding; she will still enjoy her advantages as the center of internal commerce; her University will still possess its Charter and literate superiority—she must continue the head quarters of the army—will these certain and perpetual advantages contribute to the ruin of Dublin? Or will the inhabitants on the accomplishment of Union fly their city in the wild hope of finding a better in the desert? The little external commerce she has she will assuredly be able to maintain, and the imports she exhausts she will continue to exhaust still, because where there are numbers there must be consumption, and where there is consumption there must, according to the present state of social luxury, be importation. And is it too much to expect that the benefits of reciprocity, and the example of British industry, will in a very few years indeed make ample returns

turns into the public stock for any partial difference that Dublin may experience by the occasional absence of one hundred Commoners and fifty Peers of the realm?—You may double the number; and the effect would not be so dreadful as clamour is willing to insinuate; apprehension sees the thing it fears through a fog, and it is not difficult to impress the ignorant mind with the phantoms of imagination. Would the peers and commoners pass all their time in Great Britain? Would they abandon their best interest, the interest of their property; and of their posterity, for the mighty pleasure of breathing in Britain? surely these questions need no reply, they bear on their front their own refutation.

I insist not upon the conditional benefits which Dublin may reap from the collateral branches of the union; but this is indubitable, if Dublin shall be particularly considered it will be to her advantage; it is probable the removal of parliament will give a check to her architectural improvement, but that check will not lessen her dignity as the capital of the kingdom—the head of the community—the heart which circulates all the vivifying acts of the state to the extremities of the commonwealth.

What, then, has Dublin to apprehend? she seems frightened by her own fear; or is she actuated by a selfish policy, and would willingly continue the degradation of her fellow subjects, and the danger of the realm, so she might enjoy in  
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corporate exclusion her own petty advantages and paltry pomp?

When the question of union was first promulgated, it certainly did create a sort of general alarm; the populace declaimed against it without knowing why, and the little orators of the day thundered their philippics without knowing wherefore; the bar, and every man must defer much to that reputable body; the bar was eager to meet and enlighten the people with its opinion on the case, and it was a liberal opinion in one sense, for it was given without the influence of the accustomed fee; but disputation is l'esprit du corps, and, notwithstanding they had so good a cause to be unanimous, there was opposition, debate, and protest against the vote of the day—nay, it was remarked that some of the most brilliant ornaments of the bar for legal knowledge and for commanding eloquence, kept aloof from the scene, and that many of that description, who were present, kept a profound and sagacious silence on the subject. The mountain laboured, and a mouse was born! Behold the opinion of the meeting on the case of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland.

“Resolved, that the measure of a legislative union of this kingdom and Great Britain is an *innovation*, which it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose, *at the present juncture*, to this country.”

This resolution does not say that the measure would be ruinous to the commerce and independence of the country—no—it really says, *this is a dangerous period* to agitate the question, but in future it might prove a *beneficial innovation*. The gentlemen of the law do not oppose the constitutional legality of the measure, they only hesitate as to *the time* of promulgation—it is very possible for a man to be a good lawyer and a very bad politician; something like this appears in the resolution under consideration, for to common sense it would appear, that when our irrevocable connexion with Great Britain is openly and powerfully attacked by foreign force and domestic treason, that is the point of time, because it imperiously proclaims the necessity, by union, to defeat the one and to crush for ever the hopes of the other.

I had almost forgot the attorneys, those never failing friends to the good of the community! they too met, and for the public benefit, as usual, took an active part in the general confusion.

But the high-flyers of ascendancy, the corporations, and other corporations, taking their tone from the metropolis, have with peculiar pertinacity set their faces against any future concession to their catholic brethren—brethren?—they will not admit of any relationship, and affect to look with horror on a measure which has in its foundation the necessary means of ultimately restoring to that preponderating body, the rights of their country. What! no pity? no, once and for ever! This  
conduct

conduct of the corporations recalls to memory a picture very finely touched by the pencil of Shakspeare, of a *herd of deer, full of the pasture*, disdain- ing to commiserate the sufferings of an unfortunate and languishing brother, *who from the hunter's aim had ta'en a hurt*. "Sweep on, ye fat and greasy citizens, you will not stay to greet that poor and broken bankrupt there."

What can be found in the opposition of the corporations but an intolerant and unenlightened spirit? intolerant, because it proceeds directly from an apprehension of catholic freedom; and unenlightened, because it is wrapt up in self, and blind to the general interest not only of the empire but of their country\*.

Perhaps they think their own immediate interest will be affected; it is time it should, the monopoly is disgraceful to the spirit of the British constitution. There is one reflection, however, that may yield them much consolation: Years must roll away before the effects of corporate participation can be felt: for them the tables will long groan under the bounty of Providence, and the good things of this life! When the stomach is full, and wine has had its effect, the honest citizen is no martyr to politics or religion! But the lucid

\* It is melancholy to reflect that this excluding policy, dangerous as unjust, did, at one time, work itself into the minds even of the grand juries of the kingdom; witness their resolutions *never* to admit the catholic to a participation of the elective franchise in *any time to come*—monstrous and absurd!—did these gentlemen believe they were to *live for ever?*

moment



moment will arrive, when even the corporations shall acknowledge the necessity of union, and solicit the boon which they now idly reject! They know the benefits of security, and they cannot long remain blind to the necessity of erecting the fortress of Protestant Ascendancy on a firm, broad, and imperial foundation. "Our constitution," says Mr. Burke, "is not made for great, general, and proscriptive exclusions; sooner or later it will destroy them, or they will destroy the constitution."

Should union be enacted, the coronation oath may continue without the alteration of a single letter; for the king may safely and solemnly engage to maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law established; as the religion of the empire will be protestant not only in the letter of the law, but in the practice of the people: and thus the established church will be "fundamental and essential for ever in the united kingdoms."

But it has been said, "Don't unite, for what security have you that the terms of union will be kept inviolate? the same power that makes can destroy;" granted; but we have the security of interest; interest, that great and universal cement, national as well as individual, must from the very nature and end of civil society be the directing power, and conserving principle of this consummation so devoutly to be wished. Can the land be annihilated? no; can the people be exterminated?

nated? no; does Great Britain expect to draw any benefits from this country? certainly; will she, then, to obtain those benefits, and to increase her own strength by securing their continuance, adopt a ruinous policy, leave the land a waste, and crush the spirit of industry and commerce among its inhabitants? absurd supposition; it is morally certain, that, union rivetting the connexion, it must be the interest and selfish duty of Great Britain to nurse the population and riches of Ireland, in order that she may participate in the physical power of that population, and in the political energy of those riches—What! would the wisdom of Britain leave the land a lump of morbid matter, pregnant with disease, and hastening to dissolution? If that were her policy, why propose union? why wish to unite distemper, that might infect herself? no, separation, our existing separation, theoretically independent, but undermining the constitution to support the government, would more rapidly accomplish the destruction of our political fabric. As far as any human foundation can be safely built upon, this is an immoveable basis; her prosperous existence is allied to the prosperous existence of this country; Britain is powerful, and could stand, but not firmly, without Ireland, but Ireland must fall without the support of Great Britain.

This great truth has been long seen and felt by the wisest heads and purest hearts in both kingdoms, and therefore it has become a state axiom,  
that

that Great Britain and Ireland must stand and fall together---for fall they will!\* every thing in nature perishes, and every human contrivance must have an end! the liberties of Greece are extinct, and Rome is no more! the first fell from an excess of freedom, and the latter from an excess of conquest; the land is there, but the spirit has fled. She rested in Britain, and spreads her fostering wings over that mighty and commercial empire; blend with her strength, reciprocate in her benefits; by union you pour new life into her body, and insure your own existence; the branch will die if separated from the trunk.

It were here unpardonable not to pay some attention to Mr. Foster; he is a gentleman of great talents, and it must be supposed he means well to his country; he has been an indefatigable friend to her staple commodity, and his statement of its progressional increased consumption must con-

\* Montesquieu says, that the liberties of Britain will perish when the legislative becomes as corrupt as the executive power.—There seems, however, in the constitution of Britain a preserving principle beyond the legislative power—the people.—If the people are virtuous the corruption of the legislative body cannot destroy their liberty—it would certainly forge the chains, but they must themselves be mean enough to rivet them on: the constitutional period arrives for new delegation, and the arrival of that period puts the full power of purifying the Legislative body in the hands of the people—if they wisely exercise that power their liberties will stand; if they neglect that duty, their liberties will perish; it is the people, therefore, and not the legislature, that must destroy the temple and the God.

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vince the most sceptical of our ability to improve where we have opportunity, and also of the essentiality of Great Britain to invigorate that ability and preserve that improvement.

To Mr. Foster's commercial detail I shall, therefore, allow its full weight; but I shall take leave to look at it from a new point of view; and I ask, supposing we had been really an independent nation, unconnected with Great Britain, but possessing her political constitution since 1782, whether it is in the nature of things, with her for a rival, we should now have had any commercial benefits to calculate?—let good sense reflect, and candour reply.

I shall, with very high respect towards Mr. Foster, put it in another way. We are a distinct and independent nation; you, Sir, calculate the benefits which have grown under the nursing wing of British connexion since 1782. Now, Sir, I beg to be informed, whether with the constitution of Britain, but without the encouragement of her laws or the protection of her power, we could have established our commerce or maintained our independence?

Again; suppose, and it is a fair case, for physical power is necessary to produce, improve, and support commercial existence—suppose we had established our political independency in 1782, against the will of Great Britain, and, abandoning our connexion with that kingdom, had essayed to become her rival in commerce; could we from that period

period to the present time so have opposed her power, not only in war (for war she must have poured upon us but in trade, as to have enabled us to maintain our independency, and to compete with her in the markets of the world?

For my part, Sir, I think the true answer to these questions makes the force of your argument very feeble indeed; for we have no independence if we cannot maintain our independency; and the commerce we call ours is in reality not ours, if its course can be stopped by the precarious will of any human external power. I think that with Great Britain for an enemy we could have neither liberty nor commerce, and that the connexion maintains and supports all we have of the one and of the other. I, therefore, Sir, see nothing in your calculations but proofs of the advantages we have reaped from that connexion; and I conclude that rivetting the connexion by indissoluble union will insure to us a continuation of those advantages by enlarging our power of action, and by giving us our true and natural importance in the empire.

Little weaknesses in wise men are recorded, because wisdom is the opposite of folly. Newton would sometimes forget the magnitude of his mind, and shew in triumph the finewy strength of his arm!--Mr. Foster, in the greatness of his subject forgets his political sagacity, and by the following extraordinary apostrophe rouses the Catholic from lethargy and stupor.--“Your country is in danger. A desperate attempt is on foot to seduce  
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duce you to surrender the independence of *your parliament*.—You are natives of the island, interested in its trade, its prosperity, its freedom; and in *all* the blessings of a glorious and *happy constitution*—forget all family differences—all local or partial jealousies, and save your country.” He here calls upon the catholic as if he were really a free man—he is not free—what has he been struggling for? constitutional liberty; has he got it?—No.—Why then should he be told that his country is in danger? the slave has no country? that a desperate attempt is on foot to seduce him to surrender the independence of *his parliament*?—Has he a single representative there? No, not one! Is he interested by *exclusion* in *all* the blessings of our happy constitution?—Can he forget all differences, all local or partial jealousies? alas! it is not to be expected!—It is is, indeed, a tenet of the christian code to *do good for evil*, and the instruction breathes the divine spirit of its author; but being men we must act according to the dust of our nature! Mr. Foster desires two-thirds of the people of this land, the catholics, to defend the independence of that parliament from which they are, and must continue to be, politically expelled!—You keep the catholic from a full participation of the constitution; and you call upon him to perpetuate that constitution of which he is never to participate! If this is not grossly inconsistent, there is no meaning in words. “Tell the bold minister,” says Mr. Foster, “who wants

to take away *your constitution*, that you will not be *his dupes*."—"Alas"! may not the catholic retort? ---"alas! Mr. Foster, you know *we* have *no* constitution, and we will not be *your dupes*."

The truth is this---the catholic body, sore with disappointment, and disappointment, too, unwisely, because unsteadily held out to them by the government of the country, finding themselves threatened with an eternity of exclusion, would see with indifference the annihilation of the constitution: with this dangerous indifference pervading the body of your people, union must prove political salvation; you cannot be secure while the catholic is disfranchised, and he cannot be franchised with safety to the state, while the government is distinct. Great Britain sees the malady, and she now knows there is only one way to accomplish a cure. Under her binding acts the protestants were uneasy, because she was the instrument; under the protestant direction the catholics revolt, because there is an expelling principle. Among the multitude of its other advantages, union would give the catholic a country to enrich with his labour or defend with his strength: if the political sun does not shine upon him, he cares not how barren the produce; if he is denied the first of civil rights, his soul, the faculties of his mind, will not inspire and energize his physical powers in the defence of the soil. Great Britain will not speculate in theory, when she can realize in practice—

—to conciliate is to secure.—Union is the great general act of conciliation—it will place the protestant beyond the fear of the catholic; and it will restore the catholic to his civil rights, without endangering the protestant power.

What is union? to make two or more distinct bodies one.—If Great Britain unites only with *protestant* Ireland, that will be no union—it is idle to talk of uniting governments, without uniting the people of those governments; Great Britain is an unit,—we are a nation consisting of two distinct bodies—before you can feel the real benefits of imperial union, those two distinct domestic bodies must be harmonized, must be made one.—This is a great political truth, and Mr. Pitt is so impressed by its potency, that he has not scrupled to hesitate a doubt, in his general reasoning, as to the system of church establishment which, in Ireland, would be most free from difficulty and inconvenience, and thus he impliedly confesses, that the protestant establishment in Ireland forms difficulty and inconvenience to imperial policy: but union, pure, broad, and general union, removes from this important part of the subject the necessity of any state quackery, and presents with a liberal hand and smiling face the panacea of our political existence.—This is the cup of renovation, and if the want of it has made “all men sick and some men mad,” its possession will make all men well and some men wise.—Will party, in the frantic spirit of disappointment, essay to dash the



the healing draught from the parched lip of the people? Patriotism is not a compound of fire and folly, it is a pure substance, and cool, and moves steadily to its object, the *GENERAL weal*, with right on one side and reason on the other—Ye demagogues of the day! prove the political independence you call upon us so loudly to defend; shew us your stream of commerce unmixed with the swelling waters of a wider source; shew us your power to maintain the one and to increase the other; and when you have done this, and this you cannot do, the harrassed people of the land may listen and believe that party is virtue, and declamation wisdom!

There seems one grand error to run through the whole of Mr. Foster's argument; he contends for the protestant part of the state only, without taking into consideration the catholics of the country, except in the instance of his curious apostrophe; now the measure of union would not be so necessary, did the protestants alone constitute the people, but the great point to accomplish by union, is the harmony of the general community, without which there can be no state safety. A people may be whipped into silence, but they cannot be whipped into content. Coercion is a bad system of government; it may debase, but it can never exalt a people; nor is it a system that can last; while it is in force it is execrable, and when its fury has wasted its strength, an inevitable consequence, it is destroyed, and the community is  
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thrown by the vice of its governors into the horrors of anarchy. And here I cannot help remarking that the people of Ireland have *felt the whip*, and that Mr. Foster is injudicious to his cause, and unfriendly to his country, in lamenting, as he does\*, the discontinuance of that disgraceful and horrid system of military coercion, a system totally repugnant to the laws of the land, and consequently subversive of all civil liberty—The British Government saw this, and found it necessary to step forward and save the people, not by “following up the vigour” of whipping, and burning, and picketing, but by the mild and persuasive energy of constitutional law tempered with constitutional mercy!

And here it may be allowed a man who writes for neither party, but whose little exertion is the result of a perfect conviction of the general virtue of the great measure proposed—it may, I hope, be allowed such a man to hail Lord Cornwallis as the instrument of human salvation and human happiness. There is a sort of fatality (I do not mean to chain the idea to the *letter*) runs through the existence of every individual; in domestic concerns we see it often attach—in the more conspicuous walks of public life it immediately and strongly impresses the mind of the observer. Ancient history could furnish a volume of examples, but I shall content myself with giv-

\* Vide Mr. Foster's Speech, page 113.

ing two instances from modern record which go to establish a sort of leading fatality of consequences, particularly observable in the character of every public man.

Admiral Byron had great talents, professional knowledge, opportunity, and singular perseverance; yet, it may be said, from the first hour of his public life to the last, he was uniformly unfortunate.

Admiral Rodney, than whom a better seaman, or more perfect gentleman, never commanded a British fleet, was greatly successful in almost all his *public* undertakings: as a *private* man he was as remarkably unfortunate! and his country (I almost weep in recording the fact!) left him to die literally of a broken heart! I am well aware he had a pension and a ribband, but he should not have been left to the destructive fangs of the law. His capture of St. Eustatius was accomplished under the express order of government, and government, in common justice and in public gratitude, should have defended that act as their own, against a combination of British subjects become Dutch traders, and who, under the veil of that character, supplied the enemies of England with naval stores, provisions, and almost every article necessary to carry on and protract the war: he found them in the island Dutch burghers, and as Dutch burghers he confiscated their property. He was left to their vengeance, and he perished in the contest—Yes, and his body, his lifeless body, which

which should have been consecrated by his country, was seized in the streets of the capital by the emissaries of the law, and for some time the rites of sepulture were savagely denied to the vindicator of his country's naval superiority—to the conqueror of Langara and de Grasse!

The destiny of Lord Cornwallis is not fulfilled, but thus far it has been pregnant with good to his fellow creatures. His convention at York town was an act of wisdom and reflective humanity; he might have opposed Washington and Rochambeau with slaughterous effect, but with no reasonable hope of victory or retreat; his surrender was an act of more determined bravery—he risked his fame, and saved the lives of at least 2000 men! He next appears in India, driving the restless Tippoo before him even to the gates of Seringapatam—he could have mastered the capital, but his happier destiny prevailed, and the horrid practice of man murdering man was suspended; he made an advantageous peace, leaving Tippoo his capital and a kingdom, and converting him, as it were, into a political check over the intrigues of the neighbouring princes. After having humanely, and to the utmost point of patriotic good, fulfilled his mission, he returned from India as from a place of banishment; he resigned all the power and all the riches of the East, for enjoyments more congenial to his nature—for the calm of honourable repose, and for the nameless blessings of domestic privacy! but his destiny again interposed,  
and

and he was chosen by his sovereign to be the *instrument of Peace to the People!* His appearance in Ireland was the harbinger of returning reason—the pike dropped from the hand of the deluded peasant, and loyalty became the order of the day! the whip was banished, humanity prevailed, the atrociously guilty were punished, and titled iniquity did not escape the incurable wound of public censure; the Orange and the Green, equally factious, and equally obnoxious to the good of the land, were discountenanced, and acted no longer as colours of disaffection to the peace of the community—An honest soldier, an honest man, intrusted with the anxious wish of the king—he will honourably endeavour to fulfil it; and if he does accomplish union, his destiny will arrive at the climax of its beneficence; he will extend the blessings of Constitutional Liberty to a whole People, and secure the integrity of the British Empire.

The body politic is subject to diseases; its constitution being the creature of man is therefore blended with the infirmities of his nature; when those diseases appear it becomes the duty of the governing power to search the cause and apply the remedy. The governing power of a community may be aptly termed *the mind*, and the members of a community may be properly called *the body*. If the mind is corrupted, it neglects the constitution, and the body falls into cureless ruin; but, if the mind is sound and the constitution is  
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attacked by bodily swellings, inflammations, and other tokens of disease, the mind must then, having the power, administer the power, administer the remedy, and in the progress of the cure, the constitution, in order to save the whole, may be necessarily altered: the immediate effect of this alteration is the restoration of bodily health—the constitution itself may be strengthened by the unavoidable change, but this must be left to time to discover; at all events it has more than an equal chance of improvement, and it is better, even supposing the constitution to suffer, to save the life, than by neglect to destroy the body.

Now this apparent theory has been practically proved, for it contains in its principle, though not in its parts, the cause and consequence of the glorious revolution of 1688; and will any man, with this great precedent staring him in the face, have the folly to deny the competency of Parliament to alter the constitution? Is it not recorded in the temple of immortal fame, that the alteration of the constitution in 1688 purified its being, gave continuation to its existence, and established a perfection of legal liberty for which there is no parallel in the pages of ancient or of modern history?

It is curious, and conveys no bad lesson, to regard the contradictory declamations of *party*; the following instance will, perhaps, leave its proper impression upon the public mind.

Our ci-divant patriots exerted all their eloquence to prove the necessity of a reform in parliament.

To reform the parliament, no man will deny, is to alter the parliament, and it is an incontrovertible truth, that to alter the parliament would be to alter the constitution; now, these very men, who so sturdily urged parliament to alter the constitution by lopping, trimming, and reforming one of its essential branches, have the modesty to tell parliament, with very edifying consistency! that it has no power whatever, to make any alteration in the constitution!—Really those gentlemen must conclude the people have neither ears or memory. It is also to be observed, that the alteration *they* meditated would have been pregnant with danger to the state, because, and it was a progression they avowed, the reform of parliament would necessarily have accomplished catholic emancipation—would that have been no alteration of the present constitution!—it would have been an alteration big with mischief, for, as a distinct government, catholic emancipation and protestant controul are incompatible, the power of the first fully admitted to the rights of the constitution, could not rest *under the state*, nor be content as *part of the state*—it would be *the state*—then farewell to British connexion and protestant ascendancy!

Union—a real, effective, complete, and liberal union, is the only political alteration that can harmonize the jarring and discordant parts of this kingdom, and bring every good subject and honest  
man,

man, let his Religion be what it may, to the rightful enjoyment of the Constitution of his Country.

Is religion a politic law? Or is it an emanation from the universal Creator? if it is a politic law, let it work for the good of the whole — if it is an inspiration from that benignant Being whose attribute is mercy; obtrude not your petty policy upon the eternal will, nor rebel against his Justice by debasing his creature!

The Legislature of Great Britain has recorded its solemn opinion that Union would promote peace; would destroy faction; would annihilate the destructive influence of party; would for ever defeat the hopes of France to separate and subdue; would give and secure one power, one strength, one energy to the empire, free from jealousy, and acting without restraint; that it would identify to each country the commercial benefits of both, blending England in Ireland, and Ireland in England; that it would eventually do away the imperious necessity of political distinction, and open the door of the temple to the people of the land; on this broad, deep and firm foundation has the legislature of Britain erected a noble and eternal monument of its liberal and enlightened policy; and the common Sovereign of both countries will recommend the measure to the deliberate wisdom of his Irish Parliament.

The



The alarm has been rung, and national prejudice has been roused by stentorian lungs, and not with the most winning urbanity of manners, to oppose any union as futile in principle, and as a nullity in act, founded on the watch-word incompetence: but the little cabals of party for power must vanish before the magnitude of national good and Imperial security.

Parliament has been, by an Irish Senator, eloquently, but not accurately termed the "immortal soul of the constitution; its immortality, we all know, experiences periodical dissolution, if not brought to an untimely death by the will of the King: and this soul has been sadly abused as a vicious and most corrupt body! The Orator proceeds, and tells us that the parliament has no power to lay its hand on the constitution, but he has discovered that Parliament and People, by *mutual consent*, may change the form of the Constitution." The Constitution itself is against the admission of this new doctrine. The power of change must either be either in the Parliament or in the People, for it cannot at one and the same time be in both; if Parliament exists it is constitutionally the directing power of the community, and the people having delegated to it their whole authority, are bound to obey its will; during the existence of parliament the people do not, nor can they, constitutionally speaking, compose another legislative body; and during dissolution

lution the parliament is politically annihilated—it is, therefore, clear that as they cannot, in a legislative capacity, constitutionally exist together, they cannot co-operate, constitutionally, in any act of legislation.

A Member of Parliament not only represents his particular constituents, but virtually the general community: he is to watch over, defend, and promote the advantage and happiness of the whole—it is, therefore, possible, if his constituents think proper to instruct him how to vote for *their* particular interest, *that* instruction may upon deliberation be found inimical to the *general good*, and the representative, in that case, honestly and faithfully discharges his duty by *disobeying his constituents*. If, indeed, the whole constituent body, or a decisive majority of them, send to their representatives similar instructions, the decision on the question will then wisely correspond with the general wish:—but the practice of instructing representatives is of very late date, and innovates on the principle of the Constitution; for constitutionally there is but one deliberative body for the Commons, and if they, the Commons, delegate that body, and, during the existence of that delegation, deliberate and decide, they in effect take the duty of their representatives into their own hands, and nullify an essential branch of the Constitution.

If

If Parliament can alter itself it can alter the Constitution, for the alteration of Parliament is the alteration of the Constitution—now, Parliament can alter itself because it has altered itself, and therefore it can alter the Constitution.

But the most plausible argument against the competency of the Irish Parliament to enact an Union might be drawn from its not being, in fact, the representatives of the people which that Union is to bind—it represents the Protestant body of the community, but the Catholic body it does not represent, and therefore it has no constitutional power to dispose of that body by Union—if we admit this reasoning, it makes against the right of parliament, in toto, to enact for the Catholic body—we easily perceive to what civil destruction this doctrine would lead, and we also perceive the political necessity of Union to render that civil destruction impossible.

It is a question of mighty moment to both countries—shall we for the necessary end of rendering the connexion indissoluble, by Union, which makes one being of two states, blend our political existence with the political existence of Great Britain; or continue our distinct principle of government, leading incontrovertibly to separation of connexion?

“*Salus populi suprema lex.*”——

Let the question be weighed by that even beam of justice and true policy—put in one scale the  
*good*

*good of the community*, in the other *corporation prejudice*, and *party passion*, and see which will preponderate. But we must have a steady and impartial hand to hold the balance.

Is it for the benefit of the people of Ireland to be secured in their property, and in all the blessings of the British Constitution? The Anglo-Irish will not hesitate to answer in the affirmative; and as for the Catholic, the native of the soil, his eager and rational expectations have been long pointed to that essential consummation.—Where then is the impediment? Independency.—What! is independency an impediment to political right, civil security, and national happiness? So it would seem—but let us dispassionately look at this independency, perhaps it is only *a name*, and, if so, it cannot, among a reasonable people, prevent the establishment of national good.

It has already been shewn that political independence is not possessed by this country, and that, in the present state of Europe, and in her devoted connexion with Great Britain, a perfect independency cannot be a possession of Ireland. The united Directory of Ireland did indeed think otherwise, and treated with the French to assist them in their patriotic endeavour to destroy their country, in order to establish her independency!—they were shallow politicians—and, bit by the Mania of Revolution they overlooked the deadly consequences of its accomplishment—the horrors attendant

attendant on civil war, never came within the compass of their calculation—they considered not the destructive struggle which this country must have experienced from the power of Britain, and the ferocity of France—they were willing after murdering peace to “jump the life to come”—they admitted not in their mind, the utter impossibility of England, in the zenith of her naval glory, remaining criminally negligent of her own safety, by allowing Ireland to become an unconnected state, or if connected, connected with her most deadly foe—it might have been Rome, but it could not have been Carthage; Ireland was too weak, too divided, and too totally without resources to have made even a decent stand in so dreadful a contention—she must have fallen unconditionally to Britain, or been devoured by France—they were shallow politicians, they seized in imagination the ultimatum of their projects, but forgot in their zeal the steps which were to lead them along—and so destruction must have proved the contest that it may be fairly doubted, if, in the almost impossible event of their success, even one political Quixotte could have been found on the land mad enough to legislate for her miseries.

But we are independent, and Mr. Foster tells us so—he tells the protestant that he is independent of English influence, and he tells the Catholic that he is independent of protestant power!

Mr.

Mr. Foster tells you you are independent, and in the same breath he tells you *whoever* (in the case of a Regency) is Regent of Great Britain must be Regent of Ireland, without her election, or her accedence in any manner whatsoever.\* “*Whoever,*” says Mr. Foster, “is Regent of Britain has the Great Seal, and *therefore* the Regent of Britain alone can represent the third estate of Irish legislature.”

In 1789 the Commons of Ireland thought the country not quite so dependent; and they voted her a Regent without consulting either the Minister or the Great Seal of Great Britain; but in 1799 Mr. Foster tells you, you are independent, and proves this independency by a notable argument of your dependency on Great Britain!

But the word *Independence* is to act like a talisman against all evils; to lull the most sceptical into belief, and the most fearful into confidence—the wretch who groans under what is called legal proscription, is to read and feel himself free—and those who are not proscribed, are, on the simple pronunciation of the word, to fall down and adore, without daring to look up to its formation, or to examine its accurate applicability.

\* It may be here urged, that this principle was enacted by the independent Irish Parliament—but is it not plain that this very act partially constituted and acknowledged her dependence?

Good God! are we independent? we, who have not a single ship of war in the world, nor contribute one shilling towards the expence of the British Navy, which protects our commerce, and defends our coasts! Are we independent—we who are not possessed of that necessary, tho' dangerous, engine of state safety, a military establishment? Are we independent, we whose Minister is never seen in the Corps Diplomatique, and whose country, if it has a name among the nations, is known only as an appendage to the power that protects it! are we independent, we whose very acts of parliament are not legal until they are banished the land, and return pregnant with constitutional authority, rendered legitimate by the impress of the Great Seal of Great Britain?

And is our parliament independent? Tell me what portion of the House of Commons, that main pillar of the Constitution, moves under the directing influence of places and pensions—the words are so hacknied, that one is almost ashamed to use them—but they are words of mighty power, and they are here *properly* applied. Mr. Conolly is a plain man, and an honourable man, and an honest man, and he roundly tells you that in such a constituted parliament you can never hope for independence of action—but even  
allow

How it to be, what assuredly it is not,\* an independent body, one moment's reflexion will convince any unbiassed mind, that its *partiality* of Constitution carries poison to its root; it is, in truth, the smallest portion of the people, supported by an external power, legislating for and directing the great body of the community—without the support of that external power it could not maintain its political position—this is an acknowledged truth, then where is its independence? Ask the gentlemen who have places and pensions—and where is its proud, dignified, and virtuous generality? Apply to the Act of Proscription.—Ireland independent!——no—she is a province with another name—she has all the expence of a distinct legislature, without possessing the dignity and benefit of legislative distinction and national effect; and if she is not merged by Union into

\* The present Earl of Clare, when Attorney General, declared in the House of Commons, that a late Opposition had cost the Country half a million; and that if the then Opposition was continued, it would cost the Country half a million more. What was this but plainly saying, we have taxed the people, to bribe the Representatives, in order to carry on the public business---and if you oppose the Government we must tax the people again for the same purpose. My Lord Clare was candid---he abhorred the practice---there is not an honest man in the state---he saw its necessity---and he is now a distinguished Advocate for the Union--- because he sees that the working of, what is called the INDEPENDENCE of Ireland, will be the Ruin of the country.



British independence, she must continue a province.—Do not start at the word, but look at the accuracy of its application—the plan of her government originates with an external power, and this is from the nature of the connexion unavoidable—the Irish privy council may advise, but it is the British privy council that directs.\*

Mr. GRATTAN, a great man, and a man for whom the writer of these pages entertains a sincere esteem, founded on a conviction of the purity of his motives, Mr. Grattan, I say, was hurried forward in his public career by the fever of patriotism acting on a warm, glowing, nay burning imagination—to a man of his transcendent talents nothing seems impossible—he has been much vilified, and much illiberal and gross abuse has been heaped upon him, but when he pleases he can rise and “shake the dew drops from the Lion’s mane.” His efforts have done much—they have enabled his country to treat on equal terms with Britain for an Union, which has for its object equality of rights, equality of security, and equality of existence. His subsequent exertions have not been so happy—but shall we forget the greatness of his former acts because his latter movements have been tinged with the errors of humanity? No! the mob of the people, ever giddy

1841 Under the controul of the Irish Parliament, under the controul of the ministerial Representatives—under the controul of British influence.

and

and inconstant, may be prompted to any folly, and the mob of the corporations may join the vulgar cry, and drive the kingly creature from his lair, but his services are enshrined in the hearts of the reflecting, the liberal and the enlightened part of the community, and the nobility of his nature will be recorded on that eternal page where virtue never dies!\* He was the leader of that firm phalanx that gave to Anglo-Ireland the British constitution, but he soon discovered that the influence of Great Britain left his theoretical independence in practice a shadow, he combated this effect, the influence, the necessary influence, defeated his exertions: after his establishment of independence in theory he laboured to accomplish a radical reform in the lower house---he found the Constitution acquired in 1782, was nugatory without a radical reform of that parliament which acquired that

\* Notwithstanding this tribute to the talents and service of Mr. Grattan, the Author could never be satisfied in his mind, as to the evidence of HUGHES before the Secret Committee of the House of Lords; it was there established both by HUGHES and NELSON that Mr. Grattan received them at Tenehinch, and communicated in secret with Nelson, and it would seem that he knew of the Conspiracy against the State, because he had a Copy of the Constitution of the United Irishmen lying upon his table.—Good God! what a debasement!--Mr. Grattan to communicate with such men as Nelson and Hughes!--but what criminality if he was privy to the Conspiracy!--I am willing to think he was ignorant of the latter, and I weep over the certainty that he descended to such associates!

Constitution,

Constitution---he was defeated by influence:---in order to weaken that influence, for he found it could not be destroyed, it was constitutional, he laboured to get the Catholic admitted into the sanctuary of the law; he saw the political equity and the national necessity for this great measure, but there was a state necessity for defeating that project, which seemed to escape his observation---*Protestant Ascendancy*.

Mr. Grattan, like a warm patriot, wished to see his country completely independent of Great Britain, and yet he found himself constitutionally compelled to keep up the *hocus pocus* of the essentiality of British connexion! this was playing off political legerdemain with a witness, and Mr. Grattan would have been a wonderful conjurer, indeed, had he shewn the world a state independent in all its relations under a constitutional necessity of connexion, to maintain that independency!---but presto---begone! influence, that protecting principle (I speak here in strict reference to the Protestant Establishment in Ireland) destroyed the embryo of a political monster, which had it seen the light must have wallowed in the blood of the community. Had his plan of government succeeded, the connexion between the two countries, so necessary to the salvation of both, could have had no lengthened duration of existence, because with two distinct and ruling principles in two distinct but constitutionally connected nations, you  
cannot

cannot in politics combine and preserve the reality of an undivided interest. Without meaning it, and certainly without wishing it, Mr. Grattan's latter exertions went directly to separation. I will not say that "pity shall find and weep over him;" but I will say that Patriotism has mourned the deception of her votary! and that the "hardy, bold, brave, brave, laborious, warm-hearted, and naturally faithful Irishman," has been plunged by party, and by the working of monopoly, into the horrors of a Rebellion, the blood of which is still reeking on the land! nor is the spirit fled—it skulks in silent hope of French assistance, and union, and union alone, can either render its re-appearance unavailing, or banish it for ever the soil. Party—party, working on the exclusive Charter of Protestant Supremacy, is the cause that has made "some men mad, and all men sick"—and the Irish Parliament are able constitutionally to restore reason to the lunatic, and loyalty to the Republican. They can "restore health to the sick, and confidence to all"—not by adding the French poison to reform the corrosive sublimate of party, but by blending in one *full, free, and entire* UNION, the *physical strength* and *constitutional Liberty* of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND. This is the Dove which has not been sent to the King, but he, in his parental care, has sent to us—it will take back the Olive! and our labouring bark may then rest in safety from the turbulence

lence of Faction, and the wild waves of democratic fury.

But it is urged, why unite ! we have a trade as free as Great Britain to every part of the world—will Union enable us to do what we cannot do at present? “What part (says Mr. Foster) can a British ship go to from Britain, which an Irish ship cannot go to with the same cargo from Ireland?” She could—*if she had the cargo*. “What article great or small can a British ship import into Britain or Ireland that an Irish ship cannot import equally into Ireland or Britain?” but he immediately recollects himself and adds—I speak not of the East India Settlements, though Ireland is *as free* to them as Britain is.”—Is she indeed? I thought there existed an exclusive Charter, granted by the British Government to their East India Company, withholding from Ireland *any* commerce in the East ; certainly not precisely *in terms*, but clearly and completely *in effect*. The British chartered Company have the sole right to trade in the East India Settlements, and exercise that sole right to their most particular advantage, and to the infinite benefit of the British Government. You bartered your right to that trade for a barren promise in 1785—and every ounce of Tea (that astonishingly productive, because perpetually consuming article!) that is used in Ireland, must first come through the Custom House of London.

Your

Your *Free Trade* was obtained in 1773, and it has worked so badly for the Country, that in 1800 you find yourself a Nation without a Capital! and what is the cause of this? The power of the State drawing against the power of the people, and the power of the people counteracting the power of the State—with the protecting care and encouragement of Britain, you have been able to establish a partial commerce in your only staple, but of general commerce the land has none. She has a rich soil, inviting harbours, great population—but little industry, because a divided people! and will Union accomplish what our present political system has not been able to acquire? It is rationally to be expected, for a complete Union, by doing away every impolitic jealousy, will give safety to the State, security to property, and industry to the people. Industry is the only road for a Nation to arrive at capital, and capital so accomplished cannot fail to encrease—thus Union, not a partial, but a complete Union, by securing the State, would secure the property of the individual; would give industry to our people, capital to our commerce, and enable us to improve all the advantages of our natural situation. While there is a theoretical distinction of government, there may be a practical distinction of interests, and where there may be a distinction of interests, there can be no stable unity of interests—a political misunderstanding may

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arise,

arise, and, like the whirlwind of the torrid zone, in a moment destroy the rich fruit of expectation. We have already had in the Regency business an example, very palpable to those who are willing to see, that distinctness of principles leads to, or or at least nourishes the seed of, separation. We say we are "one in unity of Constitution, and unity of Interest," and we persist in a principle which keeps alive the possibility of destruction to both! Why not destroy the principle that inherits the power to destroy the Constitution and the Interest, and by that means invulnerable the Constitution, and perpetuate the Interest? You acknowledge you can have no existence in separation from Britain, Why then venerate a principle that has the power to separate? Rather annihilate the principle, and render political separation impracticable. You say you are retarded by your high feeling of *independency*. Will you not allow your fellow creatures to have their feelings also? If you are retarded from Union, by the spirit and feeling of independency, may not the Catholic, your neighbour, catch one spark from your noble fire, and naturally be impelled with a hope and ardent longing to experience in his turn, the blessings of that feeling you so warmly extol? and can you without blushing, proclaim to Europe, that as a Protestant State you are absolutely independent of Great Britain? The Powers of Europe might hear, but they could never believe so monstrous an assertion—their knowledge is against

against it. Supposing she were your foe, could you politically exist? You cannot truly say that Ireland is free, even according to your estimate of freedom, when two thirds of her people are excluded from the rights of the Constitution; and you cannot say that the Protestant Establishment in Ireland is independent, where her little commerce and her political being so notoriously move under the protecting arm of Great Britain. But the patriot cries—"perish Commerce, live the Constitution!"\* it sounds well, but there is more sound than sense in the exclamation—perish commerce—what! perpetuate our poverty?—Live the Constitution.—How! by debasing the people?—No—no—May Commerce flourish, and the Constitution prosper, the rightful Constitution which gives equal liberty to all!—and it will prosper when it is supported *constitutionally* by Great Britain; both independent, because both blended into one—Ireland, not a limb which might be lopped off, but essential in the mass, and forming an indivisible portion of that vital blood, which circulates to the heart, and without which the Constitution sickens, and the body dies!

Of the Settlement of 1782, much has been said, and much has been written. Mr. Pitt denies it to have been final, and Mr. Foster asserts in detail, that it was *then* considered as a final measure. I am inclined to close in with the latter opinion;

\* It is to be remembered that this was said of the Constitution of 1782—*which excludes the people.*



it was *then* considered final ; but did it in its virtue exclude the possible necessity of alteration ? What opinion could be entertained of the physician who after restoring a patient to health, would say, "Sir, you are now perfectly well—your Constitution is thoroughly established, and it is impossible that any thing can in future happen to make you sick—if, however, against this prediction, any symptoms of mortal disease should hereafter appear, die, Sir, die, rather than call in a physician."—Our opinion must be that the Doctor was a little deranged in his intellects.—The Settlement of 1782, was at that time final, and it gave Ireland an independency of Constitution which before she did not possess ; that independency of Constitution gave her power, or rather the right, to act for herself, and her enacting a Legislative Union will be an exercise of that right.

Had Union been enacted by the British parliament anterior to the Settlement of 1782--it would have been as legally binding on this nation, as any preceding legislative act of Britain binding this nation; but it would have borne on its front so imperious a tyranny, that Britain could never have rested upon it as a secure and founded measure ; Protestant Ireland would at all times have had a right to destroy that Union, because it proceeded from the will of another power, and bound her people without their consent. Lord Yelverton's argument in favour of the present measure is therefore strictly accurate and patriotic ; he would have opposed

posed it *then*, because of that exterior compulsion taking from him the motion of a free man, but *now* having the power to receive or reject, he exercises his freedom in embracing the measure, because he is convinced by his reason it is predominantly good.

Did the Settlement of 1782 raise an eternal bar to future alteration and improvement? Might not alteration be necessary for the salvation of the State? And is it possible to improve without some degree of change? Was not the Constitution fundamentally altered at the Revolution? Did not Mr. Grattan—and I never mention his name without wishing to attach to it all the weight and respect his talents and his services so eminently deserve—did not Mr. Grattan with all the fervour of his genius shew the necessity of altering the Settlement of 1782, by reforming the representation of the people, and by a complete admission of the Catholic Body to the Rights of the Constitution? And did not Mr. Foster labour the alteration of what he now terms the *final* Settlement of 1782, in supporting with his talents, and with his vote the famous Propositions of 1785, one article of which went to bind Ireland by the legislative acts of Great Britain?—I am confident both these gentlemen felt a conviction they were acting for the improvement of the Constitution, and for the good of the people—the true end of all legitimate government— but surely Mr. Foster, when he supported the Propositions

positions of 1785, forgot the first principle of the Constitution of 1782, which says, that no power on earth can legislate for Ireland, save only the Parliament of Ireland--It may be urged that the British acts which were to regulate for Ireland, were to be commercial only--idle talk! they would have been the acts of another Legislature binding this country, and therefore, not only an alteration, but an innovation destructive of the spirit and purity of the Constitution.

The Act of Union, whenever it shall pass, will be an act of the distinct Legislatures for perpetuating the British Constitution to both--it will be an act of political necessity, consolidating the strength and resources of the Empire, and by that consolidation securing, as far as human sagacity can secure, the *good of the people*.

Britain cannot give you up—you are necessary to her safety—and she is necessary ye protestants of Ireland! to your existence, yes --even to your natural existence!--if you are necessary, (and she confesses it) to her safety, is it her interest to destroy your power? and if she is necessary to your existence, (and who that reflects on the late tremendous combination against, at least, your political life, can deny that necessity?) is securing that existence an act of wisdom, or is it not? Union is an act of preservation to both.

If you deny the necessity, I proceed to prove it by facts which are in the memory of all men, and which no man can deny.

After an experience of seventeen years of your theoretical *distinction* of government, or rather of constitution, you find that *party*, fed by the *distinct* principle, and grown a monster of political power, has made such gigantic strides as to divide the land ; you find your distinction of government has led, with the event of the French revolution, to democratic principles ; you find that it has disgraced the nation by persecution on the one part, and fanaticism on the other ; you find that it has led to systematic treason and to open rebellion ; you find that it has encouraged the invasion and assisted the arms of the most formidable, ferocious, and faithless power in Europe ; you find that it has shaken your government almost to falling, and that to give it a momentary prop you have been driven to the dangerous expedient of ruling without law, and resting for your safety, not on the affections of the people, but on the bayonet of the soldier ! —and in these melancholy facts you have found your *independence* utterly unable to protect your property or to maintain your government ! —These are the fruits of that tree whose sap is empoisoned by its political separation, and under whose shade the ambitious, the turbulent, the factious, the domestic traitor, and the foreign foe, will find a perpetually inviting shelter—remove the cause and the effect will cease—blend the root and branches of your constitutional tree with that of Great Britain ; let them grow up into one body, consolidated

dated in all its parts. Peace may then repose in industrious security under its foliage, or war, if war will intrude, will find victory from its strength. This will be the sacred Tree of Liberty for the world to wonder at! Union cementing every fibre and penetrating every pore—not like the wretched plant of Gallic growth, watered with human blood, and springing but to paralyze the motions of genuine freedom; but like the British oak, nourished by a generous soil, and rewarding its cultivation by its protecting power to the remotest period of its political existence.

Of the terms of union nothing can be said because nothing is yet certainly known:—the uniting parties will form the conditions, and they must be liberal to Ireland, because for the attainment of security she resigns the right of managing herself: they must be liberal, because in the constitutional ear she resigns the name of independence; they must be liberal, because liberality and liberality alone will nurse her present feebleness into force, and give her real abilities their natural power; they must be liberal, from reciprocal interest—Britain cannot firmly stand without Ireland, nor can Ireland flourish without Great Britain.

The adjustment of the terms will not defeat the accomplishment of the measure; there is one part, however, which will require the most matured consideration of the Irish Parliament before their determination becomes final—I mean the number  
of

of representatives, in the Imperial Parliament, for the Commons of this kingdom.

Here we must throw all retrospect of the numbers representing Scotland out of the question; it must not be argued, that because the Scotch are represented by forty-five members, the Irish ought to be contented with one hundred.—In an imperial measure of this magnitude national justice must ascertain and establish national interest—nay, it is for the interest of the empire that the people of this land should be satisfied not only in the general good policy of the measure, but in the liberality of all its particular branches.

The number of British representatives is five hundred and sixty-eight; the number of Irish representatives we shall for a moment set down at one hundred. I can find neither liberality nor equity in that arrangement, because it is evident the weight of one hundred bears no fair proportion to five hundred and sixty-eight; and by consequence their influence in the Imperial Parliament could not even form a check to any measure that might be thought to militate against the interest of this country. If you satisfy the people in the point of representation, a point absolutely necessary for the preservation of their legitimate rights, even party must abandon its clamour and opposition, because the people will then feel their interest is secured.—Now, one hundred members could make no stand in favour of this country against five hundred and sixty-eight, even supposing—(what never can hap-

pen) every Irish member to be directed in his public conduct by a conscientious discharge of his delegated duty—how then, is the proportion to be struck?—be cautious—this is the political wheel on which the imperial machine must move forward with ease, or be retarded in its progress! Is Great Britain superior in population and superior in riches, to admit an equal number of Irish representatives with the number she sends to Parliament?—No—but property in this question might fairly be left out of consideration---it is a fugitive good, and Ireland unquestionably would at this day have been possessed of more wealth had she actually possessed that British union of interests which her flatterers say she enjoys---it will be more liberal and better policy in Great Britain not to press the point of property. Let the proportion be drawn from the population of Ireland in reference to the population of Great Britain, taking the number of the British representatives as the just ratio for the British people. Every man in the land has an interest in the legislative body, because every man in the land is under the direction of the law,---he submits himself freely, for his own good, to its will---it is therefore that he contributes to the support of the constituted authorities, and makes a part of the mass that forms the power of the country :---If you estrange, by whatever means, the majority of that mass, you divide the power and endanger the community. Satisfy the people, and your union will be as immortal as the land on which they live.

By

By striking the proportion from the population you will also secure the representation of the property of Ireland, without invidiously setting the property of Great Britain against the wealth of Ireland as a reason for lessening her representation in the united Parliament. This will also meet the great measure of final emancipation to the Catholic; and render unnecessary any future augmentation of the delegated body. The population of Ireland is equal to half the population of Great Britain, the representation of Ireland should therefore be equal to half the representation of that country: this would be a representation of equity, of dignity, and of effect; Ireland would then from her equality of representation appear with her natural consequence in the imperial senate, and Great Britain would possess and feel the political and proper weight of her double number of members; equitably flowing from her double population.

This is the point, as to terms, the most important; the other branches of local regulation may have a fugitive effect, but this will have an eternity of consequence upon the satisfaction or discontent, the peace or war, the good or evil of the community. Rely upon it that reason will ultimately prevail;—the true question is, perfect union, general security, and liberal policy; or no union, insecurity, and political monopoly? there may be party opposition, there may be corporation clamour, but the question thoroughly understood, and the representation



representation of this land dignified and secured by equitable proportion, will speak convincingly to the honest heart of every honest and industrious man in the nation.

Such is the miserable working of your distinct system and its boasted independency, that the mass of the people, the strength of the land, the true power of the state, stand neuter on the measure; their silence is a proclamation of their feelings. You have the catholic\*, and the protestant is divided; he is divided, and why? not that union will destroy the British constitution in Ireland, for Ireland has not the British constitution! the sun is the vivifying principle of the world: his light, his warmth, and his benignant effects are unconfined, they are universal; the sentiment of 1782 was partial, it did not make Ireland free, it made the settlers, the protestants of Ireland theoretically independent of Great Britain, and it made the catholics of Ireland, the bulk of the people, practically dependent on the protestant government; it was not to Ireland the British Constitution; but it was a constituted monopoly of po-

\* Since this was written the *Catholics* of Dublin (or rather the *tail* of the Dublin Catholic party,) have come forward, and entered into resolutions against the measure of Union: the meeting was not attended by 300 Catholics; 300 is a paltry proportion of the Catholic inhabitants of Dublin, and when opposed to the *thousands* of Catholics who have *publicly expressed their approbation of the measure*, their opposition and its effect must be feeble indeed!

litical power to the exclusion of the people, and it is the struggle to maintain and perpetuate that political power which now divides the protestant into two classes, the liberal and the bigot; the enlightened statesman and the sombre exclusionist! Are we never to have the reign of peace and generous principle between man and man, till the arrival of the millennium? or is man presumptuously to assume the station of omnipotence, and mark with an eternal line the abasement of his brother? What! and shall the protestant, whose very name conveys his love of general freedom, shall he labour to reign paramount in the land at the expence of Irish liberty? No—reason will ultimately prevail, and the millennium of the land will be the *union of the people*, as the millennium of the empire will be the *union of its parts*!

Ye Legislators! you are the pilots that must navigate our vessel at this momentous period of her voyage; you have seen the horrors resulting from the mutinous spirit on board; although quelled, it is not subdued; you have the bodies in your power, but extermination appals humanity, and even policy forbids it, for they are the strength of the crew, there might be danger in the attempt, and without them you could not navigate the vessel—The British man of war heaves in sight—she insures your safety—your vessel was originally formed of planks from her prow—she is herself at this moment something in want of repair—she reminds you of the ancient connexion,  
and

and of your repeated declarations to swim or to sink in her company—she reminds you of the miserable distractions of your crew, encouraged by the ignorance of political bigotry, and fanned by the phrensy of religious fanaticism; she calls upon you loudly not to risk a total separation which a distinct navigation would indubitably produce: she wishes to save you from the French freebooters who swarm upon the main; she offers to take you on board as brothers, and so completely to blend her hull with yours, that the nicest eye should not be able to discover a difference; by mixing your crew with hers you strengthen both, and certainly secure your own salvation, for if you put to sea in your present state, with a mutiny on board, irons may do much, but where numbers prevail, punishment gives a compulsive ardour, and the spirit cannot be subdued: blend, therefore, blend with Britain, or your fate is inevitable; you will either be cut off, or perish on the fatal rocks of French fraternity.

Be wise, and seize the rope that your companion has thrown out to save you from sinking; seize it, and *pull together* till you board the Britannia and partake in the safe and undisturbed possession of her well constituted frame; that mighty vessel, trimmed by the consolidated weight of Ireland, would move forward in her course unimpeded by the storms of party, and impervious to the rash waves of republican experiment! “ Throw, says Mr. GRATTAN, your *abuses* overboard,

board, and ballast with your *people*." And so must every man say who wishes well to his country: now, you cannot ballast with your people till you have destroyed the abuses, till you have destroyed the monopoly, that forward and frightful abuse which bears on its front the flaming cause of all our civil distractions! yet destroy it and the danger seems to increase. What! ballast with the people? give them the power of the state? and let the destruction of the domineering principle lead to protestant annihilation?

Behold the horrid dilemma, the legitimate offspring of a crooked policy!—theoretical distinction; partial ascendancy; general subjugation; external influence; insecurity; rebellion! away with the horrors of a proscriptive establishment! as the laws are equal to all, so should the right to make those laws be equal to the whole\*;—To give the people their natural and rightful weight, yet still to maintain the protestant superiority, you must embrace a wide and liberal policy—you must sacrifice your phantom of independence on the altar of reason, and secure in return (for it is now within your grasp) the body of substantial freedom. You must look at the question of union in all its bearings, and open your mind to the conviction of your true situation—high sounding phrases and magnificent epithets may flatter a

\* The Author does not here inculcate the wild doctrine of universal suffrage, but that the right of representation should be open to all sects.

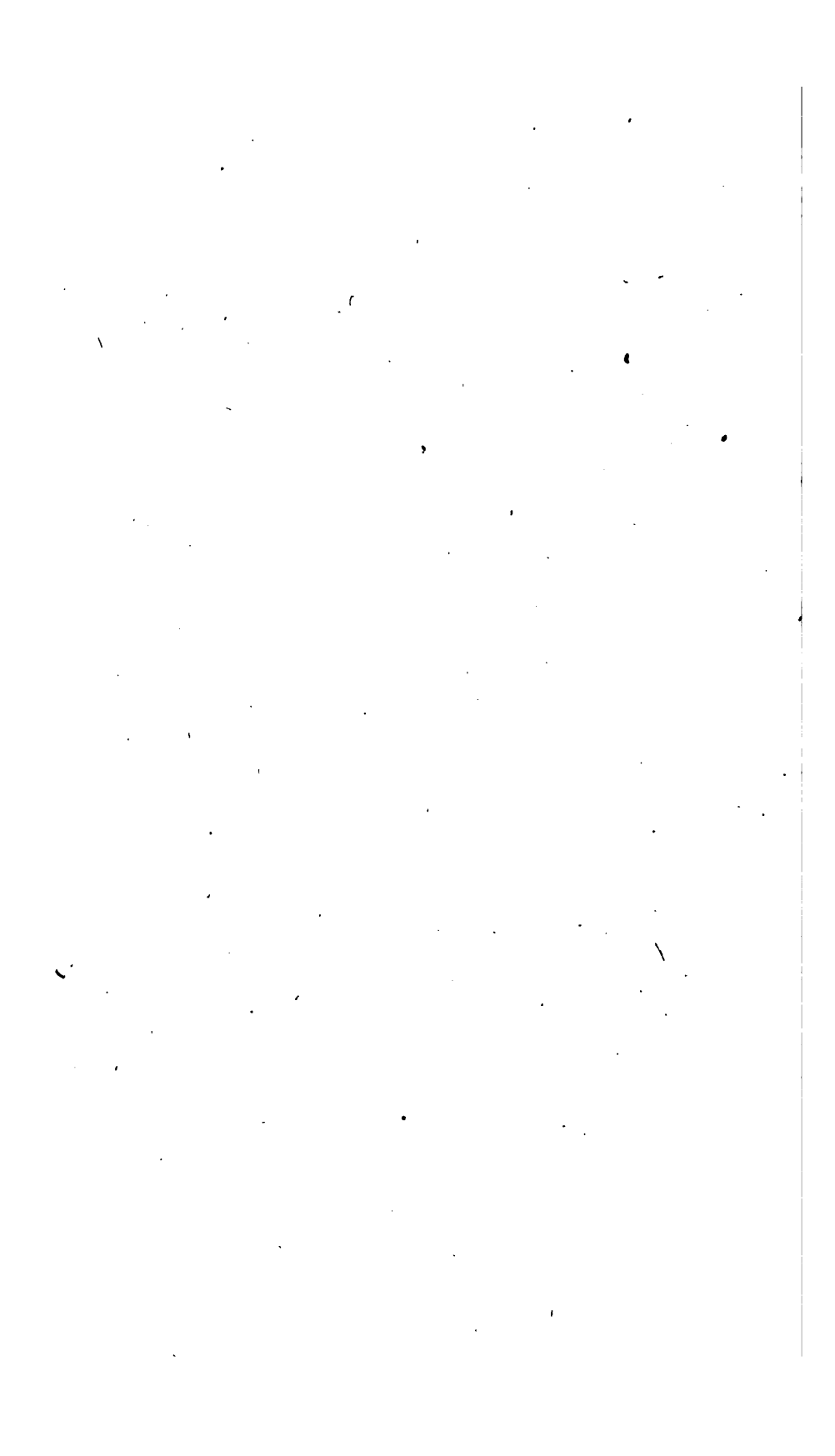
portion of the people, but they do not constitute liberty; the partial rights of that portion prove the dependence of the people, and the necessary influence of Britain proves the dependence of that portion. The country that depends upon another at one time for money to support her government, at another time for fleets and armies to protect her state, and at all times for the essential influence of commercial regulation, is not a *free* country; but if we add to this, that the country so described is divided in itself—that the government is distinct from the people, and the people from the government—that there is no binding principle between the governors and governed, but on the contrary, that the principle of the government is, and must be, to *taboo* the people—when these facts are notorious, and felt by the land, who but must exclaim, what a horrible system of policy, and what a shocking picture of constitutional freedom! Your state absolutely resting and depending for its existence on a foreign power, and your people bound by laws to which they do not consent, and therefore absolutely in the power of your state!

“Things cannot remain as they are”—there is a weight in the land which oppresses the people, and which they will, from the feelings of nature, perpetually endeavour to throw off: with this convulsive principle in your body politic, how can that body, or its members, hope for tranquility or security?—It is an eternal bar to both, and can you rest upon force?—No—force may prevail  
for

for a season, but where the tenure is held by compulsion, the legal right is abandoned, and possession will be regained by superior power.

“ Things cannot remain as they are ”—You must give “ a constitution to the people, and a people to the constitution ”—The hard and forbidding front of an excluding policy is the frightful parent of discontent, faction, rebellion; and its perpetuity is the perpetuity of those horrors which have (as Mr. Foster says) given Ireland a name among the nations!—Embrace a wide and liberal policy—we have survived the deluge; we have rested upon the Ararat of hope; we have wandered in the wilderness;—the political Pisgah is before us, and we have only to ascend and gain the promised land! But if we are a perverse and crooked generation, we shall be scattered into corners, and our folly shall become a jest among the nations of the earth!—Embrace a wide and liberal policy—You have a constitution without power, and a people without liberty; sacrifice the shadow for the possession of the substance; Incorporate with Britain, and let Union be the bond of National Good and Imperial Integrity.

F I N I S.



Third Edition.

1802  
Paper 6/6

AN

A N S W E R,

TO A

PAMPHLET

ENTITLED, THE

*Speech of the Earl of Clare,*

ON THE SUBJECT OF

A LEGISLATIVE UNION,

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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By HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

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D U B L I N :

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

1800.



The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be clearly documented, including the date, amount, and purpose of the transaction. This ensures transparency and allows for easy reconciliation of accounts.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. This includes direct observation, interviews with key personnel, and the use of specialized software tools. The goal is to gather comprehensive information that can be used to identify trends and areas for improvement.

The third section provides a detailed overview of the findings from the data analysis. It highlights several key areas where performance is strong, as well as specific challenges that need to be addressed. The author suggests several strategies to overcome these challenges, such as implementing new processes and providing additional training for staff.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the overall findings and a set of recommendations for future action. It stresses the importance of continuous monitoring and evaluation to ensure that the implemented changes are effective and sustainable. The author expresses confidence that these measures will lead to improved efficiency and better overall results.

TO THE

*P R I N T E R.*

I HAVE seen a pamphlet, purporting to be written on the Union, and published in the name of the Earl of Clare. The speech of the Noble Earl, delivered in the House of Lords, I have nothing to say to, but a publication is not a speech, and though it be the work of a member of Parliament, has no privilege. Whether his Lordship be the author, I have no authority, save the assumption of the publication, to affirm; but the pamphlet contains against several, with whom I have acted, charges, the most direct, and against myself, for the last 20 years, charges the least qualified and insinuations, the most deep. What is yet worse it tends to lower the

the

the character of the Country, and to tarnish the brightest passages of her history, as well as the memories of the persons concerned in those transactions. Matter so various and comprehensive, could not be regularly discussed in any debate that has come or is likely to come before the House of Commons: in the interval of business, I therefore resort to the only method of defence, the Prefs.

H. GRATTAN.

MR. GRATTAN will take no notice of any Answer, exception, coming from the Author of the Pamphlet.

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AN  
ANSWER,

&c. &c.

**O**F the work which it is proposed to answer nearly one third is the common place of Irish History: much of abridgement, much of misrepresentation, no new discovery, no new remark; the termini or landmarks of historic knowledge, remain precisely as they were, in their old sober station. What was long known before by many men, by many women, and by many children, the compendium of the studies of your childhood, this pamphlet reports to you, for the amusement of your age, without any other novelty, save that of misrepresentation. The idea is to make your history, a calumny against your ancestors in order to disfranchise your posterity: the execution is without the temper of a commentator or the knowledge of an historian.

We will begin with this performance, at the Irish parliament of James 1st. The author is now within 187 years of his

his subject. Ireland, says he, had no parliamentary constitution 'till that time. Here his pages only deserve attention, in order to vindicate the lineage of our liberties against slander. This statement is a transduction of the inheritance of the realm, a calumny against her antiquities and a falsification of her title. Lord Coke, the judges of England, the records of Ireland, the *modus tenendi parliamentum*, the statute-book, the extent of acts of Parliament before the reign of James throughout the realm, and the act of annexation among others, answer him : from all those you find that Ireland had a Parliament from the beginning, and that the legislature was not of the Pale, but of the nation.\*

The boldness of this assertion is rendered the more remarkable by the distinguished feebleness of its reasoning. The pamphlet attempts to prove that to be true in argument which is false in fact, and its argument is, that James 1st generalized Irish representation, by forty private boroughs, that is, that he rendered representation general, by making it particular. It teaches you to think, that it was James instead of Eliz. who created the 17 Counties, and not the 40 boroughs, by him erected to counteract that county representation, in order to pack a Parliament, a traffic which this work seems disposed to admire. It conceives that the legislature was not general, because the representation was not so; it should have said, that the legislature being general, the representation ought to be so. It discovers two ideas of a new and extraordinary nature on this subject that Parliament is confined by the bounds of representation, and that national representation is extended by

\* See the speech of the late secretary of State, Mr. Hutchinson, on the subject of parliamentary reform, in the parliamentary debates of 93. It is a complete answer to the pamphlet on this part of the subject. See extract from it at the end.

by the creation of private boroughs: and for this paradoxical idea of Parliament, and this paradoxical idea of representation, it offers you nothing like extent of erudition, or force of imagination: the art of modern war says the pamphlet, is to traduce the house of Stewart; the art of modern court loyalty, it might have added, is to praise the principle of the Stewart and to plant it in the House of Hanover.

The pamphlet now comes to its own times, and it is to be remarked, that as it dwelt on the past with all the fury and prejudices of the present time, so it expatiates on the present, with as much error and mistake, as if it were treating of the remotest antiquity. It states the adjustment of 82, to be described by its author as follows; "that it emanated from the armed convention assembled at Dungannon, was approved at county meetings of the people, armed and unarmed, and was sanctioned and registered by the Irish Parliament." No such thing, nor any thing like it, did its author say, nor suggest, nor hint; and this statement of the pamphlet is not misrepresentation, nor misinterpretation, but palpable invention, did not the pamphlet assume the name of a judicial character, I would say, downright fabrication; I respect and admire the meeting at Dungannon, but the subjects of 82 did not emanate from thence; two years before were they discussed in Parliament, they were discussed on the 19th of April, 1780, on a motion made by myself, and in the course of that session, and of the next session, repeatedly and fully; they were adopted by different counties, and various descriptions of men, and they finally passed the Parliament. Such is the history; the pamphlet falsifies the history, to blemish a great transaction, and attributes that falsification to me in order to blemish an individual.

We

We follow the work where it will be perhaps more fortunate. It objects on the question of the claim of right to the declarations of the Volunteers; their character now, it seems, it professes to admire; their conduct however (this was the most leading part of the conduct, of the old Volunteers,) it condemns; the inconsistency of setting up a character, and putting down a conduct, is glaring, but in a work pregnant with every thing which is exceptionable, hardly deserves notice. But will any man seriously say, that those bodies should not have come forward at that time with resolutions in favour of a claim of right? does any man mean to affirm that we could have established that claim without them? If so, he is a mistaker of the truth. Does any man mean to say, that the claim did not deserve to be established? if so, he is a slave; and in neither case does he deserve an answer. To have countenanced resolutions essential to the establishment of your constitution, and to have opposed any further interference, when that constitution was established, was the duty and the pride of them by whom the business of 82 was conducted. By the first step they procured the constitution; by the second, they saved the government; and in both they deserved well of their country, and are placed far above the reach of the author of this little performance, its little censure or its little praise. We thought that at that time, as in the period of *magna charta*, armed men might make declarations to recover liberty, and having recovered it, we thought they secured their glory as well as their freedom, by retiring to cultivate the blessings of peace.

The pamphlet has further objections; it condemns the expedition with which the claim of right was established, it calls for discussion, and delay—to do what? to debate whether the English Parliament had a right to make laws for  
Ireland

Ireland ; whether the privy councils in both countries should alter your bills, or whether the mutiny bill should be perpetual ? why, for the two preceding years, these subjects had been, and little other than these subjects had been, debated. The pamphlet has proved to you, however, the necessity of expedition, by its argument for delay ; for it explains to you, that we were to delay the question, in order to sell it, that is, in order to diminish, clog, and condition your claim of right : you were to delay, the pamphlet explains, in order to preserve to the Parliament of England, over this country, a share of legislative power, and the pamphlet administers additional arguments against its project of delay, by shewing you, that the viceroys of that time was intriguing against your favourite measures, and it gives you still further arguments against delay, by suggesting that there were certain gentlemen at that time, who would not with their lives have supported their liberties ; it might have added, nor with their votes : perfectly well do we understand the author ; and this pamphlet might have added, with peculiar authority, that there were certain young gentlemen at that time, ready to barter honour for office, and liberty for chains. It was therefore, we did not listen to the idea of delay ; we did not chuse to set up the inheritance of the people of Ireland to auction ; we were applied to for delay, and we refused it ; we thought the 16th of April was the day of the Irish Nation, and we were determined not to sleep, until laying our heads on the pillow, we could say, this day Ireland has obtained a victory.

Seeing then, that the constitution was established without delay, or barter, or auction, the pamphlet does not despair, it has a cure; viz. corruption ; it does not indeed set forth corruption in words, but it does amply and broadly in idea.



The expressions are these: "the only security for national concurrence is a permanent and commanding influence of the English executive, or rather English cabinet in the councils of Ireland." By councils of Ireland it means, and professes to mean, nothing less than the Parliament, see page 45. Here is the necessary substitute, it seems, for the British Parliament—here is the half million—here is the dependency of the Irish Parliament avowed as a principle; here breaks out of the taint and fore of that unfortunate system, whose rankness the pamphlet seems to have deeply inhaled, and with whose political incense it now deigns to regale our nostrils and its own; here is acknowledged the truth of the complaint of the opposition, namely, that the British minister some years after the settlement of 1782, wished, through his agents here, to filch back our Constitution of 1782, so honourably and nobly obtained, and to resume by fraud what had been obtained by treaty. In vain shall a minister come forth in sounding words, such as national concurrence or national connexion, and wrap himself up in the threadbare coat of zeal for empire, to stab his country to the heart; such arguments are not to be answered but punished, and when any man shall avow that he has no idea of governing in this country without rendering her Parliament by the means of influence, perfectly dependent on Great Britain, he avows not his profligacy only, but his incapacity also. Such a minister could not govern without corruption; he could not govern with it; he might indeed begin by attempts to pack a Parliament, but he will conclude by an attempt to abolish the legislature.

To return to the pamphlet. On the subject of the claim of right, the author seems to have three parental ideas; First, That the Volunteers should have made no declaration on the subject: Secondly, That the question should have been left

left open to delay : and Thirdly, That the British cabinet should succeed to the power of the British Parliament. By the first plan the constitution had been lost, by the second fold, and by the third corrupted. We follow the pamphlet ; it states, that the adjustment of 1782 was described by the author of it as follows ; then he introduces a description which certainly was given by its author, but which was not a description of the adjustment of the parliament of 1782, but of a parliament that sat 187 years ago, and which was assembled by James I. in the year of our Lord 1613. Here again is that of which we have so often reason to complain in this work invention ; true it is, that the boroughs created by James I. have had their effect on posterity, and true it is, that those boroughs continue to send members to parliament ; so far the parliament of 1782 and of 1613 had a similitude ; but it is not true that the parliament of 1782 was a packed parliament like that of 1613 ; it is not true that the representatives of the boroughs were either attorneys clerks or the servants of the Castle as in 1613 ; nor is it true that the boroughs of 1782 resembled those created by James in 1613 ; and so far the two parliaments have no similitude. Mr. Burke, speaking to me of some country that had prospered under a constitution consisting of three estates, but estates defectively formed, observed, " that it was of the nature of a constitution so formed as ours, however clumsy the constituent parts, when set together in action, ultimately to act well," so of that in question. The boroughs, in a course of time, ceased to be under the influence of the king, and the constitution took root in the people ; the crown became dependant for supply on the parliament, and the parliament by the octennial bill, became more intimately connected with the country ; but however altered, depurated, and naturalized, this borough system

system was an evil still; in 1613 it was corruption—in 1800 it may be Union. The author of the pamphlet has not thought much on these subjects; 'tis astonishing how shallow is that little performance; it charges my description of the parliament of 1613, as my description of the parliament of 1782—that is, it makes a false inference, on its false inference, it makes a false comparison, and the folly of its own inference and the fallaciousness of its own comparison, it attributes to another person. We follow the work. It affirms that the rivals of Mr. Flood had agreed in 1782 to support a draft of a clandestine bill or treaty for imperial legislation which the pamphlet describes, and adds that they sacrificed to flimsy and corrupt popularity the peace of ages, &c. &c. Here are two assertions which I do affirm publicly, and in the most unqualified manner contain not one syllable, or tittle, or shadow of fact; the two assertions are wholly and most absolutely destitute of foundation. The author of the pamphlet is called upon to support them—he has access to the Duke of Portland, to many of the cabinet of 82, in both countries, and to the official and the un-official agents of that time.

We have seen with what liberality the pamphlet asserts, we will now see with what economy it reasons, and certainly its falter in fact must prejudice its authority in logic. It denies the settlement of 82 to have been final; the words of the settlement are as follows: "His Majesty recommends it to take into consideration the discontents and jealousies prevailing in Ireland, in order to come to such a *final* adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms"—See his Message to the respective Parliaments.—Parliament declares, "that no body of men whatever has any right

to make laws for Ireland, save only the King, Lords, and Commons thereof, that this is the birth-right of the people in which the essence of their liberty exists, and which we cannot surrender but with our lives"—See Address of the Irish Commons 16th of April.—"His Majesty has recommended the subject to his Parliaments of both kingdoms, trusting that their wisdom will recommend measures as may terminate in a final adjustment"—See his Majesty's answer.—"the British legislature has concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies—the intention of the king, and willingness of the British Parliament come unaccompanied with any stipulation or condition whatever."—See the Duke of Portland's speech, 27th May.—"We conceive the resolution for an unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of Geo. I. to be a measure of justice and wisdom, worthy of the British Parliament, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity—gratified in these particulars, no constitutional question will exist between the two countries to interrupt their harmony"—See Irish Commons Answer 27th May.—"We rejoice that the name of Portland will be handed down as blended with a full and perfect establishment of the constitution of Ireland"—See Commons Address to his Excellency same day.—"His Majesty assures his Commons of his affectionate acceptance of their acknowledgments of his Majesty's and the British Parliament's attention to their representation, and which they so justly consider as furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.—The declaration that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist that can interrupt their harmony, are very pleasing to him"—See the King's Answer to Irish Address of 27th May.—"We have seen this great national arrangement established on a basis which secures the tranquility of Ireland, and

and unites the affections as well as the interests of both kingdoms"—See Commons Address at the close of the session of 1782, "Convince the people of your several counties that the two kingdoms are now inseparably one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution and unity of interest—that every just cause of jealousy is removed—that the two nations have pledged their faith, and their best security will be an adherence to that compact." See the second speech of the Lord Lieutenant at the close of the session and the adjustment.

Here is the record; the pamphlet proposes to do away the force of record by the force of intrigue, and to set up a private correspondence of the then Lord Lieutenant against a public act. It produces an intrigue carried on with a view to clog the settlement, as sufficient not to condition or interpret, but to over-hawl and overset it;—it does not make the covenant conclusive on the insincerity of the Viceroy, but the insincerity of the Viceroy conclusive against the covenant—as if it were possible to construe away the obligation of a deed of trust by a private protest of the trustee, or as if treaties between two nations were to be set aside by the private letter of the Envoy. It goes further, it gives the private intrigue an extent which the intrigue itself never affected—it makes the correspondence, containing a wish pending the adjustment and before its conclusion, to condition the Irish claim of right, tantamount to a public protest purporting to render it final in nothing.—The pamphlet states, "That all the parties looked on the adjustment of 1782 as leading to a future political treaty."—Would any one believe, would any one conceive that the alleged author of that pamphlet should be ignorant of the parties to that treaty, that he should not know they were the King and the respective

spective Parliaments of the two countries; and that they were not, as he imagines, the individuals concerned in bringing that treaty to a conclusion?

But the author is ignorant of the sentiments of those individuals, as well as of the nature of the treaty. Thus Mr. Fox's sentiments the pamphlet has misrepresented; *he* has declared that he wished to make the best terms he could for Great Britain; but as Ireland would not condition her independence, he gave up the second proposition. It has mistated the sentiments of General Fitzpatrick; *he* declares that he was totally ignorant of the dispatch of the Duke of Portland, and that he had at the very time assured the Irish Parliament, in the name of the Government which he then represented, that no farther measure was intended. He has mistated Mr. Grattan's sentiments, who publickly declares that every part of the assertion, as far as relates to him, is totally unfounded, without a shadow of colour or pretence; and calls on the author to support his assertions. But I think I could quote *another* authority against this pamphlet; it is another pamphlet in the name of the same author published in 1798; which charges the people of Ireland and the opposition with a breach of faith in agitating certain political and commercial questions, after the kingdom had come to a final settlement with England, "A settlement so complete and satisfactory as to render a revival of political or constitutional controversies utterly impossible."

That pamphlet accordingly quotes the address of 1782; declaring that all constitutional questions between the two countries should cease, and it extends the word *constitutional* to mean all *commercial* questions; and it extends the words *between the two nations* to mean questions *between the administration and the country*. This interpretation by  
the

the pamphlet of 1798, was as extravagant as the *opposite* interpretation by the pamphlet of 1800, in the name of the same author. The author is *there* made to differ from Mr. Pitt, and to say that the adjustment went to every thing; the author is *here* made to differ from himself, which is much less surprising, and to say that the adjustment extended to nothing. But here I must observe, that it is the *argument* only that is inconsistent, the sentiment is perfectly uniform; it advanced covenant against national redress, and it now advances the will of the minister against covenants. Thus has this pamphlet on the subject of a national treaty, expatiated with extraordinary vehemence and confidence without knowing its purport, without knowing who were the parties, without knowing who should be the parties, without knowing what were the sentiments of the parties; in direct contradiction to the sentiments of the principal agents, and to the spoken, written and printed opinion of the alleged author of the publication.

We follow the work; having denied a covenant which did exist, it fabricates a covenant which never had any existence whatsoever; it asserts, page 47, that an alliance offensive and defensive, was formed by certain parties in both countries to play the independence of Ireland against their antagonists; 2dly, it affirms the principal object of that alliance to be, to guard against any settlement which might cut off the sources of jealousy and discontent between the two nations. I do aver in the most solemn, public and unqualified manner, that there is not the least foundation, colour or pretence for either of those assertions; and it is with great pain I feel myself forced to declare, that they are absolutely and wholly destitute of any foundation, in fact or in truth; I refer to these facts—

Imme-

Immediately after the settlement of 1782, the English part of this pretended alliance went into opposition; the Irish part of this pretended alliance, till 1785, supported the government, and some of them, for years after; the English part of this pretended alliance opposed the French treaty; the Irish part supported it; some of the English part of this pretended alliance opposed the war, the Irish part supported it. Here then is a publick proof of the falsehood of the first position. We are furnished with further means of falsifying the second.

The original propositions that passed the Irish Parliament in 1785, were that very settlement which the pamphlet describes, that is, a settlement purporting to cut off the sources of any remaining discontent and jealousies between the two nations, and they had our warmest support. So that the pamphlet has been so indiscreet and ill advised as to advance and affirm two criminal charges positively and publickly, having, within the reach of its author's knowledge, certain facts, proving the falsehood of those very charges, at the very time they were so injudiciously advanced.

The author is called upon to support them; he must have access to the Duke of Portland, to Mr. Pelham, and to many of those who must have been parties in this pretended alliance. They are not our friends, they are his.

The work proceeds to state, but not to state fairly or fully, the propositions; and I cannot but again observe, that these frequent mistakes in fact must create a prejudice against its logic. The best way of answering misrepresentation is by reciting the fact. The original ten propositions were formed with the consent of the British cabinet; they were the work (at least the first nine) as I



understand of a gentleman of this country, and they shewed in their ability and their compass; the hand of a master. A tenth was added, which stipulated for revenue to be given by this country to Great Britain; that 10th was altered in the cabinet in Ireland and divided into two resolutions, the 1st declaring that no Irish revenue should be given to England until all Irish charges were previously satisfied; the 2d, that the Irish revenue should be raised to the Irish expences. The Irish ministry took the new revenue and the English Parliament altered the original proposition. Pending these alterations, some members of our house spoke on the subject, and pledged themselves that they should on the return of the propositions give them opposition in case they should be altered even in an iota. I recollect Mr. Foster speaking to that point, he did not so pledge himself, but I perfectly recollect that the then attorney general did; the pamphlet has given reasons for the inconstancy of his sentiments, give me leave to justify the uniformity of mine. The bill founded on the altered propositions departed from the original ones in the following particulars: it stipulated for a perpetual revenue bill it stipulated in certain leading and essential matters for a covenant of referential legislation, it included in that covenant four articles of American commerce, it stipulated for the reduction of our duties of protection on cotton among others, and it gave us nothing in substance but the re-export trade which we have gotten without it. To the public it is sufficient to say so much, to the pamphlet it is unnecessary to say any thing; but when that pamphlet calls opposition to those altered propositions a breach with England and a sacrifice of the common interest on the altar of faction, the author should be reminded, that the person whose name it assumes had pledged himself to oppose those altered propositions; that is, according to the pamphlet, to cause that breach with England and to make that sacrifice on the altar

of

of faction; and also that a great part of the present cabinet of England did actually execute what the pamphlet calls a breach with England, and sacrificed the common interest on the altar of faction—Lord Auckland, the Duke of Portland and most of his connexions. But we stand in need of no authorities; did we, I should quote Mr. Denis Daly, the then muster master, who declared he could not support the altered propositions. The truth is, the opposition to the bill which comprehended them, was no breach with England, however there might indeed mix in the debate an offensive disposition to contrast the two nations; but we must always distinguish between the nature of the question itself and the craft of the expectant flattering the court of England by reviling his own country for his private advantage.

We follow the pamphlet to the regency, and here its charge against the country is not her conduct but her power. The pamphlet reprobates the right of Ireland to choose a regent; now, she is not responsible for the right but the exercise of it, and we have shewn that she exercised that right for the preservation of the monarchy, and the connection. The pamphlet states the power of choice to be tantamount to a power of separation; but who gave that power? it was the law; and who displayed that power? the minister; it was he who stated that the two houses of Parliament in case of regal incapacity could supply the deficiency exactly as they thought proper, when a servant of Government here maintained that the houses of the British Parliament could do more, and could provide for the deficiency in Ireland as well as in England, that is to say, could republicanize both countries. He did not make our situation better, nor give any great security to the monarchy or the constitution.

The

The pamphlet asserts, that if the proceedings of our Parliament could have any effect, we were separated for some weeks from England. Now if we were separated for an hour, it was not by the proceedings of Parliament, that is to say, by the address to the Prince, which never had effect, but by the indisposition of his Majesty, which had effect, and which alone had effect to suspend the royal function and of course the only connecting power of the two countries.

The pamphlet having confounded the proceedings of Parliament with causes which Parliament found but did not produce, proceeds to a gross misrepresentation of concomitant circumstances. It charges on the Parliament the crime of expedition, but it does not state the cause of it; one cause was the sedition of the Irish minister;—that ministry apprehended dismissal and were forming an opposition. The then representative of Majesty in Ireland was supposed to be employed at that time in canvassing for a party against the future Government with the king's commission in his pocket. Thus his Royal Highness would have been a regent in chains with a court in mutiny.

The pamphlet charges the commons at that time with disrespect to the king, marked by the limitation of the supply. The fact is true, but it is not true as the pamphlet states it—the commons abridged the grant of the supply because the King's minister in Ireland could not be trusted, and he could not be trusted for the following reasons:—because he had declared he would make certain members of Parliament victims of their votes, because he had censured the Parliament and the Parliament had censured him, and because one of his servants had pronounced in Parliament the necessity of resorting to the rankest corruption. It was for these reasons that Parliament did not think proper to trust either with the revenues of the country.

The

The pamphlet asserts, that the Irish Parliament proceeded without a tittle of evidence; it is not the fact. The pamphlet, indeed, acknowledges that its own charge is not true, by making another, namely, that the House of Commons did not attend to the evidence. Here it is as deficient in candour as before in fact; the case was, that the report of the physician regarding the state of his Majesty's health, had appeared before in every paper; it was a subject too interesting and too melancholy not to be perfectly known, and was read in the House, pro forma. On this part of the subject, the pamphlet is, in an eminent degree, indecorous and licentious, when it speaks of the House of Commons; nor is it less so when it speaks of the persons concerned in the proceedings of that time; as of a set of men who had accomplished a breach between Great Britain and Ireland, and had committed (I think the words of the charge are), *enormities*. The persons guilty of those enormities were some of the present servants of the crown, a majority of two Houses of Parliament, several bishops, a great part of the present cabinet of England, the Duke of Portland and his party, Lord Spencer, who was to have been Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Pelham, who was to have been his Secretary—were it not presumptuous, I might ascend much higher.

An alliance to play against England the independency of Ireland, whose basis was to prevent measures of concord—a breach made between the two countries in 85, and now their enormities in the address on the regency, are charges against the Duke of Portland's party very unfounded and very puerile, but made with great boldness by the author, who seems to enjoy a genius for crimination, which in its extent and extravagance, becomes harmless. The pamphlet charges on that period much indecorum. I do lament it.

“ You

“ You have set up a little king of your own, said a principal servant of the crown, speaking to the House of Commons, and talking of his Prince with the vulgar familiarity with which one slave would salute his fellow.” “ Half a million or more was expended some years ago, to break an opposition, the same or a greater sum may be necessary now”; so said the principal servant of the crown. The House heard him, I heard him, he said it standing on his legs to an astonished House, and an indignant nation, and he said so in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on, the peerage was sold, the cariffs of corruption were every where, in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all. Hence arose the discontents of which the pamphlet complains—against such proceedings, and the profligate avowal of such proceedings, against the consequences that followed—they were many and bloody, we did then, and we beg now to enter once more our solemn protest.

Could that nation, who had refused to obey the legislative power of the British Parliament, who had armed for her defence and her freedom, who had recovered her trade, reinstated her constitution, and acquired a great, and it shall not be my fault, if it be not an immortal name—could they who had taken a part for that nation, in all her glorious acquisitions—could the nation or such men, could both forget themselves, and support a rank instrument of power, and become its little comrade, and its copander in its dirty doings, in the sale of the peerage, conspiracies against Parliament, and its vile and vulgar abuse of the people.

A pamphlet

A pamphlet of 98, published in the name of the same author, is pleased to mention, that the experiment of conciliation had been fully and abundantly tried, and it particularly instances, the acknowledgement of our Parliamentary constitution—it was an experiment, magnanimous on the part of Great Britain, and her then minister, and we ought to take this public opportunity, of making acknowledgements to both, but we must lament, that their noble purposes were counteracted, and their wise experiment betrayed by a calamitous ascendency in the Irish Cabinet, from 89 of the above councils, at once fervile and insolent who had opposed the establishment of the Irish Constitution, and scarce were they placed in power, when they planned its overthrow, set up a counter experiment, or conspiracy, to undo what England thought she had recognized, and Ireland thought she had secured, that very parliamentary constitution, our bond of connexion, and pledge of peace, and took two methods to accomplish their crime, both of which, they proclaimed with much public immodesty, but without danger; a project to pack a Parliament and a project to abolish it.

We follow the work, it complains of the Whig Club, the minister was the author of it—his doctrine, and his half million were the authors of it, but Clubs of this kind are only preserved by violence, that violence did happen—an attack was made on the rights of the city, a doctrine was promulgated, that the common council had no right to put a negative on the Lord Mayor, chosen by the board of Aldermen, except the board itself should assent to the negative put on its own choice, this doctrine was advanced by the court, to secure the election of the mayor to itself; in the course of the contest, a minister involved himself in a personal altercation with  
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the citizens—with Mr. Tandy, he had carried on a long war, and with various success—he was now involved in an altercation more general, in the compass of his wrath—he paid his compliments to the Whig Club, and that club advanced the shield of a free people over the rights of the city, and humbled a minister in the presence of those citizens whose privileges he had invaded, and whose persons he had calumniated. The pamphlet charges the club with a crime on account of a publication on the subject of the poor, pending a probable invasion—idle charge. At this time of a probable invasion, is a society formed for the very purpose of investigating their condition with some of the officers of state, and several clergy at its head.—At such a time did some of the English clergy publish treatises proving, that the peasantry could not live by their labour—did the author read a very learned pamphlet in favor of the Union, published by Mr. Douglass, at a time of apprehended invasion, recommending Union as the best means of relieving the lower order from the oppression of the rich, and then he quotes Adam Smith—did the author read Mr. Pitt's pamphlet, published pending an apprehended invasion and condoling with the peasantry of Ireland, on the great *practical grievance* of tythes? But to have done with such trifling, we follow the work to its charge against the propounders of the reform plan of 97—the work sets forth two plans, that of those gentlemen, and that of the United Irishmen—they differ in the following essentials—the plan of the former left the counties as they are, the former did not propose to annualize Parliament—the former rejected the idea of personal representation, the former did not propose to abolish the oath taken by the elector. What then did the former do—it destroyed boroughs, and it proposed to supply their place by the present freemen and freeholders, that is, by those whom the law calls

calls the Commons—it created no new constituency, but it did what every plan of reform professes to emulate—it gave representation to the constituency, that is, to the Commons in the place of the monopolist—when I say it made no new constituency—I beg to make an exception, it introduced in the place of the potwalloper as he is termed; substantial leaseholders and substantial householders, that is, it gave property more weight, and population distinct from property less weight—on the whole it took away the monopolist and the potwalloping rabble, and communicated the representation of the kingdom to the proprietors thereof, as constituted its electors by law, or as entitled to become such by a property greater than the law had required.

The effect of this plan had been to prevent an Union; if we are to advert to the evidence of the prisoner examined by the Houses of Parliament, it had been to prevent a rebellion, and to break off a French connection. When the pamphlet sets forth that Mr. O'Connor, &c.\* approved of this plan it should have stated the whole truth, or have stated nothing; it has done neither. It has suppressed their declaration which was, that had that plan taken place, they would have broken off their connection with France.

Neither the history of that reform, nor the history of any public measure, does the writer set forth. A plan of reform

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\* The author is pleased to term Mr. O'Connor our *unreserved* friend—in his manifesto, shewed to the Irish government for permission to publish, Mr. O'Connor sets forth that save only on the question of reform, he had no communication with us of any kind whatever—that manifesto must have been read by the author of the pamphlet, who thus makes another charge he should have known to be groundless, and which he is now called on to maintain. We do not call for legal evidence, but if the author has any evidence at all, such as would convince an honest man of the truth of any of those charges, or justify an honest man in making them, he is called upon and requested to produce that evidence.



had been proposed in 93, and debated in 94. It was objected first, that the plan did not give satisfaction; in that the most vehement partizans of parliamentary reform had signified their disapprobation—secondly, that the plan opened the way to another plan or to the project of personal representation. It became highly expedient before any other plan was submitted to the consideration of Parliament, to be able to assure that august body, that such plan would give general satisfaction, and put an end to the project of personal representation. The persons concerned in the forming that plan, did accordingly obtain from the north of Ireland, and moreover from the advocates of personal representation, authority to declare in Parliament, that if the plan of 97 should pass, they would rest satisfied. If a further answer to the author be necessary, it is his own avowal of his own principle, viz. that no Irish representation at all is necessary, and that he should be satisfied to be governed by the English Parliament, without a single representative. With such a person, I shall no further discuss the subject of representation.

We follow the work to the Catholic question: It is pleased to quote me as follows, "Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war, your physical consequence exists in a state of *seperation from England, &c.*" I am extremely sorry to be obliged to declare again what I have been compelled to do so often; that this paragraph published as mine by the author of the pamphlet, is not misinterpretation, not misrepresentation, but *palpable fabrication*. I never said nor published, that the physical consequence of any part of his Majesty's subjects existed in a state of *seperation from England*, nor any thing that would warrant that interpretation; but I did say the reverse—that as our domestic security consisted in concord with another, so our security

security against an invader from abroad, depended on our connexion with Great Britain. On this expression then boldly attributed to me, but which I never delivered, the author founds two charges as destitute of truth and unreal as the foundation on which they rest—a charge of revolution and jacobinism. The author in a production [redacted] his name, in one of the public papers, is made to say that a certain party had resorted to the Catholic Bill as a new subject of discontent, after the Place and Pension Bill had been conceded: here again I am forced to lament the necessity of declaring that this assertion also is totally and absolutely destitute of foundation—and I will prove its departure from the fact, by the proceedings of Parliament. The first Catholic Bill after that of 1782, passed in 92—the second, early in the session of 93—and the place and pension bill did not pass till the close of it, so that the *refutation* of the charge, appears on the rolls of Parliament. As to the last Catholic Bill, they to whom he alludes, did not resort to it as a new subject of discontent to annoy the government, being at that time themselves the administration—it follows, there is an arithmetic and moral impossibility of the truth of this charge of the author. I beg indulgence in addition, to state a few facts—the Catholics were not excited to come forward by an opposition, they were induced to come forward by Mr. Mitford's Bill in 91—they came at the latter end of the session of that year to some of our party, myself among others, to know whether we should not advise them to petition Parliament for further indulgences—my answer was, I am your friend, but go to the Secretary and consult him; don't narrow your cause to the fate of an opposition and a minority. I give this advice as a friend to your body—in the winter of 91, I was applied to Mr. R. Burke with a request to know my sentiments on the Catholic subject, which I did not disclose to him, declaring at the same time, my good wishes to the Catholic body, and

on the opening of the session, in January 92, I gave the Catholic a decided support. Forgetting this, the pamphlet quotes a declaration, " that the Catholics could not induce any one member of Parliament to patronize their petition. This declaration was published, December, 92, and the author charges from thence, that until the petition was recommended by ministers, we had been catholic persecutors. That charge also is a departure from fact, I remember giving in support of the catholic petition, and claims a decided voice and vote in 1792.

In January, 93, their claims came recommended from the throne, and in supporting their bill so recommended; I observed, that however, I might think it were judicious to go farther, I did think the bill communicated, most important rights. In the session of 94, the catholic subject was not mentioned, but in summer, on a change being made in the British Cabinet, being informed by some of the leading persons therein, that the administration of the Irish department was to belong to them, and that they had sent for us to adopt our measures, I stated the catholic emancipation, as one of them. Thus the charge that we were originally persecutors of the catholics appears to be a departure from the fact. Thus the charge that we took up the catholics after the passing of the place and pension bill, as Irish matter of opposition, appears likewise to be a departure from fact. The proofs are in the proceedings of Parliament.

The pamphlet of 98, in the authors name, has said, that the experiment of conciliation was abundantly tried. Here is the second experiment, and here it is but just, to acknowledge the wisdom of his Majesty, and the benignity of his intentions,

intentions, when he was graciously pleased to recommend the Catholics in 1793, in his speech from the Throne, To that this body thus royally patronized, might be attached not only to the constitution, whose privileges they were to participate, but to the great personage, also, at whose special interposition, they were thus parentally, and majestically recommended. But as in the first experiment, the people of England, so in the second, was his Majesty betrayed, by those infatuated, weak, and pernicious counsels, which had been in 89, the instruments of political corruption, and now became the horn of religious discord.

I will give the learned author every advantage, and suppose contrary to my fixed and unalterable opinion, the policy of excluding the Catholics from the Constitution; yet should I nevertheless condemn the hostile, and outrageous manner in which that exclusion, was defended, "If, says he, the Catholics do not subvert the protestant government, they must resist the ruling passions, and propensities of the human mind; they can never be cordially affected to his Majesty's Government. I am confident, the old roman superstition, is as rank in Ireland now, as in 41—the profound ignorance of the lower order, the general abhorrence of the protestant religion, by the people, qualify them to receive any impression their priests can make, and if their minds be divested of veneration for the priest, such is the ignorance, and barbarity of the people, that they would fall into a state of rude nature—the popish superstition is not confined to the lower order, it flourishes in full vigour, amongst the higher order."

This was the language, improper because not founded in fact, and impolitic and indecent in a minister, though the

the facts could support it. The best way to distinguish the indecorum of such speech, is to advert to a speech made on the same side of the question by a gentleman who said every thing that could be urged against their pretensions, without uttering a single syllable which could give offence to their persons, so that the Catholics might much more easily forgive the latter his vote, than the former his speech, and on a comparison of the two productions, you will see the eminent superiority of sense with temper over talents without it. There are two sides in this question which men of principle might take, for the measure or against it, but the ministry that took both parts could be justified by neither; the fact was, that the ministry encouraged the Protestants, and forsook them afterward; they brought forward the grand juries, and left them also—then to the Catholics—then to the Protestants—then back again to the Catholic, and then to the Protestants once more. This was a great mistake, but there was a greater, and that was to be found in those speeches and publications from a quarter in high confidence, which vilified the acts of concession in the moment of conferring them, and affecting to support the King's Government, called the bill he had recommended *an act of insanity*; the incoherent plan was erroneous, but this was infatuation, it was the petulance of power, it was the insolence of wealth, it was the intoxication of sudden and giddy elevation, breathing out on a great and ancient description of his Majesty's subjects, the phrenzy of his politics and the fury of his faith, with all the impoverished anger of a feverish and distempered intellect. It went to deprive the Protestant ascendancy of the advantage of temper, and of the graciousness of good manners which should always belong to the powerful sect; it went to deprive the state of a certain comeliness of deportment and mild dignity which should always belong to Government; it fought in the king's colours

lours against the king's benevolence, it went to deprive his Majesty of the blessings of gratitude and his people of the blessings of concord ; it went to corrode where the crown had intended to heal, and it curdled with the temper of the minister, the manna that was descending from the throne.

The argument that accompanied this invective was of little moment ; a man in a fury can't argue ; the weakness of his reasoning will be exactly in proportion to the strength of his passion.

Behold a melancholy example of the victory of human passion over the human understanding. The present danger of the papal power after the deposition of the Pope, the incompatibility of the real presence, and the worship of the Virgin Mary, with the interest of the House of Hanover and the incompetency of Parliament to alter the oaths of its own members, such are the author's arguments. However, if the pamphlet of 98 denies the competence of Parliament, here comes the pamphlet of 1800 to console you, and as the one sets the law above the law-maker, so the other sets the law-maker above the Constitution, and both together would prove that the legislature is incompetent to admit a Catholic, but is perfectly competent to destroy a Parliament.

We leave these arguments and the vehement spirit with which they are poured forth, and come to the close of the pamphlet and the beginning of the subject, the Union. Of 101 pages, 26 only are devoted to the question, the rest contain feelings, battles, and fores from a perpetual encounter with all descriptions of men and with patriotism in all ages. As the author scarcely argues the question of Union or indeed affects it, here I shall say but little ; however two great points  
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he would establish I beg to advert to. They contain positions which are not only glaringly unfounded but exceedingly dangerous: the 1st, that this country is unable to pay her establishments, 2d, that her Constitution is incompetent to provide for her security. He attempts to warrant his first by a statement affecting to prove that in three years if she was to continue without an Union, we shall owe 50,000,000l. He states that we borrow annually £,000,000, he should have stated that we borrow but 4,000,000; whatever capital we may create on each loan, he should have stated how much less we should borrow on the adoption of an Union. He should have stated that the projectors of the Union only proffered the payment of 1,000,000 of our war establishment, that the present year was provided for, that the saving in the two following years of war will be, according to this proffer, but 2,000,000, and the purchase of boroughs will be 1,500,000. He should have stated further that our war contribution was rated at 4,400,000, and that our present war expence was only 4,652,000, so that the proffer appears fallacious, and if we be unable to support our present war expence, we will be unable to support our war contribution, and the reader will observe the present war expence is an occasional war establishment, principally caused by insurrection, whereas the war contribution will in all probability be a permanent war contribution, except as far as it may be augmented\*. But there is an answer to his argument which is more decisive, it is his own argument in 1798 which is as follows: "First, as to the adequacy of the Constitution for the purpose of security and connexion, then for that of wealth and prosperity.

A Parliament

\* See Lord Farnham's most excellent pamphlet, and likewise his most judicious speech on the subject of Union.

“ A Parliament, perfectly distinct from, and independent of the other Parliament, forms a system the most critical and complicated ; to a common observer, utterly impracticable ; but experience has proved, that in the midst of popular turbulence, and in the convulsion of rancorous and violent party contests, the Irish Parliament, as it is now constituted, is fully competent to all political and beneficial purposes of Government ; that it is fully competent to protect this, which is the weaker Country, against encroachment, and to save the Empire from dissolution, by maintaining the Constitutional connexion of Ireland with the British Crown.”—Here is the refutation of his second great argument published by himself. Hear him conquer himself in his pamphlet of 98—here (page 5) he writes as follows “ there is not a Nation in the habitable globe, “ which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in “ agriculture and manufactures, with the same rapidity in “ the same period,”—speaking of Ireland since the Constitution of 82 viz. for the last 20 years.

Here we add nothing, but that the author has been, by his own account, recommending an Union for these eight years ; he has been, according to his own account, betraying the Constitution in the very moments of his panegyric.

On this important discovery let others expatiate ; to us it is more material to observe on his work, where it sets up our History against our Constitution, and the annals of the Parliament against its legislative capacity. To establish this, he has thought it prudent to advert to four periods, in which the greatest legislative questions were successfully discussed, and the greatest legislative abilities were triumphantly displayed.

This pamphlet quotes the period of 1753, and relates, that a question regarding a surplus in the treasury was



then started, to try the strength of two factions; which, in its consequence, transmitted a spirit, that afterwards degraded the Parliament; what, when, or where, this Parliamentary degradation appeared, we are at a loss to discover; this is not history, nor comment, nor fact, but it is a garbling of history to establish a conclusion the opposite of that which the history itself would administer; the principle then determined, the importance of that principle, the abilities displayed on the discussion of it, the real effect of both on the public mind, have escaped the pen of the historian; from that pen you would collect, that Mr. Malone and Mr. Pery were nothing more than two prize-fighters, embattled in the cause of faction, under two great state criminals, the Primate and Lord Shannon; that they agitated a matter of no moment, but that they propagated sedition of great moment, and fatal consequences to the next generation.

Having thus disposed of the Parliament, and the characters of 53, without the vexation of any study, or fordid obligation to fact, the pamphlet proceeds to dispose of the character of the House of Commons and the principal Gentlemen of the country for 15 years longer. It had before represented them as incendiaries, it here represents them as plunderers; it sets forth, that under the pretext of public improvement, the Commons plundered the country; and that their Parliament, to pay their Parliamentary following, plundered the treasury, until they imposed on the crown, the necessity of resorting for supply to Parliament; which the author most pathetically bemoans, and which he seems to think the only great grievance of the country.

Having given this History of Parliament, from (53) to (68) it advances to the administration of Lord Townshend;

friend, in which it seems to recollect nothing but the noise of opposition.

The pamphlet of 98, in the name of the author, had observed, that from the revolution of 82, the system adopted by those in whom the power resided (they were those, among others, whom he had just been pleased to reprobate, as incendiaries and plunderers) was to cement the connexion which had so long subsisted between Great Britain and Ireland, to their mutual advantage; the pamphlet of 1800 is pleased to observe, that the precedent of their government, was fatal; and that a system was formed on it, that would beat down any nation on earth; accordingly, it states, that the English Government opened their eyes, shook indeed the aristocracy, but generated a race of political adventurers, full of noise and indecorum. I think I have heard spruce authority as petulant and indecorous as young ambition. The attempts of the court to pack a Parliament at that period, the encrease of the establishment, for that purpose, the great abilities displayed, the altered money-bill, protests, prorogation, in short, the history of the period, once more escapes this historian. The learned author now approaches the year 79—the expedition of his march is very great, and very liberally does he leave untouched every thing behind him; he is arrived; and here he scarcely is stricken with any thing worthy his history, save only the weakness of Lord Buckinghamshire, in arraying the Volunteers, and the illiberality of the nation, in demanding a free trade; the pamphlet commends the Volunteers of that period; and yet I think I remember a young Barrister going forth in his cock-boat, and scolding the waves of that ocean, and the waves regarded him not. Certainly the Volunteers did take a most decisive part in the political and commercial question of that day. Well, he has done with the year 79; whatever he had to say on

the great questions then discussed, and on that most pregnant period, in a few lines he has said it ; history is nothing in his hands ; in his account of the Parliament of Ireland for 30 years, the learned author has five ideas, and those are all ; faction in 53 ; plunder till 68 ; then the noise of opposition ; then the weakness of government ; then the ungenerous proceedings of Parliament ; and as he before condemned your efforts to recover your trade, with oblique censure, so now he condemns your efforts to recover your constitution, with direct animadversion ; he calls the settlement of 82, the separation of a colony from Great Britain ; bold adulation of England, this ; the alleged author of the pamphlet, was in Parliament the 16th of April, 82 ; he made no objection to this separation ; he was in Parliament, the 27th of May, 82 ; he made no objection to the separation ; he wrote me a letter of congratulation at that time, on the success of that settlement ; he did not there mention this separation. Reading this publication now, and in the society of the two other pamphlets of the same name, every Irishman feels himself less a gentleman, and more a slave. The pamphlet in its oblique censure, and in its direct animadversion, disparages every great act, and every distinguished character in this country, for the last 50 years.

Mr. Malone, Lord Pery, late Lord Shannon, Duke of Leinster, the Mr. Ponsonbys, Mr. Brownlow, Sir William Osborne, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Daly, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Flood, Mr. Forbes, Lord Charlemont, and myself ; I follow the author through the graves of these honourable dead men, for most of them are so ; and I beg to raise up their tombstones, as he throws them down ; I feel it more instructive to converse with their ashes, than with his compositions.

Mr. Malone,

Mr. Malone, one of the characters of 53, was a man of the finest intellect that any country ever produced.—“The three ablest men I have ever heard, were Mr. Pitt, (the Father) Mr. Murray and Mr. Malone; for a popular assembly I would chuse Mr. Pitt; for a Privy Council, Murray; for twelve wise men, Malone.” This was the opinion which Lord Sackville, the secretary of 53, gave, of Mr. Malone to a Gentleman from whom I heard it. “He is a great sea in a calm” said Mr. Gerrard Hamilton, another great judge of men and talents; “aye,” it was replied, “but had you seen him when he was young, you would have said he was a great sea in a storm;” and like the sea whether in calm or storm, he was a great production of Nature.

Lord Pery, he is not yet canonized by death; but he, like the rest, has been canonized by slander. He was more or less a party in all those measures, which the pamphlet condemns; and indeed in every great statute and measure that took place in Ireland the last 50 years; a man of the most legislative capacity I ever knew, and the most comprehensive reach of understanding I ever saw; with a deep engraven impression of public care, accompanied by a temper which was tranquillity itself, and a personal firmness that was adamant; in his train, is every private virtue that can adorn human Nature,

Mr. Brownlow, Sir Wm. Osborne, I wish we had more of these criminals;—the former seconded the address of 82—and in the latter and in both, there was a station of mind, that would have become the proudest senate in Europe.

Mr. Flood, my rival, as the pamphlet calls him—and I should be unworthy the character of his rival, if in his  
grave

grave I did not do him justice—he had his faults; but he had great powers; great public effect; he persuaded the old, he inspired the young; the Castle vanished before him; on a small subject he was miserable; put into his hand, a distaff, and, like Hercules, he made sad work of it; but give him the thunder-bolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter; he misjudged when he transferred himself to the English Parliament; he forgot that he was a tree of the forest, too old, and too great to be transplanted at 50; and his seat in the British Parliament, is a caution to the friends of Union to stay at home, and make the country of their birth the seat of their action.

Mr. Burgh, another great person in those scenes, which it is not in the little quill of this author to depreciate.—He was a man singularly gifted—with great talent; great variety; wit, oratory, and logic; he too had his weakness;—but he had the pride of genius also; and strove to raise his country along with himself; and never sought to build his elevation on the degradation of Ireland.

I moved an amendment for a free export; he moved a better amendment, and he lost his place; I moved a declaration of right; “with my last breath will I support the right of the Irish Parliament,” was his note to me, when I applied to him for his support; he lost the chance of recovering his place, and his way to the seals, for which he might have bartered. The gates of promotion were shut on him, as those of glory opened.

Mr. Daly, my beloved friend—he, in a great measure, drew the address of 79, in favour of our trade; that “ungracious measure;” and he saw, read, and approved of the address of 82, in favour of Constitution; that address of “separation;” he visited me in my illness, at that

that moment, and I had communication on those subjects, with that man, whose powers of oratory were next to perfection; and whose powers of understanding, I might say, from what has lately happened, bordered on the spirit of prophecy.

Mr. Forbes, a name I shall ever regard, and a death I shall ever deplore—enlightened, sensible, laborious and useful—proud in poverty, and patriotic, he preferred exile to apostacy, and met his death. I speak of the dead, I say nothing of the living, but that I attribute to this constellation of men, in a great measure, the privileges of your country; and I attribute such a generation of men, to the residence of your Parliament.

The Ministers of the Crown, who, in the times related by the pamphlet, did the King's business, were respectable and able men; they supported sometimes acts of power, but they never, by any shocking declaration, outraged the Constitution; they adjusted themselves to the idea of liberty, even when they might have offended against the principle, and always kept on terms of decency with the People and their privileges; least of all, did they indulge in a terragant vulgarity, debasing, to a plebeian level, courts and senates, and mortgaging Irish infamy on a speculation of British promotion.

In the list of injured characters I beg leave to say a few words for the good and gracious Earl of Charlemont; an attack not only on his measures, but on his representative, makes his vindication seasonable; formed to unite aristocracy and the People, with the manners of a court and the principles of a patriot, with the flame of liberty, and the love of order, unassailable to the approaches of power, of profit, or of titles, he annexed to the love of freedom, a veneration

ration for order; and cast on the crowd that followed him, the gracious shade of his own accomplishments; so that the very rabble grew civilized, as it approached his person; for years did he preside over a great army, without pay or reward; and he helped to accomplish a great revolution, without a drop of blood.

Let slaves utter their slander, and bark at glory which is conferred by the People; his name will stand;—and when their clay shall be gathered to the dirt to which they belong, his monument, whether in marble, or in the hearts of his Countrymen, shall be consulted as a subject of sorrow, and a source of virtue.

Should the author of the pamphlet pray, he could not ask for his son, a greater blessing, than to resemble the good Earl of Charlemont; nor could that son repay that blessing by any act of gratitude more filial, than by committing to the flames his Father's publications.

I have attempted to vindicate the dead, let us now vindicate the Parliament. The question of 53, was the beginning, in this country, of that Constitutional spirit which asserted afterwards the privilege of the Commons, and guarded and husbanded the essential right of a free Constitution; the question was of its very essence; but the effect spread beyond the question, and the ability of the debate, instructed the Nation, and made her not only tenacious of her rights, but proud of her understanding. There might have been party—there might have been faction, mixing with a great public principle; so it was in the time of Ship Money;—so it was in the revolution;—in these instances the private motive mixed with the public cause; but still it was the cause of the public and the cause of liberty; in great moral operations as well as in the great operations of Nature, there is always a degree of waste and

and overflow; so it is with the sea; shall we therefore pronounce the ocean a nuisance? thus, afterward, in the time which the pamphlet describes as the period of plunder, there was a spirit of private jobbing, mixing with the spirit of public improvement; but that spirit of public improvement and the commencement and birth of public ease, was there also, and so continued, from the time of the profoundly sagacious Lord Pery, to the time of Mr. Foster and his wise regulations,

In the history of Parliament, I observe the learned historian omits her laws—the corn law—the octennial bill—the tenantry bill—he has not only forgotten *our* history but *his own*, and most impartially contradicts what is written by himself as well as others. “No Nation in the habitable globe, in cultivation, in commerce, in agriculture, in manufacture, has advanced in the same rapidity within the same period,” says the pamphlet of 98, in the name of our author (page 5); “a settlement so compleat and satisfactory, as to render the revival of political or Constitutional questions utterly impossible,”—so said the same pamphlet, (page 9), speaking of the settlement of 82; “a Parliament, (speaking of the Irish Parliament) fully competent to all practical and beneficial purposes of Government, fully competent to preserve this Country, which is the weaker, against encroachment, and to save the Empire from dissolution, by maintaining the Constitutional connexion with Great Britain,”—so said the same pamphlet, speaking of the Constitution of 82; thus have these different works furnished their own answers, and like opposite poison administered their cure and their contradiction:—In preparing that Constitution, and that trade, the Irish Parliament had great merit, and the servants of the Crown had great merit;—as the author has censured the proceedings of both, let me be their vindicator; those servants of the Crown proved themselves to be Irish-



men, and scorned to barter their honour for their office ; that Parliament, whose conduct the pamphlet reprobates, had seen the Country, by restrictions on commerce, and by an illegal embargo on her provision trade, brought in 79, to a state of bankruptcy ; that Parliament had reposed in the liberality of the British Parliament an inexorable confidence ; that Parliament waited and waited, till she found, after the English Session of 78, nothing could be expected ; and then, that Parliament (and here behold the recuperative principles of our Constitution, and contemplate Parliament, as the true source of legitimate hope, tho' sometimes the just object of public disapprobation), that Parliament at length preferred a demand ; I say a demand ; for a free trade, expressed in a sentence, the grievances of a Country ; they shorten the Money Bill, assert the spirit of the Country, and supported as they were by the whole Nation, break in one hour, that chain, which had blocked up your harbours for ages ; they follow this by a support of Government and of Empire, as ample as was their support of their Country and her commerce, bold and irresistible, and do more to deter and intimidate the common enemy, than all your present loans, and all your establishments.

I come to the second period ; and here they fall back ; here they act reluctantly ; but here you see again the rallying principle of our Constitution ; that very Parliament, whom the pamphlet villifies, whom the Minister thought he had at his feet, those very Gentlemen, whom the pamphlet disparages, whom the then Secretary relied on, as a rank majority, made a common cause with the People ; made a common cause with their liberties ; and assisted and backed by the voice of that people, preserved, carried, and established, the claim, inheritance, and liberties of the realm, and sent the Secretary post to England, to recant his political errors in his own country, and to register that recantation in the rolls of his  
own

own Parliament. These achievements we are to estimate, not by the difficulties of the day, but by the difficulties resulting from the depression and degradation of ages. If we consider that the People and Parliament, who had thus associated for the defence of the realm, and had added to the objects of their association, the cause of trade and liberty, without which that realm did not deserve to be defended; had been in a great measure excluded from all the rest of the world, had been depressed for 100 years, by commercial and political oppression, and torn by religious divisions; that their Ministers had not seldom applied themselves to taint the integrity of the higher order, and very seldom (except as far as they concurred in the bounties of the legislature) applied themselves to relieve the condition of the lower order; that such a people and such a parliament should, spontaneously associate, unite, arm, array, defend, illustrate, and free their country; overawe bigotry, suppress riot, prevent invasion, and produce, as the offspring of their own head armed cap-a-pee, like the Goddesses of Wisdom issuing from the Thunderer, *Commerce* and *Constitution*; what shall we say of such a People, and such a Parliament? let the author of the pamphlet retire to his closet, and ask pardon of his God, for what he has written against his country!

I state these things, because these things have been called clamour; I state these facts, in opposition to slander, as the defence of my country; to restore from calumny, the character of her Constitution; and to rescue from oblivion, the decaying evidences of her glory.

I think I know my country—I think I have a right to know her; she has her weaknesses; were she perfect one would admire her more, but love her less. The Gentlemen of Ireland act on sudden impulse; but that impulse

is the result of a warm heart, a strong head, and great personal determination; the errors, incidental to such a principle of action, must be their errors; but then, the virtues belonging to that principle, must be their virtues also; such errors may give a pretence to their enemies, but such virtues afford salvation to their country; the Minister should therefore say, what I say to my country—I, who am no better than one of yourselves, but far superior to your tyrant, who probably partake of your defects, and shall be satisfied if I have any portion either of your spirit, or of your fire—“Come—come to this heart, with  
“all your infirmities, and all your religion.”

We return to the publication; we look for something to build or plant in the immense waste, the huge moral devastation this writing has left, of the talents, ability, and credit of the country. Three pamphlets of this author lie open before me, a publication of 93, another of 98, and the present of 1800, all in the same name. Here we are to look, I suppose, for whatever is by him suffered to remain unlevelled, of profound wisdom, liberal policy, comprehensive system; the true principle of Government and of a free Constitution; leaf after leaf, and period after period, have I turned them over; the author will shew in what part these great maxims are to be discovered; to mere mortal eyes, these publications seem to be a system of political, moral and intellectual levelling; they seem to run a crazy race through all ages, with a native, genuine horror of any thing like genius, liberty, or the people; great generosity of assertion, great thrift of argument, a turn to be offensive, without a power to be severe, fury in the temper, and famine in the phrase.

I find, and lament to find, in those levelling publications, the following sentiments: That Ireland is a British Colony,

Colony, and that to demand a free Constitution, was to separate from Britain; that Ireland may prudently submit to legislation without representation; that Ireland had no Parliamentary Constitution till the time of James I.; that the creation of the dependency of the crown for supply on the Commons, was a pernicious precedent; that the remedy for our present free Constitution, and the only security for the connexion, was to put in the place of the British Parliament the commanding influence of the British Cabinet over the Irish Legislature. Couple this with a declaration, that half a million had been resorted to some years back, to buy the Commons of Ireland: couple that with the declarations continued in this pamphlet, that for the last seven years, a noble Minister of the Crown had perseveringly recommended the abolition of the Irish Parliament, and an Union in its place; couple all this together, and the result of the pamphlet will be the most complete and ample justification and panegyric of that opposition, who, for a course of years have, with honest perseverance, reprobated that Minister's administration; I will not say it is a justification of rebellion, but it is the best defence I have seen; it amounts to a direct charge, for those last 50 years, on the aristocracy, and on the commons, of faction, of plunder, of breaches with England, and of acts of separation; and it particularly condemns the Parliament for those very measures on which she must rest her credit and authority with the people; and further it charges, that before any rebel was in the country, a leading Minister in the cabinet, was, himself, and has been for 8 years, a secret adviser against the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland, of course against the fundamental laws of the land; to such a work, containing three fabrications, four capital departures from matter of fact, together with the disparagement of his country, and of almost every honest public character for the last 50 years, I don't think it necessary to say more.

I conclude

I conclude, therefore, by repeating what I have already solemnly declared—that

It is not fact, that we excited the Catholics.

It is not fact, that we persecuted the Catholics..

It is not fact, that we adopted the Catholic measures after the place-bill and pension bill had passed, and in quest of new matter of opposition.

It is not fact, that I ever declared or wrote that the adjustment of 82 emanated from Dungannon.

It is not fact, that I ever compared the Parliament that accomplished that adjustment, to the Parliament of 1613.

It is not fact, that I ever declared that the Catholic would be most powerful, if these Nations were separated.

It is not fact, that I ever abandoned to popularity the draft of a bill for vesting in the Parliament of England, a power of Imperial legislature.

It is not fact, that I ever saw, agreed to, or heard, of any such draft.

It is not fact, that I ever agreed to an alliance with any English party, to oppose any plan of National concord.

It is not fact, that I ever entered into any alliance, offensive and defensive, with them, however I might esteem their persons, and prefer their principles.

Here

Here are ten assertions made by the author—*he is publicly called upon to establish them.*

I have said thus much to defend my country and myself, in opposition to this publication, that takes the name of a Minister who has the support of the Governments of both countries, and with respect to whom I have no advantage, except the cause, my own personal superiority, and another advantage, which I possess in common with almost every honest subject in Ireland, and with the Irish nation herself, the advantage which the calumniated has over the calumniator. I might avail myself of many more vulnerable parts in those publications, and press the supposed author personally, as he has pressed others; but considering his situation more than he has done himself, I consign him to judges more severe than I could be—and to him the most awful, and, on this side the grave, the most tremendous—**HIS COUNTRY AND HIS CONSCIENCE!**

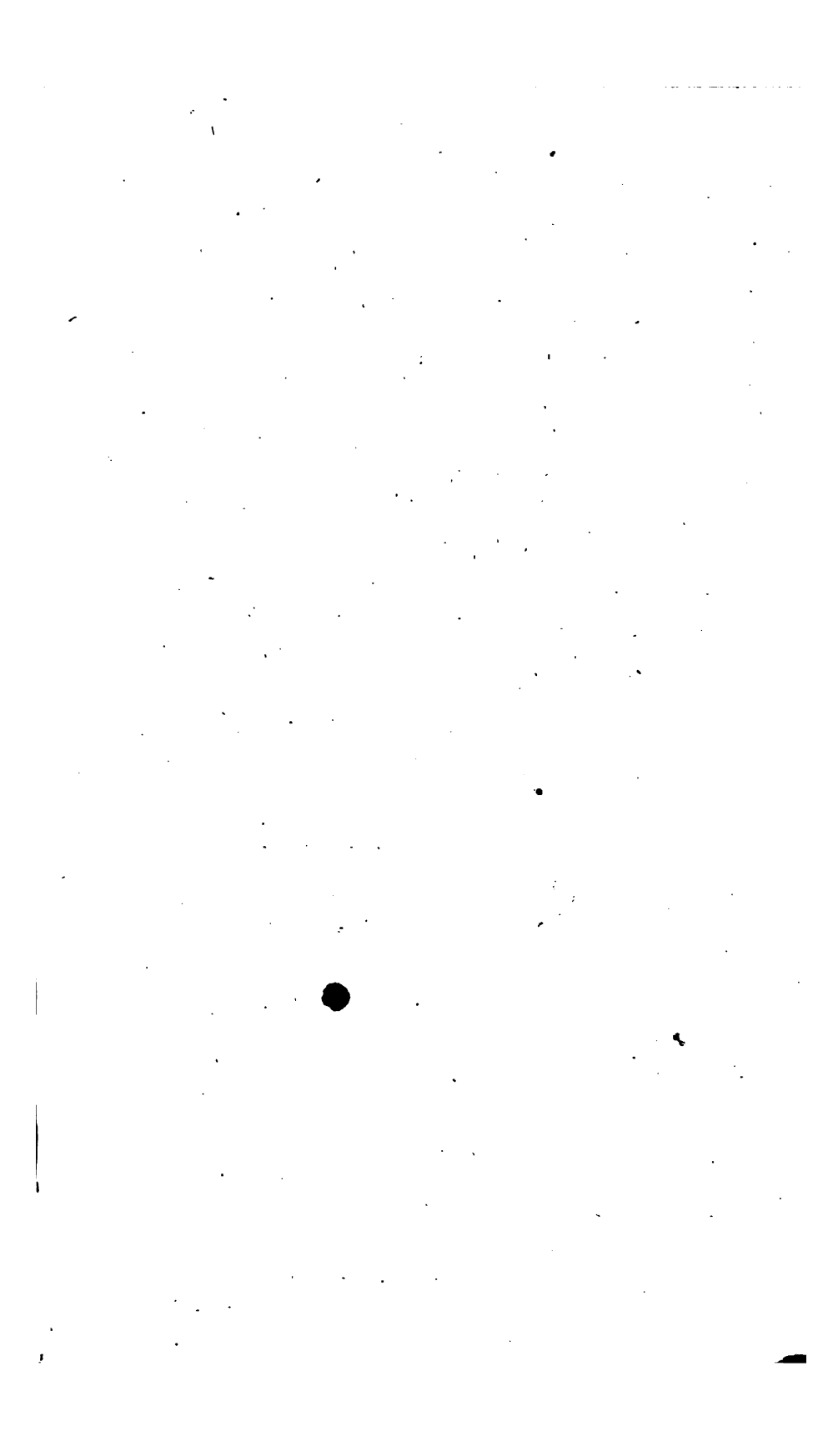
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## A P P E N D I X.

EXTRACT FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. HUTCHINSON'S) SPEECH, IN 1793.

“**B**UT what was the history of the representation in this country? He could inform gentlemen with some accuracy, having thought it his duty, when he took a more active part in public business, to extract from all the borough charters at the Rolls Office their material contents. The number of representatives in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. was one hundred; to this number Mary and Elizabeth added about forty-eight, but of these there were nineteen counties, of which Elizabeth had established seventeen, a mode of representation worthy the character of that great princess. In the first Parliament of James I. held in 1613, the members of the House of Commons were 232; the last creation of a borough was by Queen Anne, who created one only. For the difference between the  
the

the number of representatives at the accession of James, and the present number of 300, the House of Stuart is responsible. One half of the representatives were made by them, and made by the exertion of prerogative; of those James made 40 at one stroke; most of them at the eve of a Parliament, and some after the writs of summons had issued. The Commons in that Parliament expressed their doubts whether those boroughs had the power of returning members to sit in Parliament, and reserved that subject for future consideration. Complaints were made to James of those grants, but what was his answer? "I have made 40 boroughs; suppose I had made 400—the more the merrier." Charles I. followed the example of his father in exercising this prerogative, but not to so great an extent: Complaints were also made to him, and he gave assurances that the new corporations should be reviewed by Parliament. The grants made by these two monarchs appear, by the histories and correspondences of those times, to have been for the purpose of giving the Protestants a majority over the Roman Catholics. The grants by Charles II, James II, and Queen Anne, proceeded from motives of personal favour;—thus it would appear, if the facts were investigated, that one half of the representation of Ireland had arisen from the exertions of prerogative, influenced by occasional motives, disputes among religionists, and inducements of personal favour, but had not been derived from any of those sources which had produced the English Constitution. Had he the honour of being a member of the British House of Commons, he would never touch the venerable fabric of their representation; but in this kingdom, the part of the representation universally complained of, had originated in party or private motives, and he did not believe there was one prescriptive borough in the whole kingdom. He believed some boroughs were called so, but he believed unjustly; eleven of the grants which had been mentioned, did not appear at the Rolls Office, but most of these were *modern* in the time of the *House of Stuart*."







RIGHT HON<sup>BLE</sup> EDMUND BURKE

*Paper 7th*

A

PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY

INTO THE

ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS

OF THE

*SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL.*

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE CONCERNING

TASTE,

AND SEVERAL OTHER ADDITIONS.

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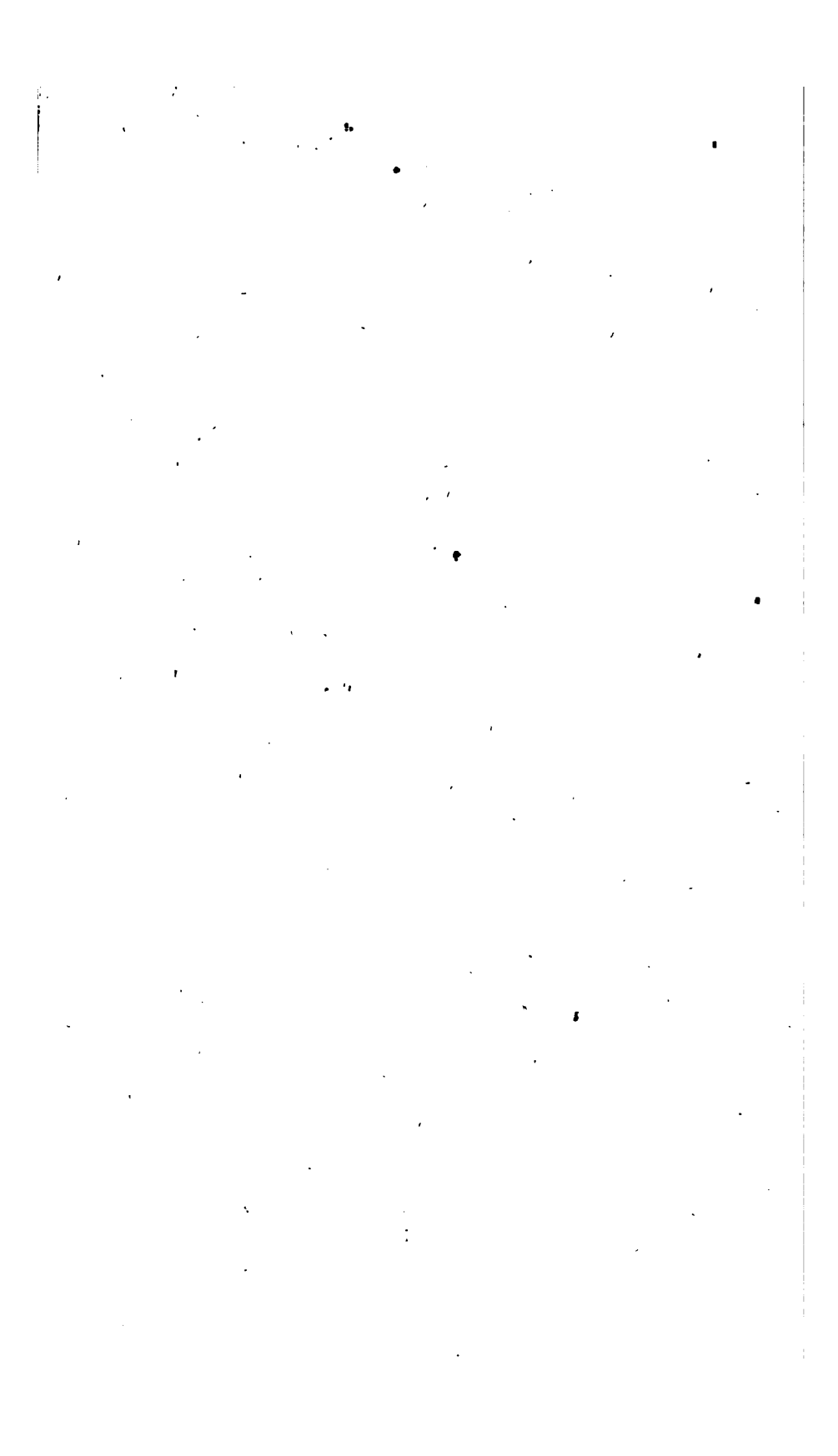
BY EDMUND BURKE.

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MONTROSE:

PRINTED BY D. BUCHANAN, FOR THE BOOKSELLERS.

1803.



THE  
P R E F A C E.

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**I** HAVE endeavoured to make this edition something more full and satisfactory than the first. I have fought with the utmost care, and read with equal attention, every thing which has appeared in public against my opinions; I have taken advantage of the candid liberty of my friends; and if by these means I have been better enabled to discover the imperfections of the work, the indulgence it has received, imperfect as it was, furnished me with a new motive to spare no reasonable pains for its improvement. Though I have not found sufficient reason, or what appeared to me sufficient, for making any material change in my theory, I have found necessary in many places to explain, illustrate, and enforce it. I have prefixed an introductory discourse concerning Taste: it is a matter curious in itself; and it leads naturally enough to the principal enquiry. This with the other explanations has made the work considerably larger; and by encreasing its bulk has, I am afraid, added to its faults; so that, notwithstanding all my attention, it may stand in need of a yet greater share of indulgence than it required at its first appearance.

They who are accustomed to studies of this nature will expect, and they will allow too for many faults. they know that many of the objects of our enquiry are in themselves obscure and intricate; and that many others have been rendered so by affected refinements

ments or false learning ; they know that there are many impediments in the subject, in the prejudices of others, and even in our own, that render it a matter of no small difficulty to shew in a clear light the genuine face of nature. They know that whilst the mind is intent on the general scheme of things, some particular parts must be neglected ; that we must often submit the style to the matter, and frequently give up the praise of elegance, satisfied with being clear.

The characters of nature are legible, it is true ; but they are not plain enough to enable those who run, to read them. We must make use of a cautious, I had almost said, a timorous method of proceeding. We must not attempt to fly, when we can scarcely pretend to creep. In considering any complex matter, we ought to examine every distinct ingredient in the composition, one by one ; and reduce every thing to the utmost simplicity ; since the condition of our nature binds us to a strict law and very narrow limits. We ought afterwards to re-examine the principles by the effect of the composition, as well as the composition by that of the principles. We ought to compare our subject with things of a similar nature, and even with things of a contrary nature ; for discoveries may be and often are made by the contrast, which would escape us on the single view. The greater number of the comparisons we make, the more general and the more certain our knowledge is like to prove, as built upon a more extensive and perfect induction.

If an enquiry thus carefully conducted, should fail at last of discovering the truth, it may answer an end perhaps as useful, in discovering to us the weakness  
of

## P R E F A C E.

v

of our own understanding. If it does not make us knowing, it may make us modest. If it does not preserve us from error, it may at least from the spirit of error; and may make us cautious of pronouncing with positiveness or with haste, when so much labour may end in so much uncertainty.

I could wish that in examining this theory, the same method were pursued which I endeavoured to observe in forming it. The objections, in my opinion, ought to be proposed, either to the several principles as they are distinctly considered, or to the justness of the conclusion which is drawn from them. But it is common to pass over both the premises and conclusion in silence, and to produce as an objection, some poetical passage which does not seem easily accounted for upon the principles I endeavour to establish. This manner of proceeding I should think very improper. The task would be infinite, if we could establish no principle until we had previously unravelled the complex texture of every image or description to be found in poets and orators. And though we should never be able to reconcile the effect of such images to our principles, this can never overturn the theory itself, whilst it is founded on certain and indisputable facts. A theory founded on experiment, and not assumed, is always good for so much as it explains. Our inability to push it indefinitely is no argument at all against it. This inability may be owing to our ignorance of some necessary mediums; to a want of proper application; to many other causes besides a defect in the principles we employ. In reality, the subject requires a much closer attention, than we dare claim from our manner of treating it.

If

If it should not appear on the face of the work, I must caution the reader against imagining that I intended a full dissertation on the Sublime and Beautiful. My enquiry went no farther than to the origin of these ideas. If the qualities which I have ranged under the head of the Sublime be all found consistent with each other, and all different from those which I place under the head of Beauty; and if those which compose the class of the Beautiful have the same consistency with themselves, and the same opposition to those which are classed under the denomination of Sublime, I am in little pain whether any body chooses to follow the name I give them or not, provided he allows that what I dispose under different heads are in reality different things in nature. The use I make of the words may be blamed, as too confined or too extended; my meaning cannot well be misunderstood.

To conclude; whatever progress may be made towards the discovery of truth in this matter, I do not repent the pains I have taken in it. The use of such enquiries may be very considerable. Whatever turns the soul inward on itself, tends to concenter its forces, and to fit it for greater and stronger flights of science. By looking into physical causes, our minds are opened and enlarged; and in this pursuit, whether we take or whether we lose our game, the chase is certainly of service. Cicero, true as he was to the Academic philosophy, and consequently led to reject the certainty of physical, as of every other kind of knowledge, yet freely confesses its great importance to the human understanding: “ *Est animorum ingeniorumque nostrorum naturale*  
“ *quoddam*

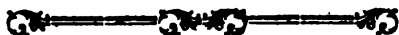
*“ quoddam quasi pabulum consideratio contemplatioque  
“ natura.”* If we can direct the lights we derive from such exalted speculations, upon the humbler field of the imagination, whilst we investigate the springs, and trace the courses of our passions, we may not only communicate to the taste a sort of philosophical solidity, but we may reflect back on the severer sciences some of the graces and elegancies of taste, without which the greatest proficiency in those sciences will always have the appearance of something illiberal.

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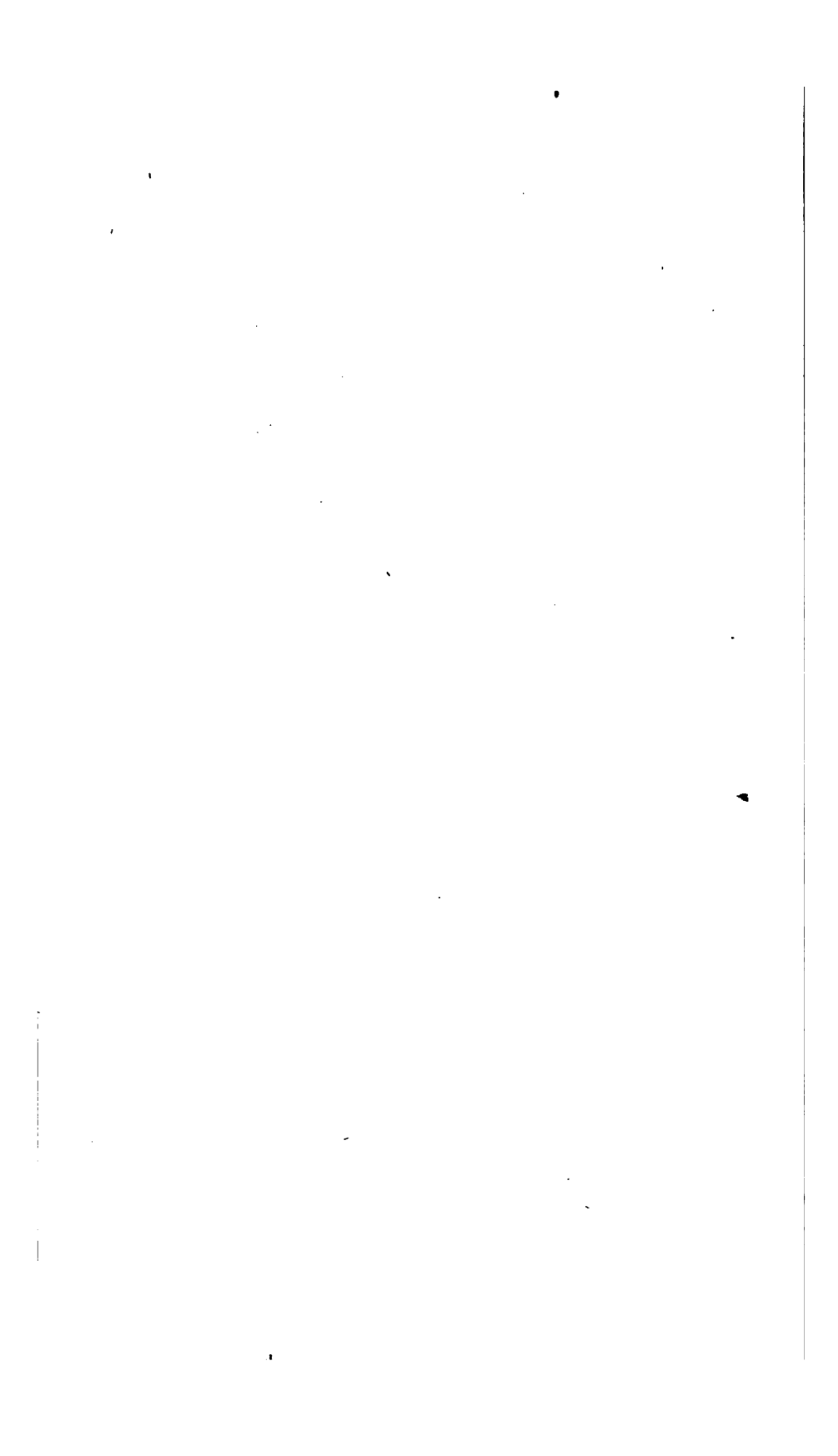
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# INTRODUCTION.

O N

## TASTE.

**O**N a superficial view, we may seem to differ very widely from each other in our reasonings, and no less in our pleasures: but notwithstanding this difference, which I think to be rather apparent, than real, it is probable that the standard both of Reason and Taste is the same in all human creatures. For if there were not some principles of judgment as well as of sentiment common to all mankind, no hold could possibly be taken either on their reason or their passions, sufficient to maintain the ordinary correspondence of life. It appears indeed to be generally acknowledged, that with regard to truth and falsehood there is something fixed. We find people in their disputes continually appealing to certain tests and standards, which are allowed on all sides, and are supposed to be established in our common nature. But there is not the same obvious concurrence in any uniform or settled principles which relate to Taste. It is even commonly supposed that this delicate and aerial faculty, which seems too volatile to endure even the chains of a definition, cannot be properly tried by any test, nor regulated by

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any standard. There is so continual a call for the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and it is so much strengthened by perpetual contention, that certain maxims of right reason seem to be tacitly settled amongst the most ignorant. The learned have improved on this rude science, and reduced those maxims into a system. If Taste has not been so happily cultivated, it was not that the subject was barren, but that the labourers were few or negligent; for to say the truth, there are not the same interesting motives to impel us to fix the one, which urge us to ascertain the other. And after all, if men differ in their opinion concerning such matters, their difference is not attended with the same important consequences; else I make no doubt but that the logic of Taste, if I may be allowed the expression, might very possibly be as well digested, and we might come to discuss matters of this nature with as much certainty, as those which seem more immediately within the province of mere reason. And indeed, it is very necessary, at the entrance into such an enquiry as our present, to make this point as clear as possible; for if Taste has no fixed principles, if the imagination is not affected according to some invariable and certain laws, our labour is like to be employed to very little purpose; as it must be judged an useless, if not an absurd undertaking, to lay down rules for caprice, and to set up for a legislator of whims and fancies.

The term Taste, like all other figurative terms, is not extremely accurate; the thing which we understand by it, is far from a simple and determinate idea in the minds of most men, and it is therefore

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liable to uncertainty and confusion. I have no great opinion of a definition, the celebrated remedy for the cure of this disorder. For when we define, we seem in danger of circumscribing nature within the bounds of our own notions, which we often take up by hazard, or embrace on trust, or form out of a limited and partial consideration of the object before us, instead of extending our ideas to take in all that nature comprehends, according to her manner of combining. We are limited in our enquiry by the strict laws to which we have submitted at our setting out.

—*Circa vitem patulumque morabimur orbem,  
Unde pudor proferre pedem vetat aut operis lex.*

A definition may be very exact, and yet go but a very little way towards informing us of the nature of the thing defined; but let the virtæ of a definition be what it will, in the order of things, it seems rather to follow than to precede our enquiry, of which it ought to be considered as the result. It must be acknowledged that the methods of disquisition and teaching may be sometimes different, and on very good reason undoubtedly; but for my part, I am convinced that the method of teaching which approaches most nearly to the method of investigation, is incomparably the best; since, not content with serving up a few barren and lifeless truths, it leads to the stock on which they grew; it tends to set the reader himself in the track of invention, and to direct him into those paths in which the author has made his own discoveries, if he should be so happy as to have made any that are valuable.

But to cut off all pretence for cavilling, I mean by the word Taste no more than that faculty or those faculties of the mind, which are affected with, or which form a judgment of, the works of imagination and the elegant arts. This is, I think, the most general idea of that word, and what is the least connected with any particular theory. And my point in this enquiry is, to find whether there are any principles, on which the imagination is affected, so common to all, so grounded and certain, as to supply the means of reasoning satisfactorily about them. And such principles of Taste I fancy there are; however paradoxical it may seem to those, who on a superficial view imagine, that there is so great a diversity of Tastes, both in kind and degree, that nothing can be more indeterminate.

All the natural powers in man, which I know, that are conversant about external objects, are the senses; the imagination; and the judgment. And first with regard to the Senses. We do and we must suppose, that as the conformation of their organs are nearly or altogether the same in all men, so the manner of perceiving external objects is in all men the same, or with little difference. We are satisfied that what appears to be light to one eye, appears light to another; that what seems sweet to one palate, is sweet to another; that what is dark and bitter to this man, is likewise dark and bitter to that; and we conclude in the same manner of great and little, hard and soft, hot and cold, rough and smooth; and indeed of all the natural qualities and affections of bodies. If we suffer ourselves to imagine, that their senses present to different men,  
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different images of things, this sceptical proceeding will make every sort of reasoning on every subject vain and frivolous, even that sceptical reasoning itself, which had persuaded us to entertain a doubt concerning the agreement of our perceptions. But as there will be little doubt that bodies present similar images to the whole species, it must necessarily be allowed, that the pleasures and the pains which every object excites in one man, it must raise in all mankind, whilst it operates naturally, simply, and by its proper powers only; for if we deny this, we must imagine that the same cause operating in the same manner, and on subjects of the same kind, will produce different effects, which would be highly absurd. Let us first consider this point in the sense of Taste, and the rather as the faculty in question has taken its name from that sense. All men are agreed to call vinegar sour, honey sweet, and aloes bitter; and as they are all agreed in finding these qualities in those objects, they do not in the least differ concerning their effects with regard to pleasure and pain. They all concur in calling sweetness pleasant, and sourness and bitterness unpleasant. Here there is no diversity in their sentiments; and that there is not, appears fully from the consent of all men in the metaphors which are taken from the sense of Taste. A sour temper, bitter expressions, bitter curses, a bitter fate, are terms well and strongly understood by all. And we are altogether as well understood when we say, a sweet disposition, a sweet person, a sweet condition, and the like. It is confessed, that custom and some other causes, have made many deviations from the natural  
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pleasures or pains which belong to these several Tastes ; but then the power of distinguishing between the natural and the acquired relish remains to the very last. A man frequently comes to prefer the taste of tobacco to that of sugar, and the flavour of vinegar to that of milk ; but this makes no confusion in Tastes, whilst he is sensible that the tobacco and vinegar are not sweet, and whilst he knows that habit alone has reconciled his palate to these alien pleasures. Even with such a person we may speak, and with sufficient precision, concerning Tastes. But should any man be found who declares, that to him tobacco has a Taste like sugar, and that he cannot distinguish between milk and vinegar ; or that tobacco and vinegar are sweet, milk bitter, and sugar sour ; we immediately conclude that the organs of this man are out of order, and that his palate is utterly vitiated. We are as far from conferring with such a person upon Tastes, as from reasoning concerning the relations of quantity with one who should deny that all the parts together were equal to the whole. We do not call a man of this kind wrong in his notions, but absolutely mad. Exceptions of this sort, in either way, do not at all impeach our general rule, nor make us conclude that men have various principles concerning the relations of quantity, or the Taste of things. So that when it is said, Taste cannot be disputed, it can only mean, that no one can strictly answer what pleasure or pain some particular man may find from the Taste of some particular thing. This indeed cannot be disputed ; but we may dispute, and with sufficient clearness too, concerning the

the things which are naturally pleasing or disagreeable to the sense. But when we talk of any peculiar or acquired relish, then we must know the habits, the prejudices, or the distempers of this particular man, and we must draw our conclusion from those.

This agreement of mankind is not confined to the Taste solely. The principle of pleasure derived from sight is the same in all. Light is more pleasing than darkness. Summer, when the earth is clad in green, when the heavens are serene and bright, is more agreeable than winter, when every thing makes a different appearance. I never remember that any thing beautiful, whether a man, a beast, a bird, or a plant, was ever shewn, though it were to an hundred people, that they did not all immediately agree that it was beautiful, though some might have thought that it fell short of their expectation, or that other things were still finer. I believe no man thinks a goose to be more beautiful than a swan, or imagines that what they call a Friezland hen excels a peacock. It must be observed too, that the pleasures of the sight are not near so complicated, and confused, and altered by unnatural habits and associations, as the pleasures of the Taste are; because the pleasures of the sight more commonly acquiesce in themselves; and are not so often altered by considerations which are independent of the sight itself. But things do not spontaneously present themselves to the palate as they do to the sight; they are generally applied to it, either as food or as medicine; and from the qualities which they possess for nutritive or medicinal purposes, they often form the palate by degrees, and by force of these associations. Thus opium is pleasing to Turks, on account  
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of the agreeable delirium it produces. Tobacco is the delight of Dutchmen, as it diffuses a torpor and pleasing stupefaction. Fermented spirits please our common people, because they banish care, and all consideration of future or present evils. All of these would lie absolutely neglected if their properties had originally gone no further than the Taste ; but all these, together with tea and coffee, and some other things, have passed from the apothecary's shop to our tables, and were taken for health long before they were thought of for pleasure. The effect of the drug has made us use it frequently ; and frequent use, combined with the agreeable effect, has made the Taste itself at last agreeable. But this does not in the least perplex our reasoning ; because we distinguish to the last the acquired from the natural relish. In describing the taste of an unknown fruit, you would scarcely say, that it had a sweet and pleasant flavour like tobacco, opium, or garlic, although you spoke to those who were in the constant use of these drugs, and had great pleasure in them. There is in all men a sufficient remembrance of the original natural causes of pleasure, to enable them to bring all things offered to their senses to that standard, and to regulate their feelings and opinions by it. Suppose one who had so vitiated his palate as to take more pleasure in the Taste of opium than in that of butter or honey, to be presented with a bolus of squills ; there is hardly any doubt but that he would prefer the butter or honey to this nauseous morsel, or to any other bitter drug to which he had not been accustomed ; which proves that his palate was naturally like that of other men in all things, that it is still like the  
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palate of other men in many things, and only vitiated in some particular points. For in judging of any new thing, even of a Taste similar to that which he has been formed by habit to like, he finds his palate affected in the natural manner, and on the common principles. Thus the pleasure of all the senses, of the sight, and even of the Taste, that most ambiguous of senses, is the same in all, high and low, learned and unlearned.

Besides the ideas, with their annexed pains and pleasures, which are presented by the sense; the mind of man possesses a sort of creative power of its own; either in representing at pleasure the images of things in the order and manner in which they were received by the senses, or in combining those images in a new manner, and according to a different order. This power is called Imagination; and to this belongs whatever is called wit, fancy, invention, and the like. But it must be observed, that the power of the imagination is incapable of producing any thing absolutely new; it can only vary the disposition of those ideas which it has received from the senses. Now the imagination is the most extensive province of pleasure and pain, as it is the region of our fears and our hopes, and of all our passions that are connected with them; and whatever is calculated to affect the imagination with these commanding ideas, by force of any original natural impression, must have the same power pretty equally over all men. For since the imagination is only the representation of the senses, it can only be pleased or displeased with the images; from the same principle on which the sense is pleased or displeased with the realities; and consequently

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there must be just as close an agreement in the imaginations as in the senses of men. A little attention will convince us that this must of necessity be the case.

But in the imagination, besides the pain or pleasure arising from the properties of the natural object, a pleasure is perceived from the resemblance, which the imitation has to the original: the imagination, I conceive, can have no pleasure but what results from one or other of these causes. And these causes operate pretty uniformly upon all men, because they operate by principles in nature, and which are not derived from any particular habits or advantages. Mr. Locke very justly and finely observes of wit, that it is chiefly conversant in tracing resemblances: he remarks at the same time, that the business of judgment is rather in finding differences. It may perhaps appear, on this supposition, that there is no material distinction between the wit and the judgment, as they both seem to result from different operations of the same faculty of *comparing*. But in reality, whether they are or are not dependant on the same power of the mind, they differ so very materially in many respects, that a perfect union of wit and judgment is one of the rarest things in the world. When two distinct objects are unlike to each other, it is only what we expect; things are in their common way; and therefore they make no impression on the imagination: but when two distinct objects have a resemblance, we are struck, we attend to them, and we are pleased. The mind of man has naturally a far greater alacrity and satisfaction in tracing resemblances than in searching for differences =

ences : because by making resemblances we produce *new images* ; we unite, we create, we enlarge our stock : but in making distinctions we offer no food at all to the imagination ; the taste itself is more severe and irksome, and what pleasure we derive from it is something of a negative and indirect nature. A piece of news is told me in the morning ; this, merely as a piece of news, as a fact added to my stock, gives me some pleasure. In the evening I find there was nothing in it. What do I gain by this, but the dissatisfaction to find that I had been imposed upon ? Hence it is that men are much more naturally inclined to belief than to incredulity. And it is upon this principle, that the most ignorant and barbarous nations have frequently excelled in similitudes, comparisons, metaphors, and allegories, who have been weak and backward in distinguishing and sorting their ideas. And it is for a reason of this kind, that Homer and the oriental writers, though very fond of similitudes, and though they often strike out such as are truly admirable, they seldom take care to have them exact ; that is, they are taken with the general resemblance, they paint it strongly, and they take no notice of the difference which may be found between the things compared.

Now, as the pleasure of resemblance is that which principally flatters the imagination, all men are nearly equal in this point, as far as their knowledge of the things represented or compared, extends. The principle of this knowledge is very much accidental, as it depends upon experience and observation, and not on the strength or weakness of any natural faculty ; and it is from this difference in knowledge

that what we commonly, though with no great exactness, call a difference in Taste proceeds. A man to whom sculpture is new, sees a barber's block, or some ordinary piece of statuary; he is immediately struck and pleased, because he sees something like an human figure; and, entirely taken up with this likeness, he does not at all attend to its defects. No person, I believe, at the first time of seeing a piece of imitation, ever did. Some time after, we suppose that this novice lights upon a more artificial work of the same nature; he now begins to look with contempt on what he admired at first; not that he admired it even then for its unlikeness to a man, but for that general though inaccurate resemblance which it bore to the human figure. What he admired at different times in these so different figures, is strictly the same; and though his knowledge is improved, his Taste is not altered. Hitherto his mistake was from a want of knowledge in art, and this arose from his inexperience; but he may be still deficient from a want of knowledge in nature. For it is possible that the man in question may stop here, and that the masterpiece of a great hand may please him no more than the middling performance of a vulgar artist; and this not for want of better or higher relish, but because all men do not observe with sufficient accuracy on the human figure to enable them to judge properly of an imitation of it. And that the critical Taste does not depend upon a superior principle in men, but upon superior knowledge may appear from several instances. The story of the ancient painter and shoemaker is very well known. The shoemaker set

set the painter right with regard to some mistakes he had made in the shoe of one of his figures, and which the painter who had not made such accurate observations on shoes, and was content with a general resemblance, had never observed. But this was no impeachment to the Taste of the painter ; it only shewed some want of knowledge in the art of making shoes. Let us imagine that an anatomist had come into the painter's working room. His piece is in general well done, the figure in question in a good attitude, and the parts well adjusted to their various movements ; yet the anatomist, critical in his art, may observe the swell of some muscle not quite just in the peculiar action of the figure. Here the anatomist observes what the painter had not observed ; and he passes by what the shoemaker had remarked. But a want of the last critical knowledge in anatomy no more reflected on the natural good Taste of the painter, or of any common observer of his piece, than the want of an exact knowledge in the formation of a shoe. A fine piece of a decollated head of St. John the Baptist was shewn to a Turkish emperor ; he praised many things, but he observed one defect ; he observed that the skin did not shrink from the wounded part of the neck. The sultan on this occasion, though his observation was very just, discovered no more natural Taste than the painter who executed this piece, or than a thousand European connoisseurs, who probably never would have made the same observation. His Turkish Majesty had indeed been well acquainted with that terrible spectacle, which the others could only have represented in their imagination. On the subject of their  
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their dislike there is a difference between all these people, arising from the different kinds and degrees of their knowledge ; but there is something in common to the painter, the shoemaker, the anatomist, and the Turkish emperor, the pleasure arising from a natural object, so far as each perceives it justly imitated ; the satisfaction in seeing an agreeable figure ; the sympathy proceeding from a striking and affecting incident. So far as Taste is natural, it is nearly common to all.

In poetry, and other pieces of imagination, the same parity may be observed. It is true, that one man is charmed with Don Bellianis, and reads Virgil coldly : whilst another is transported with the *Eneid*, and leaves Don Bellianis to children. These two men seem to have a Taste very different from each other ; but in fact they differ very little. In both these pieces, which inspire such opposite sentiments, a tale exciting admiration is told ; both are full of action, both are passionate ; in both are voyages, battles, triumphs, and continual changes of fortune. The admirer of Don Bellianis perhaps does not understand the refined language of the *Eneid*, who, if it was degraded into the style of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, might feel it in all its energy, on the same principle which made him an admirer of Don Bellianis.

In his favourite author he is not shocked with the continual breaches of probability, the confusion of times, the offences against manners, the trampling upon geography ; for he knows nothing of geography and chronology, and he has never examined the grounds of probability. He perhaps reads of a shipwreck on the coast of Bohemia : wholly taken up  
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with so interesting an event, and only solicitous for the fate of his hero, he is not at the least troubled at this extravagant blunder. For why should he be shocked at a shipwreck on the coast of Bohemia, who does not know but that Bohemia may be an island in the Atlantic ocean? and after all, what reflection is this on the natural good Taste of the person here supposed?

So far then as Taste belongs to the imagination, its principle is the same in all men; there is no difference in the manner of their being affected, nor in the causes of the affection; but in the *degree* there is a difference, which arises from two causes principally; either from a greater degree of natural sensibility, or from a closer and longer attention to the object. To illustrate this by the procedure of the senses, in which the same difference is found, let us suppose a very smooth marble table to be set before two men; they both perceive it to be smooth, and they are both pleased with it because of this quality. So far they agree. But suppose another, and after that another table, the latter still smoother than the former, to be set before them. It is now very probable that these men, who are so agreed upon what is smooth, and in the pleasure from thence, will disagree when they come to settle which table has the advantage in point of polish. Here is indeed the great difference between Tastes, when men come to compare the excess or diminution of things which are judged by degree and not by measure. Nor is it easy, when such a difference arises, to settle the point, if the excess or diminution be not glaring. If we differ in opinion about two quantities, we can have recourse to a com-  
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mon measure, which may decide the question with the utmost exactness; and this I take it is what gives mathematical knowledge a greater certainty than any other. But in things whose excess is not judged by greater or smaller, as smoothness and roughness, hardness and softness, darkness and light, the shades of colours, all these are very easily distinguished when the difference is any way considerable, but not when it is minute, for want of some common measures, which perhaps may never come to be discovered. In these nice cases, supposing the acuteness of the sense equal, the greater attention and habit in such things will have the advantage. In the question about the tables, the marble-polisher will unquestionably determine the most accurately. But notwithstanding this want of a common measure for settling many disputes relative to the senses and their representative the imagination, we find that the principles are the same in all, and that there is no disagreement until we come to examine into the pre-eminence or difference of things, which brings us within the province of the judgment.

So long as we are conversant with the sensible qualities of things, hardly any more than the imagination seems concerned; little more also than the imagination seems concerned when the passions are represented, because by the force of natural sympathy they are felt in all men without any recourse to reasoning, and their justness recognized in every breast. Love, grief, fear, anger, joy, all these passions have in their turn affected every mind; and they do not affect it in an arbitrary or casual manner, but upon certain, natural and uniform principles. But as  
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many of the works of imagination are not confined to the representation of sensible objects, nor to efforts upon the passions, but extend themselves to the manners, the characters, the actions, and designs of men, their relations, their virtues and vices, they come within the province of the judgment which is improved by attention and by the habit of reasoning. All these make a very considerable part of what are considered as the objects of Taste; and Horace sends us to the schools of philosophy and the world for our instruction in them. Whatever certainty is to be acquired in morality and the science of life; just the same degree of certainty have we in what relates to them in works of imitation. Indeed it is for the most part in our skill in manners, and in the observances of time and place, and of decency in general, which is only to be learned in those schools to which Horace recommends us, that what is called Taste by way of distinction, consists; and which is in reality no other than a more refined judgment. On the whole, it appears to me, that what is called Taste, in its most general acceptance, is not a simple idea, but is partly made up of a perception of the primary pleasures of sense, of the secondary pleasures of the imagination, and of the conclusions of the reasoning faculty, concerning the various relations of these, and concerning the human passions, manners, and actions. All this is requisite to form Taste, and the ground work of all these is the same in the human mind; for as the senses are the great originals of all our ideas, and consequently of all our pleasures, if they are not uncertain and arbitrary, the whole ground-work of Taste is common to all,



and therefore there is a sufficient foundation for a conclusive reasoning on these matters.

Whilst we consider Taste merely according to its nature and species, we shall find its principles entirely uniform ; but the degree in which these principles prevail, in the several individuals of mankind, is altogether as different as the principles themselves are similar. For sensibility and judgment, which are the qualities that compose what we commonly call a *Taste*, vary exceedingly in various people. From a defect in the former of these qualities, arises a want of Taste ; a weakness in the latter, constitutes a wrong or a bad one. There are some men formed with feelings so blunt, with tempers so cold and phlegmatic, that they can hardly be said to be awake during the whole course of their lives. Upon such persons, the most striking objects make but a faint and obscure impression. There are others so continually in the agitation of gross and merely sensual pleasures, or so occupied in the low drudgery of avarice, or so heated in the chace of honours and distinction, that their minds, which had been used continually to the storms of these violent and tempestuous passions, can hardly be put in motion by the delicate and refined play of the imagination. These men, though from a different cause, become as stupid and insensible as the former ; but whenever either of these happen to be struck with any natural elegance or greatness, or with these qualities in any work of art, they are moved upon the same principle.

The cause of a wrong Taste is a defect of Judgment. And this may arise from a natural weakness

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of understanding (in whatever the strength of that faculty may consist) or, which is much more commonly the case, it may arise from a want of proper and well-directed exercise, which alone can make it strong and ready. Besides that ignorance, inattention, prejudice, rashness, levity, obstinacy, in short, all those passions, and all those vices, which pervert the judgment in other matters, prejudice it no less in this its more refined and elegant province. These causes produce different opinions upon every thing which is an object of the understanding, without inducing us to suppose, that there are no settled principles of reason. And indeed on the whole one may observe, that there is rather less difference upon matters of Taste among mankind, than upon most of those which depend upon the naked reason; and that men are far better agreed on the excellence of a description in Virgil, than on the truth or falsehood of a theory of Aristotle.

A rectitude of judgment in the arts, which may be called a good Taste, does in a great measure depend upon sensibility; because if the mind has no bent to the pleasures of the imagination, it will never apply itself sufficiently to works of that species to acquire a competent knowledge in them. But though a degree of sensibility is requisite to form a good judgment, yet a good judgment does not necessarily arise from a quick sensibility of pleasure; it frequently happens that a very poor judge, merely by force of a greater complexional sensibility, is more affected by a very poor piece, than the best judge by the most perfect; for as every thing new, extraordinary, grand, or passionate, is well calculated to

affect such a person, and that the faults do not affect him, his pleasure is more pure and unmixed ; and as it is merely a pleasure of the imagination, it is much higher than any which is derived from a rectitude of the judgment ; the judgment is for the greater part employed in throwing stumbling-blocks in the way of the imagination, in dissipating the scenes of its enchantment, and in tying us down to the disagreeable yoke of our reason ; for almost the only pleasure that men have in judging better than others, consists in a sort of conscious pride and superiority, which arises from thinking rightly ; but then, this is an indirect pleasure, a pleasure which does not immediately result from the object which is under contemplation. In the morning of our days, when the senses are unworn and tender, when the whole man is awake in every part, and the gloss of novelty fresh upon all the objects that surround us, how lively at that time are our sensations, but how false and inaccurate the judgments we form of things ? I despair of ever receiving the same degree of pleasure from the most excellent performances of genius which I felt at that age, from pieces which my present judgment regards as trifling and contemptible. Every trivial cause of pleasure is apt to affect the man of too sanguine a complexion : his appetite is too keen to suffer his Taste to be delicate ; and he is in all respects what Ovid says of himself in love,

*Molle meum levibus cor est violabile telis,  
Et semper causa est, cur ego semper amem.*

One of this character can never be a refined judge ; never what the comic poet calls *elegans formarum spectator*. The excellence and force of a composition must always be imperfectly estimated from its effect on the minds of any, except we know the temper and character of those minds. The most powerful effects of poetry and music have been displayed, and perhaps are still displayed, where these arts are but in a very low and imperfect state. The rude hearer is affected by the principles which operate in these arts even in their rudest condition ; and he is not skilful enough to perceive the defects. But as arts advance towards their perfection, the science of criticism advances with equal pace, and the pleasure of judges is frequently interrupted by the faults which are discovered in the most finished compositions.

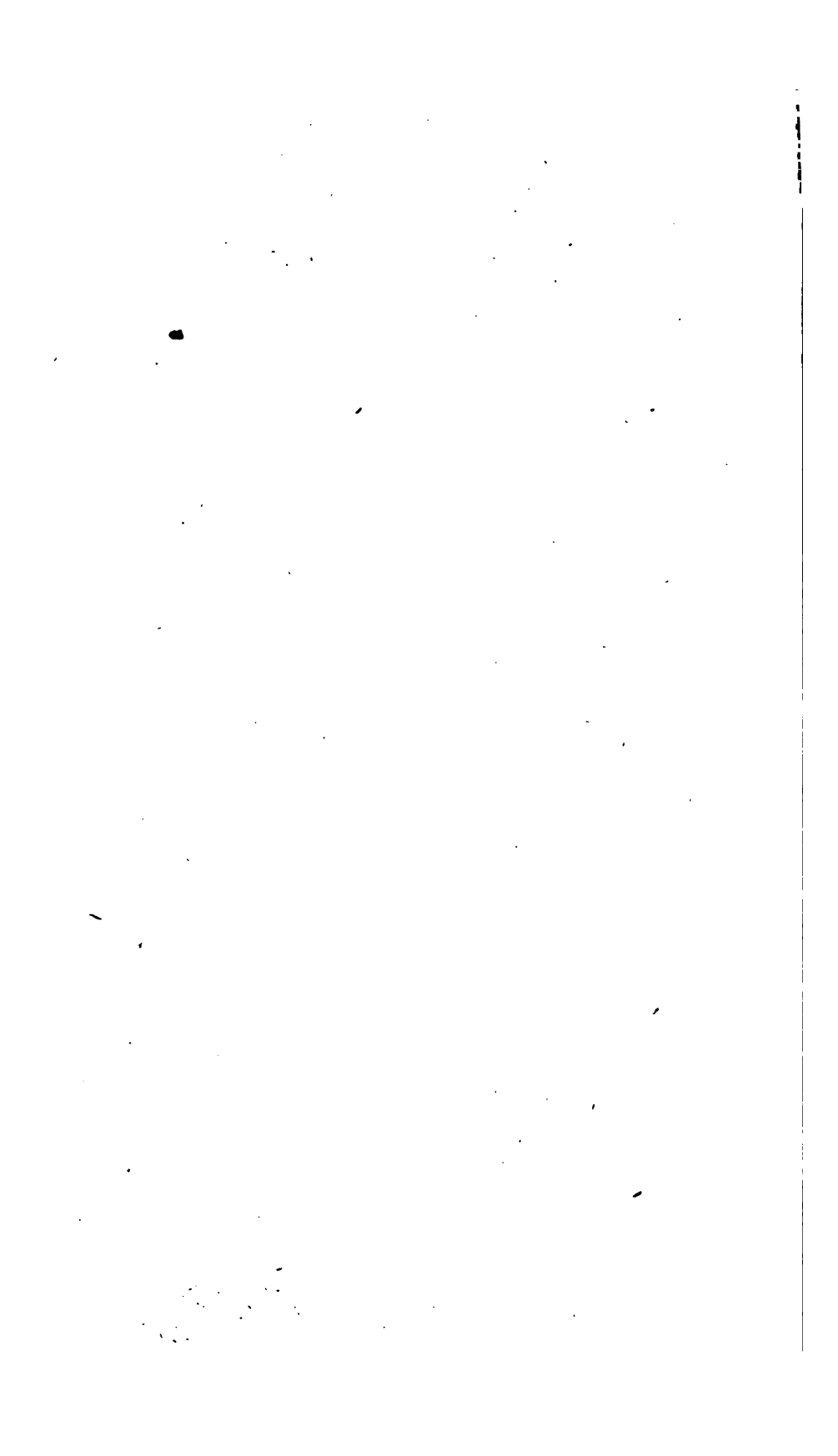
Before I leave this subject, I cannot help taking notice of an opinion which many persons entertain, as if the Taste were a separate faculty of the mind, and distinct from the judgment and imagination ; a species of instinct, by which we are struck naturally, and at the first glance, without any previous reasoning, with the excellencies, or the defects of a composition. So far as the imagination and the passions are concerned, I believe it true, that the reason is little consulted ; but where disposition, where decorum, where congruity are concerned, in short, wherever the best Taste differs from the worst, I am convinced that the understanding operates and nothing else ; and its operation is in reality far from being always sudden, or, when it is sudden, it is often far from being right. Men of the best Taste by considera-  
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tion come frequently to change these early and precipitate judgments, which the mind, from its aversion to neutrality and doubt, loves to form on the spot. It is known that the Taste (whatever it is) is improved exactly as we improve our judgment, by extending our knowledge, by a steady attention to our object, and by frequent exercise. They who have not taken these methods, if their Taste decides quickly, it is always uncertainly; and their quickness is owing to their presumption and rashness, and not to any hidden irradiation that in a moment dispels all darkness from their minds. But they who have cultivated that species of knowledge which makes the object of Taste, by degrees and habitually attain not only a soundness, but a readiness of judgment, as men do by the same methods on all other occasions. At first they are obliged to spell, but at last they read with ease and with celerity, but this celerity of its operation is no proof, that the Taste is a distinct faculty. Nobody, I believe, has attended the course of a discussion, which turned upon matters within the sphere of mere naked reason, but must have observed the extreme readiness with which the whole process of the argument is carried on, the grounds discovered, the objections raised and answered, and the conclusions drawn from premises, with a quickness altogether as great as the Taste can be supposed to work with; and yet where nothing but plain reason either is or can be suspected to operate. To multiply principles for every different appearance, is useless, and unphilosophical too in a high degree.

This matter might be pursued much farther; but it is not the extent of the subject which must prescribe

our bounds, for what subject does not branch out to infinity? It is the nature of our particular scheme, and the single point of view in which we consider it, which ought to put a stop to our researches.

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A Philosophical Enquiry  
 INTO THE  
 ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS  
 OF THE  
 SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL.

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P A R T. I.

S E C T. I.

N O V E L T Y.

**T**HE first and the simplest emotion which we discover in the human mind, is Curiosity. By curiosity I mean whatever desire we have for, or whatever pleasure we take in, novelty. We see children perpetually running from place to place to hunt out something new : they catch with great eagerness, and with very little choice, at whatever comes before them ; their attention is engaged by every thing, because every thing has, in that stage of life, the charm of novelty to recommend it. But as those things which engage us merely by their novelty, cannot attach us for any length of time, curiosity is the most superficial of all the affections : it changes its object perpetually ; it has an appetite which is very sharp, but very easily satisfied ; and it has always an appearance of giddiness, restlessness, and anxiety. Curiosity from its nature is a very active principle ; it quickly runs over the greatest part of its

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objects, and soon exhausts the variety which is commonly to be met with in nature ; the same things make frequent returns, and they return with less and less of any agreeable effect. In short, the occurrences of life, by the time we come to know it a little, would be incapable of affecting the mind with any other sensations than those of loathing and weariness, if many things were not adapted to affect the mind by means of other powers besides novelty in them, and of other passions besides curiosity in ourselves. These powers and passions shall be considered in their place. But whatever these powers are, or upon what principle soever they affect the mind, it is absolutely necessary that they should not be exerted in those things which a daily vulgar use have brought into a stale uninteresting familiarity. Some degree of novelty must be one of the materials in every instrument which works upon the mind ; and curiosity blends itself more or less with all our passions.

## SECTION II.

### PAIN AND PLEASURE.

**I**T seems then necessary towards moving the passions of people advanced in life to any considerable degree, that the objects designed for that purpose, besides their being in some measure new, should be capable of exciting pain or pleasure from other causes. Pain and pleasure are simple ideas; incapable of definition. People are not liable to be mistaken in their feelings, but they are very frequently wrong in the names they give them, and in their reasonings

reasonings about them. Many are of opinion, that pain arises necessarily from the removal of some pleasure ; as they think pleasure does from the ceasing or diminution of some pain. For my part, I am rather inclined to imagine, that pain and pleasure, in their most simple and natural manner of affecting, are each of a positive nature, and by no means necessarily dependent on each other for their existence. The human mind is often, and I think it is for the most part, in a state neither of pain nor pleasure, which I call a state of indifference. When I am carried from this state into a state of actual pleasure, it does not appear necessary that I should pass through the medium of any sort of pain. If in such a state of indifference, or ease, or tranquillity, or call it what you please, you were to be suddenly entertained with a concert of music ; or suppose some object of a fine shape, and bright lively colours, to be represented before you : or imagine your smell is gratified with the fragrance of a rose ; or if without any previous thirst you were to drink of some pleasant kind of wine, or to taste of some sweetmeat without being hungry ; in all the several senses, of hearing, smelling, and tasting, you undoubtedly find a pleasure ; yet if I enquire into the state of your mind previous to these gratifications, you will hardly tell me that they found you in any kind of pain ; or, having satisfied these several senses with their several pleasures, will you say that any pain has succeeded, though the pleasure is absolutely over ? Suppose, on the other hand, a man in the same state of indifference, to receive a violent blow, or to drink of some bitter potion, or to have his ears wounded with some harsh and

grating sound ; here is no removal of pleasure ; and yet here is felt, in every sense which is affected, a pain very distinguishable. It may be said, perhaps, that the pain in these cases had its rise from the removal of the pleasure which the man enjoyed before, though that pleasure was of so low a degree as to be perceived only by the removal. But this seems to me a subtilty, that is not discoverable in nature. For if, previous to the pain, I do not feel any actual pleasure I have no reason to judge that any such thing exists ; since pleasure is only pleasure as it is felt. The same may be said of pain, and with equal reason. I can never persuade myself that pleasure and pain are mere relations, which can only exist as they are contrasted ; but I think I can discern clearly that there are positive pains and pleasures, which do not at all depend upon each other. Nothing is more certain to my own feelings than this. There is nothing which I can distinguish in my mind with more clearness than the three states, of indifference, of pleasure, and of pain. Every one of these I can perceive without any sort of idea of its relation to any thing else. Caius is afflicted with a fit of the cholic ; this man is actually in pain ; stretch Caius upon the rack, he will feel a much greater pain : but does this pain of the rack arise from the removal of any pleasure, or is the fit of the cholic a pleasure or a pain just as we are pleased to consider it ?

S E C T.

## S E C T. III.

The difference between the removal of PAIN and positive PLEASURE.

**W**E shall carry this proposition yet a step farther. We shall venture to propose, that pain and pleasure are not only not necessarily dependent for their existence on their mutual diminution or removal, but that, in reality, the diminution or ceasing of pleasure does not operate like positive pain; and that the removal or diminution of pain, in its effect, has very little resemblance to positive pleasure\*. The former of these propositions will, I believe, be much more readily allowed than the latter; because it is very evident that pleasure, when it has run its career, sets us down very nearly where it found us. Pleasure of every kind quickly satisfies; and when it is over, we relapse into indifference, or rather we fall into a soft tranquillity, which is tinged with the agreeable colour of the former sensation. I own it is not at first view so apparent, that the removal of a great pain does not resemble positive pleasure; but let us recollect in what state we have found our minds upon escaping some imminent danger, or on being released from the severity of some cruel pain.

\* Mr. Locke [Essay on Human Understanding, l. ii. c. 20. sect. 16.] thinks that the removal or lessening of a pain is considered and operates as a pleasure, and the loss or diminishing of pleasure as a pain. It is this opinion which we consider here.

We have on such occasions found, if I am not much mistaken, the temper of our minds in a tenor very remote from that which attends the presence of positive pleasure; we have found them in a state of much sobriety, impressed with a sense of awe, in a sort of tranquillity shadowed with horror. The fashion of the countenance and the gesture of the body on such occasions is so correspondent to this state of mind, that any person, a stranger to the cause of the appearance, would rather judge us under some consternation, than in the enjoyment of any thing like positive pleasure.

Ὡς δ' ἴσμεν ἄνδρ' αἴψ' ἑσπεύοντα λαβῆναι, οἳ' ἐνὶ κλιβῆτι  
 Φοβῶντα καὶ πικρῶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐξίμενοι θυμῶν,  
 Ἄνδρες ἢ ἀφροῖσι, θυμῶν δ' ἔχουσι μετονομασθέντες.

*As when a wretch, who, conscious of his crime,  
 Pursued for murder from his native clime,  
 Just gains some frontier, breathless, pale, amon'd;  
 All gaze, all wonder!*

This striking appearance of the man whom Homer supposes to have just escaped an imminent danger, the sort of mixt passion of terror and surprize, with which he affects the spectators, paints very strongly the manner in which we find ourselves affected upon occasions any way similar. For when we have suffered from any violent emotion, the mind naturally continues in something like the same condition, after the cause which first produced it has ceased to operate. The tossing of the sea remains after the storm; and when this remain of horror has entirely subsided, all the passion, which the accident raised, sub-

subsides along with it; and the mind returns to its usual state of indifference. In short, pleasure (I mean any thing either in the inward sensation, or in the outward appearance, like pleasure from a positive cause) has never, I imagine, its origin from the removal of pain or danger.

## S E C T. IV.

Of DELIGHT and PLEASURE, as opposed to each other.

**B**UT shall we therefore say, that the removal of pain or its diminution is always simply painful? or affirm that the cessation or the lessening of pleasure is always attended itself with a pleasure? By no means. What I advance is no more than this; first, that there are pleasures and pains of a positive and independent nature; and secondly, that the feeling which results from the ceasing or diminution of pain does not bear a sufficient resemblance to positive pleasure, to have it considered as of the same nature, or to entitle it to be known by the same name; and thirdly, that upon the same principle the removal or qualification of pleasure has no resemblance to positive pain. It is certain that the former feeling (the removal or moderation of pain) has something in it far from distressing or disagreeable in its nature. This feeling, in many cases so agreeable, but in all so different from positive pleasure, has no name which I know; but that hinders not its being a very real one, and very different from all others. It is most certain, that every species  
of

of satisfaction or pleasure, how different soever in its manner of affecting, is of a positive nature in the mind of him who feels it. The affection is undoubtedly positive; but the cause may be, as in this case it certainly is, a sort of *Privation*. And it is very reasonable that we should distinguish by some term two things so distinct in nature, as a pleasure that is such simply, and without any relation, from that pleasure which cannot exist without a relation, and that too a relation to pain. Very extraordinary it would be, if these affections, so distinguishable in their causes, so different in their effects, should be confounded with each other, because vulgar use has ranged them under the same general title. Whenever I have occasion to speak of this species of relative pleasure, I call it *Delight*; and I shall take the best care I can, to use that word in no other sense. I am satisfied the word is not commonly used in this appropriated signification; but I thought it better to take up a word already known, and to limit its signification, than to introduce a new one, which would not perhaps incorporate so well with the language. I should never have presumed the least alteration in our words, if the nature of the language, framed for the purposes of business rather than those of philosophy, and the nature of my subject, that leads me out of the common track of discourse, did not in a manner necessitate me to it. I shall make use of this liberty with all possible caution. As I make use of the word *Delight* to express the sensation which accompanies the removal of pain or danger; so when I speak of positive pleasure, I shall for the most part call it simply *Pleasure*.

SECT.

## SECT. V.

## JOY and GRIEF.

IT must be observed; that the cessation of pleasure affects the mind three ways. If it simply ceases, after having continued a proper time, the effect is *indifference*; if it be abruptly broken off, there ensues an uneasy sense called *disappointment*; if the object be so totally lost that there is no chance of enjoying it again, a passion arises in the mind, which is called *grief*. Now, there is none of these, not even grief, which is the most violent, that I think has any resemblance to positive pain. The person who grieves, suffers his passion to grow upon him; he indulges it, he loves it: but this never happens in the case of actual pain, which no man ever willingly endured for any considerable time. That grief should be willingly endured, though far from a simply pleasing sensation, is not so difficult to be understood. It is the nature of grief to keep its object perpetually in its eye, to present it in its most pleasurable views, to repeat all the circumstances that attend it, even to the last minuteness; to go back to every particular enjoyment, to dwell upon each, and to find a thousand new perfections in all, that were not sufficiently understood before; in grief, the *pleasure* is still uppermost; and the *affliction* we suffer has no resemblance to absolute pain, which is always odious, and which we endeavour to shake off as soon as possible. The *Odyssy* of Homer, which abounds with so many natural and affecting images, has none



more striking than those which Menelaus raises of the calamitous fate of his friends, and his own manner of feeling it. He owns, indeed, that he often gives himself some intermission from such melancholy reflections ; but he observes too, that, melancholy as they are, they give him pleasure.

Αλλ' ἔμας πάλαι μιν ἄδαρμονος καὶ ἀχρῆτος,  
Πάλλαιος ἐν μεγάρουσι καθήμενος ἠμῆροισι  
Ἀλλήῃ μιν τι γούφρασι τιμῶμαι ἀλλήῃ δ' αὖθις  
Πάσαισι ἀνέφρονι δὲ ποτὸς κρυέροιο γούφαι.

*Still in short intervals of pleasing woe,  
Regardful of the friendly dues I owe,  
I to the glorious dead for ever dear,  
Indulge the tribute of a grateful tear.*

HOM. Od. iv.

On the other hand, when we recover our health, when we escape an imminent danger, is it with joy that we are affected? The sense on these occasions is far from that smooth and voluptuous satisfaction which the assured prospect of pleasure bestows. The delight which arises from the modifications of pain, confesses the stock from whence it sprung, in its solid, strong and severe nature.

## S E C T. VI.

Of the passions which belong to SELF-PRESERVATION.

**M**OST of the ideas which are capable of making a powerful impression on the mind, whether

ther simply of Pain or Pleasure, or of the modifications of those, may be reduced very nearly to these two heads, *self-preservation* and *society*; to the ends of one or the other of which all our passions are calculated to answer. The passions which concern self-preservation, turn mostly on *pain* or *danger*. The ideas of *pain*, *sickness*, and *death*, fill the mind with strong emotions of horror; but *life* and *health*, though they put us in a capacity of being affected with pleasure, they make no such impression by the simple enjoyment. The passions therefore which are conversant about the preservation of the individual, turn chiefly on *pain* and *danger*, and they are the most powerful of all the passions.

## S E C T. VII.

## Of the S U B L I M E.

**W**HATEVER is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects, or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling. I say the strongest emotion, because I am satisfied the ideas of pain are much more powerful than those which enter on the part of pleasure. Without all doubt, the torments which we may be made to suffer, are much greater in their effect on the body and mind, than any pleasures which the most learned voluptuary could suggest, or

than the liveliest imagination, and the most sound and exquisitely sensible body could enjoy. Nay, I am in great doubt whether any man could be found who would earn a life of the most perfect satisfaction, at the price of ending it in the torments, which justice inflicted in a few hours on the late unfortunate regicide in France. But as pain is stronger in its operation than pleasure, so death is in general a much more affecting idea than pain; because there are very few pains, however exquisite, which are not preferred to death; nay, what generally makes pain itself, if I may say so, more painful, is, that it is considered as an emissary of this king of terrors. When danger or pain press too nearly they are incapable of giving any delight, and are simply terrible; but at certain distances, and with certain modifications, they may be, and they are delightful, as we every day experience. The cause of this I shall endeavour to investigate hereafter.

### S E C T. VIII.

#### Of the passions which belong to S O C I E T Y.

**T**HE other head under which I class our passions, is that of *society*, which may be divided into two sorts. 1. The society of the *sexes*, which answers the purposes of propagation; and next, that more *general society*, which we have with men and with other animals, and which we may in some sort be said to have even with the inanimate world. The  
passions

passions belonging to the preservation of the individual, turn wholly on pain and danger ; those which belong to *generation*, have their origin in gratifications and *pleasures* ; the pleasure most directly belonging to this purpose is of a lively character, rapturous and violent, and confessedly the highest pleasure of sense ; yet the absence of this so great an enjoyment, scarce amounts to an uneasiness ; and, except at particular times, I do not think it affects at all. When men describe in what manner they are affected by pain and danger, they do not dwell on the pleasure of health and the comfort of security, and then lament the *loss* of these satisfactions ; the whole turns upon the actual pains and horrors which they endure. But if you listen to the complaints of a forsaken lover, you observe that he insists largely on the pleasures which he enjoyed or hoped to enjoy, and on the perfection of the object of his desires ; it is the *loss* which is always uppermost in his mind. The violent effects produced by love, which has sometimes been even wrought up to madness, is no objection to the rule which we seek to establish. When men have suffered their imaginations to be long affected with any idea, it so wholly engrosses them as to shut out by degrees almost every other, and to break down every partition of the mind which would confine it. Any idea is sufficient for the purpose, as is evident from the infinite variety of causes, which give rise to madness ; but this at most can only prove that the passion of love is capable of producing very extraordinary effects, not that its extraordinary emotions have any connection with positive pain.

S E C T,

## S E C T. IX.

The final cause of the difference between the passions belonging to SELF-PRESERVATION, and those which regard the SOCIETY of the SEXES.

**T**HE final cause of the difference in character between the passions which regard self-preservation and those which are directed to the multiplication of the species, will illustrate the foregoing remarks yet further; and it is, I imagine, worthy of observation even upon its own account. As the performance of our duties of every kind depends upon life, and the performing them with vigour and efficacy depends upon health, we are very strongly affected with whatever threatens the destruction of either: but as we were not made to acquiesce in life and health, the simple enjoyment of them is not attended with any real pleasure, left, satisfied with that, we should give ourselves over to indolence and inaction. On the other hand, the generation of mankind is a great purpose, and it is requisite that men should be animated to the pursuit of it by some great incentive. It is therefore attended with a very high pleasure; but as it is by no means designed to be our constant business, it is not fit that the absence of this pleasure should be attended with any considerable pain. The difference between men and brutes in this point, seems to be remarkable. Men are at all times pretty  
equally

equally disposed to the pleasures of love, because they are to be guided by reason in the time and manner of indulging them. Had any great pain arisen from the want of this satisfaction, reason, I am afraid, would find great difficulties in the performance of its office. But brutes, who obey laws in the execution of which their own reason has but little share, have their stated seasons; at such times it is not improbable that the sensation from the want is very troublesome, because the end must be then answered, or be missed in many perhaps for ever; as the inclination returns only with its season.

## S E C T. X.

## O F B E A U T Y.

**T**HE passion which belongs to generation, merely as such, is lust only. This is evident in brutes, whose passions are more unmixed, and which pursue their purposes more directly than ours. The only distinction they observe with regard to their mates, is that of sex. It is true, that they stick severally to their own species in preference to all others. But this preference, I imagine, does not arise from any sense of beauty which they find in their species, as Mr. Addison supposes, but from a law of some other kind, to which they are subject; and this we may fairly conclude, from their apparent want of choice amongst those objects to which the barriers of their species have confined them. But  
man,

man, who is a creature adapted to a greater variety and intricacy of relation, connects with the general passion, the idea of some *social* qualities, which direct and heighten the appetite which he has in common with all other animals; and as he is not designed like them to live at large, it is fit that he should have something to create a preference, and fix his choice; and this in general should be some sensible quality; as no other can so quickly, so powerfully, or so surely produce its effect. The object therefore of this mixed passion, which we call love, is the *beauty* of the *sex*. Men are carried to the sex in general, as it is the sex, and by the common law of nature; but they are attached to particulars by personal *beauty*. I call beauty a social quality; for where women and men, and not only they, but when other animals give us a sense of joy and pleasure in beholding them (and there are many that do so), they inspire us with sentiments of tenderness and affection towards their persons; we like to have them near us, and we enter willingly into a kind of relation with them, unless we should have strong reasons to the contrary. But to what end, in many cases, this was designed, I am unable to discover; for I see no greater reason for a connection between man and several animals who are attired in so engaging a manner, than between him and some others who entirely want this attraction, or possess it in a far weaker degree. But it is probable, that Providence did not make even this distinction, but with a view to some great end, though we cannot perceive distinctly what it is, as his wisdom is not our wisdom, nor our ways his ways.

S E C T.

## SECT. XI.

## SOCIETY and SOLITUDE.

THE second branch of the social passions is that which administers to *society in general*. With regard to this, I observe, that society, merely as society, without any particular heightenings, gives us no positive pleasure in the enjoyment; but absolute and entire *solitude*, that is, the total and perpetual exclusion from all society, is as great a positive pain as can almost be conceived. Therefore in the balance between the pleasure of general *society*, and the pain of absolute solitude, *pain* is the predominant idea. But the pleasure of any particular social enjoyment outweighs very considerably the uneasiness caused by the want of that particular enjoyment; so that the strongest sensations relative to the habitudes of *particular society*, are sensations of pleasure. Good company, lively conversations, and the endearments of friendship, fill the mind with great pleasure; a temporary solitude, on the other hand, is itself agreeable. This may perhaps prove that we are creatures designed for contemplation as well as action; since solitude as well as society has its pleasures; as from the former observation we may discern, that an entire life of solitude contradicts the purposes of our being, since death itself is scarcely an idea of more terror.



## S E C T. XII.

SYMPATHY, IMITATION, and  
AMBITION.

**U**NDER this denomination of society, the passions are of a complicated kind, and branch out into a variety of forms agreeable to that variety of ends they are to serve in the great chain of society. The three principal links in this chain are *sympathy, imitation, and ambition.*

## S E C T. XIII.

## S Y M P A T H Y.

**I**T is by the first of these passions that we enter into the concerns of others ; that we are moved as they are moved, and are never suffered to be indifferent spectators of almost any thing which men can do or suffer. For sympathy must be considered as a sort of substitution, by which we are put into the place of another man, and affected in many respects as he is affected : so that this passion may either partake of the nature of those which regard self-preservation, and turning upon pain may be a source of the sublime ; or it may turn upon ideas of pleasure ; and then whatever has been said of the social affections, whether they regard society in general, or only some particular modes of it, may be applicable here. It is by this principle chiefly that poetry, painting, and other affecting arts, transfuse their passions from one breast to another, and are often capable of grafting a delight on wretchedness,  
misery

misery, and death itself. It is a common observation, that objects which in the reality would shock, are in tragical, and such like representations, the source of a very high species of pleasure. This taken as a fact, has been the cause of much reasoning. The satisfaction has been commonly attributed, first, to the comfort we receive in considering that so melancholy a story is no more than a fiction; and next, to the contemplation of our own freedom from the evils which we see represented. I am afraid it is a practice much too common in enquiries of this nature, to attribute the cause of feelings which merely arise from the mechanical structure of our bodies, or from the natural frame and constitution of our minds, to certain conclusions of the reasoning faculty on the objects presented to us; for I should imagine, that the influence of reason in producing our passions is nothing near so extensive as it is commonly believed.

## S E C T. XIV.

The effects of S Y M P A T H Y in the distresses of others.

**T**O examine this point concerning the effect of tragedy in a proper manner, we must previously consider how we are affected by the feelings of our fellow-creatures in circumstances of real distress. I am convinced we have a degree of delight, and that no small one, in the real misfortunes and pains of others: for let the affection be what it will in appearance, if it does not make us shun such objects,

if on the contrary it induces us to approach them, if it makes us dwell upon them, in this case I conceive we must have a delight or pleasure of some species or other in contemplating objects of this kind. Do we not read the authentic histories of scenes of this nature with as much pleasure as romances or poems, where the incidents are fictitious? The prosperity of no empire, nor the grandeur of no king, can so agreeably affect in the reading, as the ruin of the state of Macedon, and the distress of its unhappy prince. Such a catastrophe touches us in history as much as the destruction of Troy does in fable. Our delight, in cases of this kind, is very greatly heightened, if the sufferer be some excellent person who sinks under an unworthy fortune. Scipio and Cato are both virtuous characters; but we are more deeply affected by the violent death of the one, and the ruin of the great cause he adhered to, than with the deserved triumphs and uninterrupted prosperity of the other; for terror is a passion which always produces delight when it does not press too close; and pity is a passion accompanied with pleasure, because it arises from love and social affection. Whenever we are formed by nature to any active purpose, the passion which animates us to it, is attended with delight, or a pleasure of some kind, let the subject-matter be what it will; and as our Creator has designed we should be united by the bond of sympathy, he has strengthened that bond by a proportionable delight; and there most where our sympathy is most wanted, in the distresses of others. If this passion was simply painful, we would shun with the greatest care all persons

persons and places that could excite such a passion ; as some, who are so far gone in indolence as not to endure any strong impression, actually do. But the case is widely different with the greater part of mankind ; there is no spectacle we so eagerly pursue, as that of some uncommon and grievous calamity ; so that whether the misfortune is before our eyes, or whether they are turned back to it in history, it always touches with delight. This is not an unmixed delight, but blended with no small uneasiness. The delight we have in such things, hinders us from shunning scenes of misery ; and the pain we feel, prompts us to relieve ourselves in relieving those who suffer ; and all this antecedent to any reasoning, by an instinct that works us to its own purposes without our concurrence.

## S E C T. XV.

## Of the effects of TRAGEDY.

**I**T is thus in real calamities. In imitated distresses the only difference is the pleasure resulting from the effects of imitation ; for it is never so perfect, but we can perceive it is imitation, and on that principle are somewhat pleased with it. And indeed in some cases we derive as much or more pleasure from that source than from the thing itself. But then I imagine we shall be much mistaken if we attribute any considerable part of our satisfaction in tragedy to the consideration that tragedy is a deceit, and its representations no realities. The nearer it approaches

approaches the reality, and the further it removes us from all idea of fiction, the more perfect is its power. But be its power of what kind it will, it never approaches to what it represents. Choose a day on which to represent the most sublime and affecting tragedy we have ; appoint the most favourite actors ; spare no cost upon the scenes and decorations ; unite the greatest efforts of poetry, painting, and music ; and when you have collected your audience, just at the moment when their minds are erect with expectation, let it be reported that a state criminal of high rank is on the point of being executed in the adjoining square ; in a moment the emptiness of the theatre would demonstrate the comparative weakness of the imitative arts, and proclaim the triumph of the real sympathy. I believe that this notion of our having a simple pain in the reality, yet a delight in the representation, arises from hence, that we do not sufficiently distinguish what we would by no means choose to do, from what we should be eager enough to see if it was once done. We delight in seeing things, which so far from doing, our heartiest wishes would be to see redressed. This noble capital, the pride of England and of Europe, I believe no man is so strangely wicked as to desire to see destroyed by a conflagration or an earthquake, though he should be removed himself to the greatest distance from the danger. But suppose such a fatal accident to have happened, what numbers from all parts would crowd to behold the ruins, and amongst them many who would have been content never to have seen London in its glory ! Nor is it, either in real or fictitious distresses, our  
immunity

immunity from them which produces our delight ; in my own mind I can discover nothing like it. I apprehend that this mistake is owing to a sort of sophism, by which we are frequently imposed upon ; it arises from our not distinguishing between what is indeed a necessary condition to our doing or suffering any thing in general, and what is the *cause* of some particular act. If a man kills me with a sword, it is a necessary condition to this that we should have been both of us alive before the fact ; and yet it would be absurd to say, that our being both living creatures was the cause of his crime and of my death. So it is certain, that it is absolutely necessary my life should be out of any imminent hazard, before I can take a delight in the sufferings of others, real or imaginary, or indeed in any thing else from any cause whatsoever. But then it is a sophism to argue from thence, that this immunity is the cause of my delight either on these or on any occasions. No one can distinguish such a cause of satisfaction in his own mind, I believe ; nay, when we do not suffer any very acute pain, nor are exposed to any imminent danger of our lives, we can feel for others, whilst we suffer ourselves ; and often then most when we are softened by affliction ; we see with pity even distresses which we would accept in the place of our own.

## S E C T. XVI.

## I M I T A T I O N.

**T**HE second passion belonging to society is imitation, or if you will, a desire of imitating, and consequently a pleasure in it. This passion arises from much the same cause with sympathy. For as sympathy makes us take a concern in whatever men feel, so this affection prompts us to copy whatever they do; and consequently we have a pleasure in imitating, and in whatever belongs to imitation merely as it is such, without any intervention of the reasoning faculty; but solely from our natural constitution, which Providence has framed in such a manner as to find either pleasure or delight, according to the nature of the object, in whatever regards the purposes of our being. It is by imitation, far more than by precept, that we learn every thing; and what we learn thus, we acquire not only more effectually, but more pleasantly. This forms our manners, our opinions, our lives. It is one of the strongest links of society; it is a species of mutual compliance, which all men yield to each other without constraint to themselves, and which is extremely flattering to all. Herein it is that painting and many other agreeable arts have laid one of the principal foundations of their power. And since, by its influence on our manners and our passions, it is of such great consequence, I shall here venture to lay  
down

down a rule, which may inform us with a good degree of certainty when we are to attribute the power of the arts to imitation, or to our pleasure in the skill of the imitator merely, and when to sympathy, or some other cause in conjunction with it. When the object represented in poetry or painting is such as we could have no desire of seeing in the reality, then I may be sure that its power in poetry or painting is owing to the power of imitation, and to no cause operating in the thing itself. So it is with most of the pieces which the painters call still-life. In these a cottage, a dunghill, the meanest and most ordinary utensils of the kitchen, are capable of giving us pleasure. But when the object of the painting or poem is such as we should run to see if real, let it affect us with what odd sort of sense it will, we may rely upon it, that the power of the poem or picture is more owing to the nature of the thing itself than to the mere effect of imitation, or to a consideration of the skill of the imitator, however excellent. Aristotle has spoken so much and so solidly upon the force of imitation in his poetics, that it makes any further discourse upon this subject the less necessary.

## S E C T. XVII.

## A M B I T I O N.

**A**LTHOUGH imitation is one of the great instruments used by Providence in bringing  
 G our



our nature towards its perfection, yet if men gave themselves up to imitation entirely, and each followed the other, and so on in an eternal circle, it is easy to see that there never could be any improvement amongst them. Men must remain as brutes do, the same at the end that they are at this day, and that they were in the beginning of the world. To prevent this, God has planted in man a sense of ambition, and a satisfaction arising from the contemplation of his excelling his fellows in something deemed valuable amongst them. It is this passion that drives men to all the ways we see in use of signaling themselves, and that tends to make whatever excites in a man the idea of this distinction so very pleasant. It has been so strong as to make very miserable men take comfort that they were supreme in misery ; and certain it is, that where we cannot distinguish ourselves by something excellent, we begin to take a complacency in some singular infirmities, follies, or defects of one kind or other. It is on this principle that flattery is so prevalent ; for flattery is no more than what raises in a man's mind an idea of a preference which he has not. Now, whatever, either on good or upon bad grounds, tends to raise a man in his own opinion, produces a sort of swelling and triumph, that is extremely grateful to the human mind ; and this swelling is never more perceived, nor operates with more force, than when without danger we are conversant with terrible objects, the mind always claiming to itself some part of the dignity and importance of the things which it contemplates. Hence proceeds what Longinus has observed of that glorying

ing and sense of inward greatness, that always fills the reader of such passages in poets and orators as are sublime; it is what every man must have felt in himself upon such occasions.

## S E C T. XVIII.

## The R E C A P I T U L A T I O N .

**T**O draw the whole of what has been said into a few distinct points; The passions which belong to self-preservation, turn on pain and danger; they are simply painful when their causes immediately affect us; they are delightful when we have an idea of pain and danger, without being actually in such circumstances; this delight I have not called pleasure, because it turns on pain, and because it is different enough from any idea of positive pleasure. Whatever excites this delight, I call *sublime*. The passions belonging to self-preservation are the strongest of all the passions.

The second head to which the passions are referred with relation to their final cause, is society. There are two sorts of societies. The first is, the society of sex. The passion belonging to this is called love, and it contains a mixture of lust; its object is the beauty of women. The other is the great society with man and all other animals. The passion subservient to this is called likewise love, but it has no mixture of lust, and its object is beauty; which is a name I shall apply to all such qualities in things as induce in us a sense of affection and tenderness,

ness, or some other passion the most nearly resembling these. The passion of love has its rise in positive pleasure; it is, like all things which grow out of pleasure, capable of being mixed with a mode of uneasiness, that is, when an idea of its object is excited in the mind with an idea at the same time of having irretrievably lost it. This mixed sense of pleasure I have not called *pain*, because it turns upon actual pleasure, and because it is, both in its cause and in most of its effects, of a nature altogether different.

Next to the general passion we have for society, to a choice in which we are directed by the pleasure we have in the object, the particular passion under this head called sympathy has the greatest extent. The nature of this passion is to put us in the place of another in whatever circumstance he is in, and to affect us in a like manner; so that this passion may, as the occasion requires, turn either on pain or pleasure; but with the modifications mentioned in some cases in sect. 11. As to imitation and preference, nothing more need be said.

## S E C T. XIX.

### The C O N C L U S I O N.

**I** Believe that an attempt to range and methodize some of our most leading passions, would be a good preparative to such an enquiry as we are going to make in the ensuing discourse. The passions I have mentioned are almost the only ones which it can be necessary to consider in our present design; though

though the variety of the passions is great, and worthy in every branch of that variety of an attentive investigation. The more accurately we search into the human mind, the stronger traces we every where find of his wisdom who made it. If a discourse on the use of the parts of the body may be considered as an hymn to the Creator; the use of the passions, which are the organs of the mind, cannot be barren of praise to him, nor unproductive to ourselves of that noble and uncommon union of science and admiration, which a contemplation of the works of infinite wisdom alone can afford to a rational mind; whilst, referring to him whatever we find of right or good or fair in ourselves, discovering his strength and wisdom even in our own weakness and imperfection, honouring them where we discover them clearly, and adoring their profundity where we are lost in our search, we may be inquisitive without impertinence, and elevated without pride; we may be admitted, if I may dare to say so, into the counsels of the Almighty by a consideration of his works. The elevation of the mind ought to be the principal end of all our studies, which if they do not in some measure effect, they are of very little service to us. But, besides this great purpose, a consideration of the rationale of our passions seems to me very necessary for all who would affect them upon solid and sure principles. It is not enough to know them in general: to affect them after a delicate manner, or to judge properly of any work designed to affect them, we should know the exact boundaries of their several jurisdictions; we should pursue them through all their variety of operations, and pierce into the in-

most,

most, and what might appear inaccessible parts of our nature,

*Quod latet arcand non enarrabile fibrd.*

Without all this it is possible for a man, after a confused manner, sometimes to satisfy his own mind of the truth of his work ; but he can never have a certain determinate rule to go by, nor can he ever make his propositions sufficiently clear to others. Poets, and orators, and painters, and those who cultivate other branches of the liberal arts, have without this critical knowledge succeeded well in their several provinces, and will succeed ; as among artificers there are many machines made and even invented without any exact knowledge of the principles they are governed by. It is, I own, not uncommon to be wrong in theory and right in practice ; and we are happy that it is so. Men often act right from their feelings, who afterwards reason but ill on them from principle ; but as it is impossible to avoid an attempt at such reasoning, and equally impossible to prevent its having some influence on our practice, surely it is worth taking some pains to have it just, and founded on the basis of sure experience. We might expect that the artists themselves would have been our surest guides ; but the artists have been too much occupied in the practice : the philosophers have done little ; and what they have done, was mostly with a view to their own schemes and systems ; and as for those called critics, they have generally sought the rule of the arts in the wrong place ; they sought it among poems, pictures, engravings,

wings, statues and buildings. But art can never give the rules that make an art. This is, I believe, the reason why artists in general, and poets principally, have been confined in so narrow a circle; they have been rather imitators of one another than of nature; and this with so faithful an uniformity, and to so remote an antiquity, that it is hard to say who gave the first model. Critics follow them, and therefore can do little as guides. I can judge but poorly of any thing, whilst I measure it by no other standard than itself. The true standard of the arts is in every man's power; and an easy observation of the most common, sometimes of the meanest things in nature, will give the truest lights, where the greatest sagacity and industry that flights such observation, must leave us in the dark, or, what is worse, amuse and mislead us by false lights. In an enquiry it is almost every thing to be once in a right road. I am satisfied I have done but little by these observations considered in themselves; and I never should have taken the pains to digest them, much less should I have ever ventured to publish them, if I was not convinced that nothing tends more to the corruption of science than to suffer it to stagnate. These waters must be troubled before they can exert their virtues. A man who works beyond the surface of things, though he may be wrong himself, yet he clears the way for others, and may chance to make even his errors subservient to the cause of truth. In the following parts I shall enquire what things they are that cause in us the affections of the sublime and beautiful, as in this I have considered the affections themselves. I only desire one favour, that no part of this discourse may

may be judged of by itself, and independently of the rest; for I am sensible I have not disposed my materials to abide the test of a captious controversy, but of a sober and even forgiving examination; that they are not armed at all points for battle, but dressed to visit those who are willing to give a peaceful entrance to truth.

THE END OF THE FIRST PART

A Philosophical Enquiry  
 INTO THE  
 ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS  
 OF THE  
 SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL;

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P A R T. II.

S E C T. I.

Of the passion caused by the SUBLIME.

**T**HE passion caused by the great and sublime in *nature*, when those causes operate most powerfully, is astonishment; and astonishment is that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror\*. In this case, the mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it. Hence arises the great power of the sublime, that, far from being produced by them, it anticipates our reasonings, and hurries us on by an irresistible force. Astonishment, as I have said, is the effect of the sublime in its highest degree; the inferior effects are admiration, reverence and respect.

\* Part. I. Sect. 3, 4, 7.



## S E C T. II.

## T E R R O R.

**N**O passion so effectually robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning as fear. \* For fear being an apprehension of pain or death, it operates in a manner that resembles actual pain. Whatever therefore is terrible with regard to sight, is sublime too, whether this cause of terror, be endued with greatness of dimensions or not; for it is impossible to look on any thing as trifling, or contemptible, that may be dangerous. There are many animals, who though far from being large, are yet capable of raising ideas of the sublime, because they are considered as objects of terror; as serpents and poisonous animals of almost all kinds. And to things of great dimensions, if we annex an adventitious idea of terror, they become without comparison greater. A level plain of a vast extent on land, is certainly no mean idea; the prospect of such a plain may be as extensive as a prospect of the ocean: but can it ever fill the mind with any thing so great as the ocean itself? This is owing to several causes; but it is owing to none more than this, that the ocean is an object of no small terror. Indeed terror is in all cases whatsoever, either more openly or latently, the ruling principle of the sublime. Several languages bear a strong testimony to the affinity of these ideas. They frequently use the same word, to signify indifferently the modes of astonishment or

\* Part. IV. sects. 3, 4, 5, 6.

admira-

admiration and those of terror. *εκκμς* is in Greek, either fear or wonder; *τις* is terrible or respectable; *αδς*, to reverence or to fear. *Vereor* in Latin, is what *αδς* is in Greek. The Romans used the verb *stupeo*, a term which strongly marks the state of an astonished mind, to express the effect either of simple fear, or of astonishment; the word *attonitus* (thunder-struck) is equally expressive of the alliance of these ideas; and do not the French *etonnement*, and the English *astonishment* and *amazement*, point out as clearly the kindred emotions which attend fear and wonder? They who have a more general knowledge of languages, could produce, I make no doubt, many other and equally striking examples.

## S E C T. III.

## O B S C U R I T Y.

**T**O make any thing very terrible, obscurity\* seems in general to be necessary. When we know the full extent of any danger, when we can accustom our eyes to it, a great deal of the apprehension vanishes. Every one will be sensible of this, who considers how greatly night adds to our dread, in all cases of danger, and how much the notions of ghosts and goblins, of which none can form clear ideas, affect minds which give credit to the popular tales concerning such sorts of beings. Those despotic governments, which are founded on the passions of men, and principally upon the passion of fear, keep

\* Part. IV. sect. 14, 15, 16.

their chief as much as may be from the public eye. The policy has been the same in many cases of religion. Almost all the heathen temples were dark. Even in the barbarous temples of the Americans at this day, they keep their idol in a dark part of the hut, which is consecrated to his worship. For this purpose too the druids performed all their ceremonies in the bosom of the darkest woods, and in the shade of the oldest and most spreading oaks. No person seems better to have understood the secret of heightening, or of setting terrible things, if I may use the expression, in their strongest light, by the force of a judicious obscurity, than Milton. His description of death in the second book is admirably studied; it is astonishing with what a gloomy pomp, with what a significant and expressive uncertainty of strokes and colouring, he has finished the portrait of the king of terrors :

*The other shape,  
If shape it might be call'd that shape had none  
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;  
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,  
For each seem'd either; black he stood as night;  
Fierce as ten furies; terrible as hell;  
And shook a deadly dart. What seem'd his head  
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.*

In this description all is dark, uncertain, confused, terrible, and sublime to the last degree.

## SECT. IV.

Of the difference between CLEARNESS and OBSCURITY with regard to the passions.

IT is one thing to make an idea clear, and another to make it affecting to the imagination. If I make a drawing of a palace, or a temple, or a landscape, I present a very clear idea of those objects; but then (allowing for the effect of imitation, which is something) my picture can at most affect only as the palace, temple, or landscape, would have affected in the reality. On the other hand, the most lively and spirited verbal description I can give, raises a very obscure and imperfect *idea* of such objects; but then it is in my power to raise a stronger *emotion* by the description than I could do by the best painting. This experience constantly evinces. The proper manner of conveying the *affections* of the mind from one to another, is by words; there is a great insufficiency in all other methods of communication; and so far is a clearness of imagery from being absolutely necessary to an influence upon the passions, that they may be considerably operated upon, without presenting any image at all, by certain sounds adapted to that purpose; of which we have a sufficient proof in the acknowledged and powerful effects of instrumental music. In reality, a great clearness helps but little towards affecting the passions, as it is in some sort an enemy to all enthusiasms whatsoever.

SECT.

## S E C T. (IV.)

The same subject continued.

**T**HERE are two verses in Horace's art of poetry that seem to contradict this opinion, for which reason I shall take a little more pains in clearing it up. The verses are,

*Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures,  
Quam que sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.*

On this the Abbe du Bos finds a criticism, wherein he gives painting the preference to poetry, in the article of moving the passions; principally on account of the greater *clearness* of the ideas it represents. I believe this excellent judge was led into this mistake (if it be a mistake) by his system, to which he found it more conformable than I imagine it will be found by experience. I know several who admire and love painting, and yet who regard the objects of their admiration in that art with coolness enough in comparison of that warmth with which they are animated by affecting pieces of poetry or rhetoric. Among the common sort of people, I never could perceive that painting had much influence on their passions. It is true, that the best sorts of painting, as well as the best sorts of poetry, are not much understood in that sphere. But it is most certain, that their passions are very strongly roused by a fanatic preacher, or by the ballads of Chevy.

Chevy-chafe, or the children in the wood, and by other little popular poems and tales that are current in that rank of life. I do not know of any paintings, bad or good, that produce the same effect. So that poetry, with all its obscurity, has a more general, as well as a more powerful dominion over the passions than the other art. And I think there are reasons in nature, why the obscure idea, when properly conveyed, should be more affecting than the clear. It is our ignorance of things that causes all our admiration, and chiefly excites our passions. Knowledge and acquaintance make the most striking causes affect but little. It is thus with the vulgar; and all men are as the vulgar in what they do not understand. The ideas of eternity, and infinity, are among the most affecting we have; and perhaps there is nothing of which we really understand so little, as of infinity, and eternity. We do not any where meet a more sublime description than this justly celebrated one of Milton, wherein he gives the portrait of Satan with a dignity so suitable to the subject:

*He above the rest*

*In shape and gesture proudly eminent  
 Stood like a tower; his form had yet not lost  
 All her original brightness, nor appear'd  
 Less than archangel ruined, and th' excess  
 Of glory obscur'd: as when the sun new ris'n  
 Looks through the horizontal misty air  
 Sharp of his beams; or from behind the moon  
 In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds  
 On half the nations; and with fear of change  
 Perplexes monarchs.*

Here

Here is a very noble picture; and in what does this poetical picture consist? In images of a tower, an archangel, the sun rising through mists, or in an eclipse, the ruin of monarchs, and the revolutions of kingdoms. The mind is hurried out of itself, by a crowd of great and confused images; which affect because they are crowded and confused. For separate them, and you lose much of the greatness; and join them, and you infallibly lose the clearness. The images raised by poetry are always of this obscure kind; though in general the effects of poetry, are by no means to be attributed to the images it raises; which point we shall examine more at large hereafter\*. But painting, when we have allowed for the pleasure of imitation, can only affect simply by the images it presents; and even in painting a judicious obscurity in some things contributes to the effect of the picture, because the images in painting are exactly similar to those in nature; and in nature dark, confused, uncertain images have a greater power on the fancy to form the grander passions, than those have which are more clear and determinate. But where and when this observation may be applied to practice, and how far it shall be extended, will be better deduced from the nature of the subject, and from the occasion, than from any rules that can be given.

I am sensible that this idea has met with opposition, and is likely still to be rejected by several. But let it be considered, that hardly any thing can strike

\* Part V.

the mind with its greatness, which does not make some sort of approach towards infinity; which nothing can do whilst we are able to perceive its bounds; but to see an object distinctly, and to perceive its bounds, is one and the same thing. A clear idea is therefore another name for a little idea. There is a passage in the book of Job amazingly sublime, and this sublimity is principally due to the terrible uncertainty of the thing described: “In thoughts  
 “ from the visions of the night, when deep sleep  
 “ falleth upon men, fear came upon me and trem-  
 “ bling, which made all my bones to shake. Then  
 “ a spirit passed before my face. The hair of my  
 “ flesh stood up. It stood still, *but I could not discern*  
 “ *the form thereof*; an image was before mine eyes;  
 “ there was silence; and I heard a voice,—Shall  
 “ mortal man be more just than God?” We are first prepared with the utmost solemnity for the vision; we are first terrified, before we are let even into the obscure cause of our emotion: but when this grand cause of terror makes its appearance, what is it? is it not wrapt up in the shades of its own incomprehensible darkness, more awful, more striking, more terrible, than the liveliest description, than the clearest painting, could possibly represent it? When painters have attempted to give us clear representations of these very fanciful and terrible ideas, they have, I think, almost always failed; insomuch that I have been at a loss, in all the pictures I have seen of hell, whether the painter did not intend something ludicrous. Several painters have handled a subject of this kind with a view of assembling as many horrid phantoms as  
 I their



their imaginations could suggest; but all the designs I have chanced to meet of the temptations of St. Anthony, were rather a sort of odd wild grotesques, than any thing capable of producing a serious passion. In all these subjects poetry is very happy. Its apparitions, its chimeras, its harpies, its allegorical figures, are grand and affecting; and though Virgil's Fame, and Homer's Discord, are obscure, they are magnificent figures. These figures in painting would be clear enough, but I fear they might become ridiculous.

## S E C T. V.

## P O W E R.

**B**ESIDES those things which *directly* suggest the idea of danger, and those which produce a similar effect from a mechanical cause, I know of nothing sublime, which is not some modification of power. And this branch rises as naturally as the other two branches, from terror, the common stock of every thing that is sublime. The idea of power, at first view, seems of the class of these indifferents, which may equally belong to pain or to pleasure. But in reality, the affection arising from the idea of vast power, is extremely remote from that neutral character. For first, we must remember, \* that the idea of pain, in its highest degree, is much stronger than the highest degree of pleasure; and that it preserves the same super-

\* Part I. sect. 7.

iority through all the subordinate gradations. From hence it is, that where the chances for equal degrees of suffering or enjoyment are in any sort equal, the idea of the suffering must always be prevalent. And indeed the ideas of pain, and above all of death, are so very affecting, that whilst we remain in the presence of whatever is supposed to have the power of inflicting either, it is impossible to be perfectly free from terror. Again, we know by experience, that for the enjoyment of pleasure, no great efforts of power are at all necessary; nay we know, that such efforts would go a great way towards destroying our satisfaction; for pleasure must be stolen, and not forced upon us; pleasure follows the will; and therefore we are generally affected with it by many things of a force greatly inferior to our own. But pain is always inflicted by a power in some way superior, because we never submit to pain willingly. So that strength, violence, pain, and terror, are ideas that rush in upon the mind together. Look at a man, or any other animal of prodigious strength, and what is your idea before reflection? Is it that this strength will be subservient to you, to your ease, to your pleasure, to your interest in any sense? No; the emotion you feel is, lest this enormous strength should be employed to the purposes of rapine and destruction. That power derives all its sublimity from the terror with which it is generally accompanied, will appear evidently from its effect in the very few cases in which it may be possible to strip a confide-

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\* Vide Part III, sect. 21.

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rable degree of strength of its ability to hurt. When you do this, you spoil it of every thing sublime, and it immediately becomes contemptible. An ox is a creature of vast strength; but he is an innocent creature, extremely servicable, and not at all dangerous; for which reason the idea of an ox is by no means grand. A bull is strong too: but his strength is of another kind; often very destructive, seldom (at least amongst us) of any use in our business; the idea of a bull is therefore great, and it has frequently a place in sublime descriptions, and elevating comparisons. Let us look at another strong animal in the two distinct lights in which we may consider him. The horse in the light of an useful beast, fit for the plough, the road, the draft; in every social useful light the horse has nothing of the sublime: but is it thus that we are affected with him, "whose neck  
 " is cloathed with thunder, the glory of whose nostrils  
 " is terrible, who swalloweth the ground with  
 " fierceness and rage, neither believeth that it is the  
 " sound of the trumpet?" In this description the useful character of the horse entirely disappears, and the terrible and sublime blaze out together. We have continually about us animals of a strength that is considerable, but not pernicious. Amongst these we never look for the sublime; it comes upon us in the gloomy forest, and in the howling wilderness, in the form of the lion, the tiger, the panther, or rhinoceros. Whenever strength is only useful, and employed for our benefit or our pleasure, then it is never sublime; for nothing can act agreeably to us that does not act in conformity to our will, but to act agreeably to our will, it must be subject to us, and therefore can never be the cause of a grand and commanding conception.

tion. The description of the wild afs, in Job, is worked up into no small sublimity, merely by insisting on his freedom, and his setting mankind at defiance ; otherwise the description of such an animal could have had nothing noble in it. “ Who hath loosed” (says he) “ the bands of the wild afs ? whose house  
 “ I have made the wilderness, and the barren land  
 “ his dwellings. He scorneth the multitude of the  
 “ city, neither regardeth he the voice of the driver.  
 “ The range of the mountains is his pasture.” The magnificent description of the unicorn and of leviathan in the same book, is full of the same heightening circumstances. “ Will the unicorn be willing to  
 “ serve thee ? canst thou bind the unicorn with his  
 “ band in the furrow ? wilt thou trust him, because  
 “ his strength is great ?——Canst thou draw out leviathan with an hook ? will he make a covenant  
 “ with thee ? wilt thou take him for a servant for  
 “ ever ? shall not one be cast down even at the  
 “ sight of him ?” In short, wheresoever we find strength, and in what light soever we look upon power, we shall all along observe the sublime the concomitant of terror, and contempt the attendant on a strength that is subservient and innoxious. The race of dogs in many of their kinds, have generally a competent degree of strength and swiftness ; and they exert these and other valuable qualities which they possess, greatly to our convenience and pleasure. Dogs are indeed the most social, affectionate, and amiable animals of the whole brute creation ; but love approaches much nearer to contempt than is commonly imagined ; and accordingly, though we cherish dogs, we borrow from them an appellation of  
 the

the most despicable kind, when we employ terms of reproach; and this appellation is the common mark of the last vileness and contempt in every language. Wolves have not more strength than several species of dogs; but, on account of their unmanageable fierceness, the idea of a wolf is not despicable; it is not excluded from grand descriptions and similitudes. Thus we are affected by strength, which is *natural power*. The power which arises from institution in kings and commanders, has the same connection with terror. Sovereigns are frequently addressed with the title of *dread majesty*. And it may be observed, that young persons, little acquainted with the world, and who have not been used to approach men in power, are commonly struck with an awe which takes away the free use of their faculties. “When I prepared my “feat in the street,” (says Job,) “the young men “saw me, and hid themselves.” Indeed, so natural is this timidity with regard to power, and so strongly does it inhere in our constitution, that very few are able to conquer it, but by mixing much in the business of the great world, or by using no small violence to their natural dispositions. I know some people are of opinion, that no degree of terror, accompanies the idea of power: and have hazarded to affirm, that we can contemplate the idea of God himself, without any such emotion. I purposely avoided, when I first considered this subject, to introduce the idea of that great and tremendous Being, as an example in an argument so light as this; though it frequently occurred to me, not as an objection to, but as a strong confirmation of, my notions in this matter. I hope, in what I am going to say, I shall avoid

avoid presumption, where it is almost impossible for any mortal to speak with strict propriety. I say then, that whilst we consider the Godhead merely as he is an object of the understanding, which forms a complex idea of power, wisdom, justice, goodness, all stretched to a degree far exceeding the bounds of our comprehension, whilst we consider the Divinity in this refined and abstracted light, the imagination and passions are little or nothing affected. But because we are bound, by the condition of our nature, to ascend to these pure and intellectual ideas, through the medium of sensible images, and to judge of these divine qualities by their evident acts and exertions, it becomes extremely hard to disentangle our idea of the cause from the effect by which we are led to know it. Thus when we contemplate the Deity, his attributes and their operation coming united on the mind, form a sort of sensible image, and as such are capable of affecting the imagination. Now, though in a just idea of the Deity, perhaps none of his attributes are predominant, yet to our imagination, his power is by far the most striking. Some reflection, some comparing, is necessary to satisfy us of his wisdom, his justice, and his goodness. To be struck with his power, it is only necessary that we should open our eyes. But whilst we contemplate so vast an object, under the arm as it were, of almighty power, and invested upon every side with omnipresence, we shrink into the minuteness of our own nature, and are, in a manner, annihilated before him. And though a consideration of his other attributes may relieve in some measure our apprehensions ;

sions; yet no conviction of the justice with which it is exercised, nor the mercy with which it is tempered, can wholly remove the terror that naturally arises from a force which nothing can withstand. If we rejoice, we rejoice with trembling: and even whilst we are receiving benefits, we cannot but shudder at a power which can confer benefits of such mighty importance. When the prophet David contemplated the wonders of wisdom and power which are displayed in the œconomy of man, he seems to be struck with a sort of divine horror, and cries out, “Fearfully and wonderfully am I made!” An heathen poet has a sentiment of a similar nature; Horace looks upon it as the last effort of philosophical fortitude, to behold without terror and amazement, this immense and glorious fabric of the universe:

*Hunc solem, et stellas, et decedentia certis  
Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla  
Imbuti spectant.*

Lucretius is a poet not to be suspected of giving way to superstitious terrors; yet when he supposes the whole mechanism of nature laid open by the master of his philosophy, his transport on this magnificent view, which he has represented in the colours of such bold and lively poetry, is overcast with a shade of secret dread and horror:

*His tibi me rebus quadam divina voluptas  
Percipit atque horror, quod sic Natura tua vi  
Tam manifesta patet ex omni parte retea.*

But

But the scripture alone can supply ideas answerable to the majesty of this subject. In the scripture, where-ever God is represented as appearing or speaking, every thing terrible in nature is called up to heighten the awe and solemnity of the divine presence. The psalms, and the prophetical books, are crowded with instances of this kind. "The earth shook" says the psalmist, "the heavens also dropped at the presence of the Lord." And what is remarkable, the painting preserves the same character; not only when he is supposed descending to take vengeance upon the wicked, but even when he exerts the like plenitude of power in acts of beneficence to mankind. "Tremble thou earth! at the presence of the Lord; at the presence of the God of Jacob; which turned the rock into standing water, the flint into a fountain of waters!" It were endless to enumerate all the passages, both in the sacred and profane writers, which establish the general sentiment of mankind, concerning the inseparable union of a sacred and reverential awe, with our ideas of the divinity. Hence the common maxim, *Primos in orbe deos fecit timor*. This maxim may be, as I believe it is, false with regard to the origin of religion. The maker of the maxim saw how inseparable these ideas were, without considering that the notion of some great power must be always precedent to our dread of it. But this dread must necessarily follow the idea of such a power, when it is once excited in the mind. It is on this principle that true religion has, and must have, so large a mixture of salutary fear; and that false religions have generally nothing else but fear to sup-



port them. Before the Christian religion had, as it were, humanized the idea of the Divinity, and brought it somewhat nearer to us, there was very little said of the love of God. The followers of Plato have something of it, and only something; the other writers of pagan antiquity, whether poets or philosophers, nothing at all. And they who consider with what infinite attention, by what a disregard of every perishable object, through what long habits of piety and contemplation it is, any man is able to attain an entire love and devotion to the Deity, will easily perceive, that it is not the first, the most natural, and the most striking effect which proceeds from that idea. Thus we have traced power through its several gradations unto the highest of all, where our imagination is finally lost; and we find terror, quite throughout the progress, its inseparable companion, and growing along with it, as far as we can possibly trace them. Now, as power is undoubtedly a capital source of the sublime, this will point out evidently from whence its energy is derived, and to what class of ideas we ought to unite it.

## S E C T. VI.

## P R I V A T I O N.

**A**LL general privations are great because they are all terrible; *Vacuity, Darknefs, Solitude,* and *Silence*. With what a fire of imagination, yet with what severity of judgment, has Virgil amassed all these circumstances, where he knows that all the images of a tremendous dignity ought to be united,

at the mouth of hell ! where, before he unlocks the secrets of the great deep, he seems to be seized with a religious horror, and to retire astonished at the boldness of his own design :

*Di quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque silentes !  
Et Chaos, et Phlegethon ! loca nocte silentia late !  
Sis mihi fas audita loqui ! sit numine vestro  
Pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas !  
Hæant obscuro, sola sub nocte, per umbram,  
Perque domos Diis vacuas, et inania regna.*

*'Tis subterraneous Gods ! whose awful sway  
The gliding ghosts, and silent shades obey ;  
O Chaos, hear and Phlegethon profound !  
Whose solemn empire stretches wide around !  
Give me, ye great tremendous powers, to tell  
Of scenes and wonders in the depths of hell :  
Give me your mighty secrets to display  
From these black realms of darkness to the day,*

PITT,

*Obscure they went through dreary shades that led  
Along the waste dominions of the dead.*

POPE.

## SECT. VII.

## V A S T N E S S.

**G**REATNESS \* of dimension is a powerful cause of the sublime. This is too evident, and the observation too common, to need any illustration ; it is not so common, to consider in what ways greatness of dimension, vastness of extent or quantity, has the most striking effect. For certainly, there are ways and modes, wherein the same quantity of extension shall produce greater effects than it is found to do in others. Extension is either in length, height, or depth. Of these the length strikes least ; an hundred yards of even ground will never work such an effect as a tower an hundred yards high, or a rock or mountain of that altitude. I am apt to imagine likewise, that height is less grand than depth ; and that we are more struck at looking down from a precipice, than looking up at an object of equal height : but of that I am not very positive. A perpendicular has more force in forming the sublime, than an inclined plain ; and the effects of a rugged and broken surface seem stronger than where it is smooth and polished. It would carry us out of our way to enter in this place into the cause of these appearances ; but certain it is they afford a large and fruitful field of speculation. However, it may not be amiss to add to these remarks upon magnitude, that, as the great extreme of dimension is sublime, so the last ex-

\* Part IV. sect. 9.

extreme of littleness is in some measure sublime likewise; when we attend to the infinite divisibility of matter, when we pursue animal life into these excessively small, and yet organized beings, that escape the nicest inquisition of the sense, when we push our discoveries yet downward, and consider those creatures so many degrees yet smaller, and the still diminishing scale of existence, in tracing which the imagination is lost as well as the sense, we become amazed and confounded at the wonders of minuteness; nor can we distinguish in its effect this extreme of littleness from the vast itself. For division must be infinite as well as addition; because the idea of a perfect unity can no more be arrived at, than that of a complete whole, to which nothing may be added.

## S E C T. VIII.

## I N F I N I T Y.

**A**NOTHER source of the sublime is *Infinity*; if it does not rather belong to the last. Infinity has a tendency to fill the mind with that sort of delightful horror, which is the most genuine effect, and truest test of the sublime. There are scarce any things which can become the objects of our senses, that are really and in their own nature infinite. But the eye not being able to perceive the bounds of many things, they seem to be infinite, and they produce the same effects as if they were really so. We are deceived in the like manner, if the parts of some large object are so continued to any indefinite number,

ber, that the imagination meets no check which may hinder its extending them at pleasure.

Whenever we repeat any idea frequently, the mind, by a sort of mechanism, repeats it long after the first cause has ceased to operate\*. After whirling about, when we sit down, the objects about us still seem to whirl. After a long succession of noises, as the fall of waters, or the beating of forge-hammers, the hammers beat and the water roars in the imagination long after the first sounds have ceased to affect it; and they die away at last by gradations which are scarcely perceptible. If you hold up a strait pole, with your eye to one end, it will seem extended to a length almost incredible †. Place a number of uniform and equidistant marks on this pole, they will cause the same deception, and seem multiplied without end. The senses, strongly affected in some one manner, cannot quickly change their tenor, or adapt themselves to other things; but they continue in their old channel until the strength of the first mover decays. This is the reason of an appearance very frequent in madmen; that they remain whole days and nights, sometimes whole years, in the constant repetition of some remark, some complaint, or song; which having struck powerfully on their disordered imagination in the beginning of their phrenzy, every repetition reinforces it with new strength; and the hurry of their spirits, unrestrained by the curb of reason, continues it to the end of their lives.

\* Part IV. sect. 12.

† Part IV. sect. 14.

## S E C T. IX.

SUCCESSION *and* UNIFORMITY.

**S**UCCESION and *uniformity* of parts are what constitute the artificial infinite. 1. *Succession*; which is requisite that the parts may be continued so long and in such a direction, as by their frequent impulses on the sense to impress the imagination with an idea of their progress beyond their actual limits. 2. *Uniformity*; because if the figures of the parts should be changed, the imagination at every change finds a check; you are presented at every alteration with the termination of one idea, and the beginning of another; by which means it becomes impossible to continue that uninterrupted progression, which alone can stamp on bounded objects the character of infinity. \* It is in this kind of artificial infinity, I believe, we ought to look for the cause why a rotund has such a noble effect. For in a rotund, whether it be a building or a plantation, you can nowhere fix a boundary; turn which way you will, the same object still seems to continue, and the imagination has no rest. But the parts must be uniform, as well as circularly disposed, to give this figure its full force; because any difference, whether it be in the disposition or in the figure, or even in the colour of the parts, is highly prejudicial to the

\* Mr. Addison, in the Spectator concerning the pleasures of the imagination, thinks it is because in the rotund at one glance you see half the building. This I do not imagine to be the real cause.

idea of infinity, which every change must check and interrupt, at every alteration commencing a new series. On the same principles of succession and uniformity, the grand appearance of the ancient heathen temples, which were generally oblong forms, with a range of uniform pillars on every side, will be easily accounted for. From the same cause also may be derived the grand effect of our aisles in many of our own old cathedrals. The form of a cross used in some churches seems to me not so eligible as the parallelogram of the ancients; at least, I imagine it is not so proper for the outside. For supposing the arms of the cross every way equal, if you stand in a direction parallel to any of the side-walls or colonnades, instead of a deception that makes the building more extended than it is, you are cut off from a considerable part (two thirds) of its *actual* length; and to prevent all possibility of progression, the arms of the cross taking a new direction, make a right angle with the beam, and thereby wholly turn the imagination from the repetition of the former idea. Or suppose the spectator placed where he may take a direct view of such a building, what will be the consequence? the necessary consequence will be, that a good part of the basis of each angle formed by the intersection of the arms of the cross, must be inevitably lost; the whole must of course assume a broken unconnected figure; the lights must be unequal, here strong and there weak; without that noble gradation, which the perspective always effects on parts disposed uninterruptedly in a right line. Some or all of these objections will lie against every figure of a cross, in  
whatever

whatever view you take it. I exemplified them in the Greek cross, in which these faults appear the most strongly; but they appear in some degree in all sorts of crosses. Indeed there is nothing more prejudicial to the grandeur of buildings, than to abound in angles; a fault obvious in many; and owing to an inordinate thirst for variety, which, whenever it prevails, is sure to leave very little true taste.

## S E C T. X:

## Magnitude in B U I L D I N G.

**T**O the sublime in building, greatness of dimension seems requisite; for on a few parts, and those small, the imagination cannot rise to any idea of infinity. No greatness in the manner can effectually compensate for the want of proper dimensions. There is no danger of drawing men into extravagant designs by this rule; it carries its own caution along with it. Because too great a length in buildings destroys the purpose of greatness, which it was intended to promote; the perspective will lessen it in height as it gains in length; and will bring it at last to a point; turning the whole figure into a sort of triangle, the poorest in its effect of almost any figure that can be presented to the eye. I have ever observed, that colonnades and avenues of trees of a moderate length, were without comparison far grander, than when they were suffered to run to immense distances. A true artist should put a generous deceit on the spectators, and effect the no-

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blest



blest designs by easy methods. Designs that are vast only by their dimensions, are always the sign of a common and low imagination. No work of art can be great, but as it deceives; to be otherwise is the prerogative of nature only. A good eye will fix the medium betwixt an excessive length or height (for the same objection lies against both), and a short or broken quantity; and perhaps it might be ascertained to a tolerable degree of exactness, if it was my purpose to descend far into the particulars of any art.

## S E C T. XI.

## INFINITY in pleasing OBJECTS.

**I**NFINITY, though of another kind, causes much of our pleasure in agreeable, as well as of our delight in sublime images. The spring is the pleafantest of the seasons; and the young of most animals, though far from being completely fashioned, afford a more agreeable sensation than the full-grown; because the imagination is entertained with the promise of something more, and does not acquiesce in the present object of the sense. In unfinished sketches of drawing, I have often seen something which pleased me beyond the best finishing; and this I believe proceeds from the cause I have just now assigned.

## S E C T. XII.

## D I F F I C U L T Y.

\* **A**NOTHER source of greatness is *Difficulty*. When any work seems to have required immense force and labour to effect it, the idea is grand. Stone-henge neither for disposition nor ornament, has any thing admirable; but those huge rude masses of stone, set on end, and piled each on other, turn the mind on the immense force necessary for such a work. Nay, the rudeness of the work increases this cause of grandeur, as it excludes the idea of art and contrivance; for dexterity produces another sort of effect, which is different enough from this.

## S E C T. XIII.

## M A G N I F I C E N C E.

**M**AGNIFICENCE is likewise a source of the sublime. A great profusion of things, which are splendid or valuable in themselves, is *magnificent*. The starry heaven, though it occurs so very frequently to our view, never fails to excite an idea of grandeur. This cannot be owing to any thing in the stars themselves, separately considered. The number is certainly the cause. The apparent disorder

\* Part IV. sect. 4, 5, 6.

augments the grandeur, for the appearance of care is highly contrary to our ideas of magnificence. Besides, the stars lie in such apparent confusion, as makes it impossible on ordinary occasions to reckon them. This gives them the advantage of a sort of infinity. In works of art, this kind of grandeur, which consists in multitude, is to be very cautiously admitted; because a profusion of excellent things is not to be attained, or with too much difficulty; and because in many cases this splendid confusion would destroy all use, which should be attended to in most of the works of art with the greatest care; besides it is to be considered, that unless you can produce an appearance of infinity by your disorder, you will have disorder only without magnificence. There are, however, a sort of fire-works, and some other things, that in this way succeed well, and are truly grand. There are also many descriptions in the poets and orators, which owe their sublimity to a richness and profusion of images, in which the mind is so dazzled as to make it impossible to attend to that exact coherence and agreement of the allusions, which we should require on every other occasion. I do not now remember a more striking example of this, than the description which is given of the king's army in the play of Henry the Fourth :

*All furnish'd, all in arms,  
 All plum'd like ostriches that with the wind  
 Baited like eagles having lately bathed :  
 As full of spirit as the month of May,  
 And gorgeous as the sun in midsummer,  
 Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.*

*I saw*

*I saw young Harry with a beaver on  
 Rise from the ground like feather'd Mercury ;  
 And vaulted with such ease into his seat  
 As if an angel dropped from the clouds  
 To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus.*

In that excellent book, so remarkable for the vivacity of its descriptions, as well as the solidity and penetration of its sentences, the Wisdom of the son of Sirach, there is a noble panegyric on the high priest Simon the son of Onias ; and it is a very fine example of the point before us :

“ How was he honoured in the midst of the people, in his coming out of the sanctuary ! He was  
 “ as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and  
 “ as the moon at the full ; as the sun shining upon  
 “ the temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow  
 “ giving light in the bright clouds : and as the  
 “ flower of roses in the spring of the year, as lilies  
 “ by the rivers of waters, and as the frankincense  
 “ tree in summer ; as fire and incense in the censer,  
 “ and as a vessel of gold set with precious stones ; as  
 “ a fair olive tree budding forth fruit, and as a cypress which groweth up to the clouds. When he  
 “ put on the robe of honour, and was clothed with  
 “ the perfection of glory, when he went up to the  
 “ holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable. He himself stood by the hearth of the  
 “ altar, compassed with his brethren round about,  
 “ as a young cedar in Libanus, and as palm trees  
 “ compassed they him about. So were all the sons

“ of Aaron in their glory, and the oblations of the  
 “ Lord in their hands, &c.”

## S E C T. XIV.

## L I G H T.

**H**AVING considered extension, so far as it is capable of raising ideas of greatness; *colour* comes next under consideration. All colours depend on *light*. Light therefore ought previously to be examined; and with it its opposite darkness. With regard to light, to make it a cause capable of producing the sublime, it must be attended with some circumstances, besides its bare faculty of shewing other objects. Mere light is too common a thing to make a strong impression on the mind, and without a strong impression nothing can be sublime. But such a light as that of the sun, immediately exerted on the eye, as it overpowers the sense, is a very great idea. Light of an inferior strength to this, if it moves with great celerity, has the same power; for lightning is certainly productive of grandeur, which it owes chiefly to the extreme velocity of its motion. A quick transition from light to darkness, or from darkness to light, has yet a greater effect. But darkness is more productive of sublime ideas than light. Our great poet was convinced of this; and indeed so full was he of this idea, so entirely possessed with the power of a well managed darkness, that in describing the appearance of the Deity, amidst that  
 profu-

profusion of magnificent images which the grandeur of his subject provokes him to pour out upon every side, he is far from forgetting the obscurity which surrounds the most incomprehensible of all beings, but

— *With the majesty of darkness round  
Circles his throne.*

And what is no less remarkable, our author had the secret of preserving this idea, even when he seemed to depart the farthest from it, when he describes the light and glory which flows from the divine presence; a light which by its very excess is converted into a species of darkness.

*Dark with excessive light thy skirts appear.*

Here is an idea not only poetical in an high degree, but strictly and philosophically just. Extreme light, by overcoming the organs of sight, obliterates all objects, so as in its effect exactly to resemble darkness. After looking for some time at the sun, two black spots, the impression which it leaves, seem to dance before our eyes. Thus are two ideas as opposite as can be imagined reconciled in the extremes of both; and both in spite of their opposite nature brought to concur in producing the sublime. And this is not the only instance wherein the opposite extremes operate equally in favour of the sublime, which in all things abhors mediocrity.

S E C T.

## S E C T. XV.

## Light in BUILDING.

**A**S the management of light is a matter of importance in architecture, it is worth enquiring how far this remark is applicable to building. I think then, that all edifices calculated to produce an idea of the sublime, ought rather to be dark and gloomy, and this for two reasons ; the first is, that darkness itself on other occasions is known by experience to have a greater effect on the passions than light. The second is, that to make an object very striking, we should make it as different as possible from the objects with which we have been immediately conversant ; when therefore you enter a building, you cannot pass into a greater light than you had in the open air ; to go into one some few degrees less luminous, can make only a trifling change ; but to make the transition thoroughly striking, you ought to pass from the greatest light, to as much darkness as is consistent with the uses of architecture. At night the contrary rule will hold, but for the very same reason ; and the more highly a room is then illuminated, the grander will the passion be.

S E C T.

## S E C T. XVI.

C O L O U R considered as productive of the  
S U B L I M E.

**A**MONG colours, such as are soft or cheerful (except perhaps a strong red which is cheerful) are unfit to produce grand images. An immense mountain covered with a shining green turf, is nothing, in this respect, to one dark and gloomy; the cloudy sky is more grand than the blue; and night more sublime and solemn than day. Therefore in historical painting, a gay or gaudy drapery can never have a happy effect: and in buildings, when the highest degree of the sublime is intended, the materials and ornaments ought neither be white, nor green, nor yellow, nor blue, nor of a pale red, nor violet, nor spotted, but of sad and fuscous colours, as black, or brown, or deep purple, and the like. Much of gilding, mosaics, painting, or statues, contribute but little to the sublime. This rule need not be put in practice, except where an uniform degree of the most striking sublimity is to be produced, and that in every particular; for it ought to be observed, that this melancholy kind of greatness, though it be certainly the highest, should not be studied in all sorts of edifices, where yet grandeur must be studied; in such cases the sublimity must be drawn from the other sources; with a strict caution however against any thing light and riant; as nothing so effectually deadens the whole taste of the sublime:



## S E C T. XVII.

## S O U N D and L O U D N E S S.

**T**HE eye is not the only organ of sensation, by which a sublime passion may be produced. Sounds have a great power in these as in most other passions. I do not mean words, because words do not affect simply by their sounds, but by means altogether different. Excessive loudness alone is sufficient to overpower the soul, to suspend its action, and to fill it with terror. The noise of vast cataracts, raging storms, thunder, or artillery, awakes a great and awful sensation in the mind, though we can observe no nicety or artifice in those sorts of music. The shouting of multitudes has a similar effect; and by the sole strength of the sound, so amazes and confounds the imagination, that, in this staggering, and hurry of the mind, the best established tempers can scarcely forbear being borne down, and joining in the common cry, and common resolution of the crowd.

## S E C T. XVIII.

## S U D D E N N E S S.

**A** Sudden beginning, or sudden cessation of sound of any considerable force has the same power. The attention is roused by this; and the faculties

faculties driven forward, as it were, on their guard. Whatever either in sights or sounds makes the transition from one extreme to the other easy, causes no terror, and consequently can be no cause of greatness. In every thing sudden and unexpected, we are apt to start ; that is, we have a perception of danger, and our nature rouses us to guard against it. It may be observed that a single sound of some strength, though but of short duration, if repeated after intervals, has a grand effect. Few things are more awful than the striking of a great clock, when the silence of the night prevents the attention from being too much dissipated. The same may be said of a single stroke on a drum, repeated with pauses ; and of the successive firing of cannon at a distance. All the effects mentioned in this section have causes very nearly alike.

## S E C T. XIX.

## I N T E R M I T T I N G.

**A**LOW, tremulous, intermitting sound, though it seems in some respects opposite to that just mentioned, is productive of the sublime. It is worth while to examine this a little. The fact itself must be determined by every man's own experience and reflection. I have already observed, that \* night increases our terror, more perhaps than any thing else ;

\* Sect. 3.

it is our nature, when we do not know what may happen to us, to fear the worst that can happen us ; and hence it is, that uncertainty is so terrible, that we often seek to be rid of it, at the hazard of a certain mischief. Now, some low, confused, uncertain sounds leave us in the same fearful anxiety concerning their causes, that no light, or an uncertain light, does concerning the objects that surround us.

*Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna  
Est iter in sylvis.—*

*—A faint shadow of uncertain light,  
Like as a lamp, whose life doth fade away ;  
Or as the moon clothed with cloudy might  
Doth shew to him who walks in fear and great affright.*

SPENSER.

But a light now appearing, and now leaving us, and so off and on, is even more terrible than total darkness : and a sort of uncertain sounds are, when the necessary dispositions concur, more alarming than a total silence.

## SECT. XX.

### The cries of ANIMALS.

**S**UCH sounds as imitate the natural inarticulate voices of men, or any animals in pain or danger,

danger, are capable of conveying great ideas ; unless it be the well-known voice of some creature, on which we are used to look with contempt. The angry tones of wild beasts are equally capable, of causing a great and awful sensation.

*Hinc exaudire gemitus, iraque leonum  
Vincla recusantum, et fera sub nocte rudentum ;  
Setigerique fues, atque in prasopibus urfi  
Savire ; et formæ magnorum ululare luporum.*

It might seem that these modulations of sound carry some connection with the nature of the things they represent, and are not merely arbitrary ; because the natural cries of all animals, even of those animals with whom we have not been acquainted, never fail to make themselves sufficiently understood ; this cannot be said of language. The modifications of sound, which may be productive of the sublime, are almost infinite. Those I have mentioned, are only a few instances to shew, on what principles they are all built.

## S E C T. XXI.

### SMELL and TASTE, BITTERS and STENCHES.

**S**MELLS, and *Tastes*, have some share too in ideas of greatness ; but it is a small one, weak in its nature, and confined in its operations. I shall

only

only observe, that no smells or tastes can produce a grand sensation, except excessive bitters, and intolerable stench. It is true, that these affections of the smell and taste, when they are in their full force and lean directly upon the sensory, are simply painful, and accompanied with no sort of delight; but when they are moderated, as in a description or narrative, they become sources of the sublime, as genuine as any other, and upon the very same principle of a moderated pain. "A cup of bitterness;" "to drain the bitter cup of fortune;" "the bitter apples of Sodom;" these are all ideas suitable to a sublime description. Nor is this passage of Virgil without sublimity, where the stench of the vapour in Albunea conspires so happily with the sacred horror and gloominess of that prophetic forest:

*At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fausti  
 Fatidici genitoris adit, lucosque sub alta  
 Consulit Albunea, nemorum que maxima sacro  
 Fonte sonat; sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim.*

In the sixth book, and in a very sublime description the poisonous exhalation of Acheron is not forgot, nor does it at all disagree with the other images amongst which it is introduced:

*Spelunca alta fuit, vastoque immanis biatu  
 Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris,  
 Quam super haud ulla poterant impune volantea  
 Tendere iter pennis, talis sese balitus atris  
 Faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat.*

I have added these examples, because some friends,  
 for

for whose judgment I have great deference, were of opinion, that if the sentiment stood nakedly by itself, it would be subject, at first view, to burlesque and ridicule; but this I imagine would principally arise from considering the bitterness and stench in company with mean and contemptible ideas, with which it must be owned they are often united; such an union degrades the sublime in all other instances as well as in those. But it is one of the tests by which the sublimity of an image is to be tried, not whether it becomes mean when associated with mean ideas; but whether, when united with images of an allowed grandeur, the whole composition is supported with dignity. Things which are terrible are always great; but when things possess disagreeable qualities, or such as have indeed some degree of danger, but of a danger easily overcome, they are merely *odious*, as toads and spiders.

## S E C T. XXII.

## F E E L I N G. P A I N.

**O**F *Feeling*, little more can be said than that the idea of bodily pain, in all the modes and degrees of labour, pain, anguish, torment, is productive of the sublime; and nothing else in this sense can produce it. I need not give here any fresh instances, as those given in the former sections abundantly illustrate a remark, that in reality wants only an attention to nature, to be made by every body.

Having thus run through the causes of the sublime with reference to all the senses, my first observation

vation (sect. 7.) will be found very nearly true ; that the sublime is an idea belonging to self-preservation ; that it is therefore one of the most affecting we have ; that its strongest emotion is an emotion of distress ; and that no \* pleasure from a positive cause belongs to it. Numberless examples, besides those mentioned, might be brought in support of these truths, and many perhaps useful consequences drawn from them—

*Sed fugit interea, fugit irrevocabile tempus,  
Singula dum capti circumviamur amore.*

\* Vide part I. sect. 6.

THE END OF THE SECOND PART.

A Philosophical Enquiry  
 INTO THE  
 ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS  
 OF THE  
 SUBLIME and BEAUTIFUL.

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PART III.

S E C T I.

O F B E A U T Y.

**I**T is my design to consider beauty as distinguished from the sublime; and, in the course of the enquiry, to examine how far it is consistent with it. But previous to this, we must take a short review of the opinions already entertained of this quality; which I think are hardly to be reduced to any fixed principles; because men are used to talk of beauty in a figurative manner, that is to say, in a manner extremely uncertain, and indeterminate. By beauty I mean that quality, or those qualities in bodies, by which they cause love, or some passion similar to it. I confine this definition to the merely sensible qualities of things, for the sake of preserving the utmost simplicity in a subject which must always distract us, whenever we take in those various causes of sympathy which attach us to any persons or things from secondary considerations, and not from the

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direct



direct force which they have merely on being viewed. I likewise distinguish love, by which I mean that satisfaction which arises to the mind upon contemplating any thing beautiful, of whatsoever nature it may be, from desire or lust; which is an energy of the mind, that hurries us on to the possession of certain objects, that do not affect us as they are beautiful, but by means altogether different. We shall have a strong desire for a woman of no remarkable beauty; whilst the greatest beauty in men, or in other animals, though it causes love, yet excites nothing at all of desire. Which shews that beauty, and the passion caused by beauty, which I call love, is different from desire though desire may sometimes operate along with it; but it is to this latter that we must attribute those violent and tempestuous passions, and the consequent emotions of the body which attend what is called love in some of its ordinary acceptations, and not to the effects of beauty merely as it is such.

## S E C T. II.

Proportion not the cause of BEAUTY in  
V E G E T A B L E S.

**B**EAUTY hath usually been said to consist in certain proportions of parts. On considering the matter, I have great reason to doubt, whether beauty be at all an idea belonging to proportion. Proportion relates almost wholly to convenience, as every idea of order seems to do; and it must therefore be considered as a creature of the understanding,  
rather

rather than a primary cause acting on the senses and imagination. It is not by the force of long attention and enquiry that we find any object to be beautiful; beauty demands no assistance from our reasoning; even the will is unconcerned; the appearance of beauty as effectually causes some degree of love in us, as the application of ice or fire produces the ideas of heat or cold. To gain something like a satisfactory conclusion in this point, it were well to examine, what proportion is; since several who make use of that word, do not always seem to understand very clearly the force of the term, nor to have very distinct ideas concerning the thing itself. Proportion is the measure of relative quantity. Since all quantity is divisible, it is evident that every distinct part into which any quantity is divided, must bear some relation to the other parts, or to the whole. These relations give an origin to the idea of proportion. They are discovered by mensuration, and they are the objects of mathematical enquiry. But whether any part of any determinate quantity be a fourth, or a fifth, or a sixth, or moiety of the whole; or whether it be of equal length with any other part, or double its length, or but one half, is a matter merely indifferent to the mind; it stands neuter in the question: and it is from this absolute indifference and tranquillity of the mind, that mathematical speculations derive some of their most considerable advantages; because there is nothing to interest the imagination; because the judgment sits free and unbiassed to examine the point. All proportions, every arrangement

of quantity is alike to the understanding, because the same truths result to it from all; from greater, from lesser, from equality and inequality. But surely beauty is no idea belonging to mensuration; nor has it any thing to do with calculation and geometry. If it had, we might then point out some certain measures which we could demonstrate to be beautiful, either as simply considered, or as related to others; and we could call in those natural objects, for whose beauty we have no voucher but the sense, to this happy standard, and confirm the voice of our passions by the determination of our reason. But since we have not this help, let us see whether proportion can in any sense be considered as the cause of beauty, as hath been so generally, and by some so confidently affirmed. If proportion be one of the constituents of beauty, it must derive that power either from some natural properties inherent in certain measures, which operate mechanically; from the operation of custom; or from the fitness which some measures have to answer some particular ends of conveniency. Our business therefore is to enquire, whether the parts of those objects, which are found beautiful in the vegetable or animal kingdoms, are constantly so formed according to such certain measures, as may serve to satisfy us that their beauty results from those measures, on the principle of a natural mechanical cause; or from custom; or, in fine, from their fitness for any determinate purposes. I intend to examine this point under each of these heads in their order. But before I proceed further, I hope it will not be thought amiss, if I lay down the rules which governed me in this enquiry, and which have misled

me in it, if I have gone astray. 1. If two bodies produce the same or a similar effect on the mind, and on examination they are found to agree in some of their properties, and to differ in others; the common effect is to be attributed to the properties in which they agree, and not to those in which they differ. 2. Not to account for the effect of a natural object from the effect of an artificial object. 3. Not to account for the effect of any natural object from a conclusion of our reason concerning its uses, if a natural cause may be assigned. Not to admit any determinate quantity, or any relation of quantity, as the cause of a certain effect, if the effect is produced by different or opposite measures and relations; or if these measures and relations may exist, and yet the effect may not be produced. These are the rules which I have chiefly followed, whilst I examined into the power of proportion considered as a natural cause; and these, if he thinks them just, I request the reader to carry with him throughout the following discussion; whilst we enquire in the first place, in what things we find this quality of beauty; next, to see whether in these we can find any assignable proportions in such a manner as ought to convince us that our idea of beauty results from them. We shall consider this pleasing power, as it appears in vegetables, in the inferior animals, and in man. Turning our eyes to the vegetable creation, we find nothing there so beautiful as flowers; but flowers are almost of every sort of shape, and of every sort of disposition; they are turned and fashioned into an infinite variety of forms; and from these forms, botanists have given them their names, which are almost as  
various

various. What proportion do we discover between the stalks and the leaves of flowers, or between the leaves and the pistils? How does the slender stalk of the rose agree with the bulky head under which it bends? but the rose is a beautiful flower; and can we undertake to say that it does not owe a great deal of its beauty even to that disproportion? the rose is a large flower, yet it grows upon a small shrub; the flower of the apple is very small, and grows upon a large tree; yet the rose and the apple blossom are both beautiful, and the plants that bear them are most engagingly attired, notwithstanding this disproportion. What by general consent is allowed to be a more beautiful object than an orange tree, flourishing at once with its leaves, its blossoms, and its fruit; but it is in vain that we search here for any proportion between the height, the breadth, or any thing else concerning the dimensions of the whole, or concerning the relation of the particular parts to each other. I grant that we may observe in many flowers, something of a regular figure, and of a methodical disposition of the leaves. The rose has such a figure and such a disposition of its petals; but in an oblique view, when this figure is in a good measure lost, and the order of the leaves confounded, it yet retains its beauty; the rose is even more beautiful before it is full blown; and the bud, before this exact figure is formed; and this is not the only instance wherein method and exactness, the soul of proportion, are found rather prejudicial than serviceable to the cause of beauty.

S E C T.

## S E C T. III.

Proportion not the cause of BEAUTY in  
ANIMALS.

**T**HAT proportion has but a small share in the formation of beauty, is full as evident among animals. Here the greatest variety of shapes, and dispositions of parts, are well fitted to excite this idea. The swan, confessedly a beautiful bird, has a neck longer than the rest of his body, and but a very short tail : is this a beautiful proportion ; we must allow that it is. But then what shall we say to the peacock, who has comparatively but a short neck, with a tail longer than the neck and the rest of the body taken together ? How many birds are there that vary infinitely from each of these standards, and from every other which you can fix, with proportions different, and often directly opposite to each other ! and yet many of these birds are extremely beautiful ; when upon considering them we find nothing in any one part that might determine us, *a priori*, to say what the others ought to be, nor indeed to guess any thing about them, but what experience might show to be full of disappointment and mistake. And with regard to the colours either of birds or flowers, for there is something similar in the colouring of both, whether they are considered in their extension or gradation, there is nothing of proportion to be observed. Some are of but one single colour ; others have

have all the colours of the rainbow ; some are of the primary colours, others are of the mixt ; in short, an attentive observer may soon conclude, that there is as little of proportion in the colouring as in the shapes of these objects. Turn next to beasts ; examine the head of a beautiful horse ; find what proportion that bears to his body, and to his limbs, and what relations these have to each other ; and when you have settled these proportions as a standard of beauty, then take a dog or cat, or any other animal, and examine how far the same proportions between their heads and their neck, between those and the body, and so on, are found to hold ; I think we may safely say, that they differ in every species, yet that there are individuals found in a great many species so differing, that have a very striking beauty. Now, if it be allowed that very different, and even contrary, forms and dispositions are consistent with beauty, it amounts I believe to a concession, that no certain measures operating from a natural principle, are necessary to produce it, at least so far as the brute species is concerned.

## S E C T. IV.

Proportion not the cause of BEAUTY in the  
HUMAN species.

**T**HERE are some parts of the human body, that are observed to hold certain proportions to each other ; but before it can be proved that the  
efficient

efficient cause of beauty lies in these, it must be shewn, that wherever these are found exact, the person to whom they belong is beautiful: I mean in the effect produced on the view, either of any member distinctly considered, or of the whole body together. It must be likewise shewn, that these parts stand in such a relation to each other, that the comparison between them may be easily made, and that the affection of the mind may naturally result from it. For my part, I have at several times very carefully examined many of those proportions, and found them hold very nearly, or altogether alike in many subjects, which were not only very different from one another, but where one has been very beautiful, and the other very remote from beauty. With regard to the parts which are found so proportioned, they are often so remote from each other, in situation, nature, and office, that I cannot see how they admit of any comparison, nor consequently how any effect owing to proportion can result from them. The neck, say they, in beautiful bodies, should measure with the calf of the leg; it should likewise be twice the circumference of the wrist. And an infinity of observations of this kind are to be found in the writings and conversations of many. But what relation has the calf of the leg to the neck; or either of these parts to the wrist? These proportions are certainly to be found in handsome bodies. They are as certainly in ugly ones; as any who will take the pains to try may find. Nay, I do not know but they may be least perfect in some of the most beautiful. You may assign any proportions you please to every part



of the human body ; and I undertake that a painter shall religiously observe them all, and notwithstanding produce, if he pleases, a very ugly figure. The same painter shall considerably deviate from these proportions, and produce a very beautiful one. And indeed it may be observed in the master pieces of the ancient and modern statuary, that several of them differ very widely from the proportions of others, in parts very conspicuous, and of great consideration ; and that they differ no less from the proportions we find in living men, of forms extremely striking and agreeable. And after all, how are the partizans of proportional beauty agreed amongst themselves about the proportions of the human body ? some hold it to be seven heads ; some make it eight ; whilst others extend it even to ten ; a vast difference in such a small number of divisions ! Others take other methods of estimating the proportions, and all with equal success. But are these proportions exactly the same in all handsome men ? or are they at all the proportions found in beautiful women ; nobody will say that they are ; yet both sexes are undoubtedly capable of beauty, and the female of the greatest ; which advantage I believe will hardly be attributed to the superior exactness of proportion in the fair sex. Let us rest a moment on this point ; and consider how much difference there is between the measures that prevail in many similar parts of the body, in the two sexes of this single species only. If you assign any determinate proportions to the limbs of a man, and if you limit human beauty to these proportions, when you find a woman who differs in the make and measures of almost every part, you must conclude her not to  
be

be beautiful, in spite of the suggestions of your imagination ; or, in obedience to your imagination, you must renounce your rules ; you must lay by the scale and compass, and look out for some other cause of beauty. For if beauty be attached to certain measures which operate from a *principle in nature*, why should similar parts with different measures of proportion be found to have beauty, and this too in the very same species ? but to open our view a little, it is worth observing, that almost all animals have parts of very much the same nature, and destined nearly to the same purposes ; an head, neck, body, feet, eyes, ears, nose, and mouth ; yet Providence, to provide in the best manner for their several wants, and to display the riches of his wisdom and goodness in his creation, has worked out of these few and similar organs, and members, a diversity hardly short of infinite in their disposition, measures, and relation. But, as we have before observed, amidst this infinite diversity, one particular is common to many species ; several of the individuals which compose them are capable of affecting us with a sense of loveliness ; and whilst they agree in producing this effect, they differ extremely in the relative measures of those parts which have produced it. These considerations were sufficient to induce me to reject the notion of any particular proportions that operated by nature to produce a pleasing effect ; but those who will agree with me with regard to a particular proportion, are strongly prepossessed in favour of one more indefinite. They imagine, that although beauty in general is annexed to no certain measures common to the several kinds

of pleasing plants and animals ; yet that there is a certain proportion in each species absolutely essential to the beauty of that particular kind. If we consider the animal world in general, we find beauty confined to no certain measures ; but as some peculiar measure and relation of parts is what distinguishes each peculiar class of animals, it must of necessity be, that the beautiful in each kind will be found in the measures and proportions of that kind ; for otherwise it would deviate from its proper species, and become in some sort monstrous : however, no species is so strictly confined to any certain proportions, that there is not a considerable variation amongst the individuals ; and as it has been shewn of the human, so it may be shewn of the brute kinds, that beauty is found indifferently in all the proportions which each kind can admit, without quitting its common form ; and it is this idea of a common form that makes the proportion of parts at all regarded, and not the operation of any natural cause : indeed a little consideration will make it appear, that it is not measure but manner that creates all the beauty which belongs to shape. What light do we borrow from these boasted proportions, when we study ornamental design ? It seems amazing to me, that artists, if they were as well convinced as they pretend to be, that proportion is a principal cause of beauty, have not by them at all times accurate measurements of all sorts of beautiful animals to help them to proper proportions, when they would contrive any thing elegant, especially as they frequently assert, that it is from an observation of the beautiful in nature they direct their practice. I know that it has been said long since, and echoed backward and  
forward

forward from one writer to another a thousand times, that the proportions of building have been taken from those of the human body. To make this forced analogy complete, they represent a man with his arms raised and extended at full length, and then describe a sort of square, as it is formed by passing lines along the extremities of this strange figure. But it appears very clearly to me, that the human figure never supplied the architect with any of his ideas. For in the first place, men are very rarely seen in this strained posture; it is not natural to them; neither is it at all becoming. Secondly, the view of the human figure so disposed, does not naturally suggest the idea of a square, but rather of a cross; as that large space between the arms and the ground, must be filled with something before it can make any body think of a square. Thirdly, several buildings are by no means of the form of that particular square, which are notwithstanding planned by the best architects, and produce an effect altogether as good, and perhaps a better. And certainly nothing could be more unaccountably whimsical, than for an architect to model his performance by the human figure, since no two things can have less resemblance or analogy, than a man, and an house or temple: do we need to observe, that their purposes are entirely different? What I am apt to suspect is this: that these analogies were devised to give a credit to the works of art, by shewing a conformity between them and the noblest works in nature; not that the latter served at all to supply hints for the perfection of the former. And I am the more fully convinced, that the patrons  
of

of proportion have transferred their artificial ideas to nature, and not borrowed from thence the proportions they use in works of art; because in any discussion of this subject they always quit as soon as possible the open field of natural beauties, the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and fortify themselves within the artificial lines and angles of architecture. For there is in mankind an unfortunate propensity to make themselves, their views, and their works, the measure of excellence in every thing whatsoever. Therefore having observed that their dwellings were most commodious and firm when they were thrown into regular figures, with parts answerable to each other; they transferred these ideas to their gardens; they turned their trees into pillars, pyramids, and obelisks; they formed their hedges into so many green walls, and fashioned walks into squares, triangles, and other mathematical figures, with exactness and symmetry; and they thought, if they were not imitating, they were at least improving nature, and teaching her to know her business. But nature has at last escaped from their discipline and their fetters; and our gardens, if nothing else, declare, we begin to feel that mathematical ideas are not the true measures of beauty. And surely they are full as little so in the animal, as the vegetable world. For is it not extraordinary, that in these fine descriptive pieces, these innumerable odes and elegies which are in the mouths of all the world, and many of which have been the entertainment of ages, that in these pieces which describe love with such a passionate energy, and represent its object in such an infinite variety of lights, not one word is said of proportion,

if

if it be, what some insist it is, the principle component of beauty; whilst at the same time, several other qualities are very frequently and warmly mentioned? But if proportion has not this power, it may appear odd how men came originally to be so prepossessed in its favour. It arose, I imagine, from the fondness I have just mentioned, which men bear so remarkably to their own works and notions; it arose from false reasonings on the effects of the customary figure of animals; it arose from the Platonic theory of fitness and aptitude. For which reason, in the next section, I shall consider the effects of custom in the figure of animals; and afterwards the idea of fitness: since if proportion does not operate by a natural power attending some measures, it must be either by custom, or the idea of utility; there is no other way.

## S E C T. V.

## Proportion further considered.

**I**F I am not mistaken, a great deal of the prejudice in favour of proportion has arisen, not so much from the observation of any certain measures found in beautiful bodies, as from a wrong idea of the relation which deformity bears to beauty, to which it has been considered as the opposite; on this principle it was concluded, that where the causes of deformity were removed, beauty must naturally and necessarily be introduced. This I believe is a mistake. For *deformity* is opposed not to beauty, but to the *complete, common form*. If one of the legs of a man be  
found

found shorter than the other, the man is deformed ; because there is something wanting to complete the whole idea we form of a man ; and this has the same effect in natural faults, as maiming and mutilation produce from accidents. So if the back be humped, the man is deformed ; because his back has an unusual figure, and what carries with it the idea of some disease or misfortune ; so if a man's neck be considerably longer or shorter than usual, we say he is deformed in that part, because men are not commonly made in that manner. But surely every hour's experience may convince us, that a man may have his legs of an equal length, and resembling each other in all respects, and his neck of a just size, and his back quite straight, without having at the same time the least perceivable beauty. Indeed beauty is so far from belonging to the idea of custom, that in reality what affects us in that manner is extremely rare and uncommon. The beautiful strikes us as much by its novelty as the deformed itself. It is thus in those species of animals with which we are acquainted ; and if one of a new species were represented, we should by no means wait until custom had settled an idea of proportion, before we decided concerning its beauty or ugliness : which shews that the general idea of beauty can be no more owing to customary than to natural proportion. Deformity arises from the want of the common proportions ; but the necessary result of their existence in any object is not beauty. If we suppose proportion in natural things to be relative to custom and use, the nature of use and custom will shew, that beauty, which is a *positive* and powerful quality cannot result from it.

it. We are so wonderfully formed, that, whilst we are creatures vehemently desirous of novelty, we are as strongly attached to habit and custom. But it is the nature of things which hold us by custom, to affect us very little whilst we are in possession of them, but strongly when they are absent. I remember to have frequented a certain place, every day for a long time together; and I may truly say, that so far from finding pleasure in it, I was affected with a sort of weariness and disgust; I came, I went, I returned, without pleasure; yet if by any means I passed by the usual time of going thither, I was remarkably uneasy, and was not quiet till I had got into my old track. They who use snuff, take it almost without being sensible that they take it, and the acute sense of smell is deadened, so as to feel hardly any thing from so sharp a stimulus; yet deprive the snuff-taker of his box, and he is the most uneasy mortal in the world. Indeed so far are use and habit from being causes of pleasure, merely as such, that the effect of constant use is to make all things of whatever kind entirely uninteresting. For as use at last takes off the painful effect of many things, it reduces the pleasurable effect of others in the same manner, and brings both to a sort of mediocrity and indifference. Very justly is use called a second nature; and our natural and common state is one of absolute indifference, equally prepared for pain or pleasure. But when we are thrown out of this state, or deprived of any thing requisite to maintain us in it: when this chance does not happen by pleasure from some mechanical cause, we are always hurt. It is so with the second nature, custom, in all things



which relate to it. Thus the want of the usual proportions in men and other animals is sure to disgust, though their presence is by no means any cause of real pleasure. It is true, that the proportions laid down as causes of beauty in the human body, are frequently found in beautiful ones, because they are generally found in all mankind; but if it can be shewn too, that they are found without beauty, and that beauty frequently exists without them, and that this beauty, where it exists, always can be assigned to other less equivocal causes, it will naturally lead us to conclude, that proportion and beauty are not ideas of the same nature. The true opposite to beauty is not disproportion or deformity, but *ugliness*; and as it proceeds from causes opposite to those of positive beauty, we cannot consider it until we come to treat of that. Between beauty and ugliness there is a sort of mediocrity, in which the assigned proportions are most commonly found; but this has no effect upon the passions.

#### S E C T. VI.

##### FITNESS not the cause of BEAUTY.

**I**T is said that the idea of utility, or of a part's being well adapted to answer its end, is the cause of beauty, or indeed beauty itself. If it were not for this opinion, it had been impossible for the doctrine of proportion to have held its ground very long; the world would be soon weary of hearing of measures which related to nothing, either of a natural principle,

ple, or of a fitness to answer some end ; the idea which mankind most commonly conceive of proportion, is the suitableness of means to certain ends, and, where this is not the question, very seldom trouble themselves about the effect of different measures of things. Therefore it was necessary for this theory to insist, that not only artificial, but natural objects took their beauty from the fitness of the parts for their several purposes. But in framing this theory, I am apprehensive that experience was not sufficiently consulted. For, on that principle, the wedge-like snout of a swine, with its tough cartilage at the end, the little sunk eyes, and the whole make of the head, so well adapted to its offices of digging and rooting, would be extremely beautiful. The great bag hanging to the bill of a pelican, a thing highly useful to this animal, would be likewise as beautiful in our eyes. The hedgehog, so well secured against all assaults by his prickly hide, and the porcupine with his missile quills, would be then considered as creatures of no small elegance. There are few animals whose parts are better contrived than those of a monkey ; he has the hands of a man, joined to the springy limbs of a beast ; he is admirably calculated for running, leaping, grappling, and climbing ; and yet there are few animals which seem to have less beauty in the eyes of all mankind. I need say little on the trunk of the elephant, of such various usefulness, and which is so far from contributing to his beauty. How well fitted is the wolf for running and leaping ! how admirably is the

lion armed for battle ! but will any one therefore call the elephant, the wolf, and the lion, beautiful animals ? I believe nobody will think the form of a man's legs so well adapted to running, as those of an horse, a dog, a deer, and several other creatures ; at least they have not that appearance : yet, I believe, a well-fashioned human leg will be allowed far to exceed all these in beauty. If the fitness of parts was what constituted the loveliness of their form, the actual employment of them would undoubtedly much augment it ; but this, though it is sometimes so upon another principle, is far from being always the case. A bird on the wing is not so beautiful as when it is perched ; nay, there are several of the domestic fowls which are seldom seen to fly, and which are nothing the less beautiful on that account ; yet birds are so extremely different in their form from the beast and human kinds, that you cannot, on the principle of fitness, allow them any thing agreeable, but in consideration of their parts being designed for quite other purposes. I never in my life chanced to see a peacock fly ; and yet before, very long before I considered any aptitude in his form for the aerial life, I was struck with the extreme beauty which raises that bird above many of the best flying fowls in the world ; though, for any thing I saw, his way of living was much like that of the swine, which fed in the farm-yard along with him. The same may be said of cocks, hens, and the like ; they are of the flying kind in figure ; in their manner of moving not very different from men and beasts. To leave these foreign examples ; if beauty in our own species was annexed to use, men would be much more lovely

ly than women; and strength and agility would be considered as the only beauties. But to call strength by the name of beauty, to have but one denomination for the qualities of a Venus and Hercules, so totally different in almost all respects, is surely a strange confusion of ideas, or abuse of words. The cause of this confusion, I imagine, proceeds from our frequently perceiving the parts of the human and other animal bodies to be at once very beautiful, and very well adapted to their purposes; and we are deceived by a sophism, which makes us take that for a cause which is only a concomitant: this is the sophism of the fly; who imagined he raised a great dust, because he stood upon the chariot that really raised it. The stomach, the lungs, the liver, as well as other parts, are incomparably well adapted to their purposes; yet they are far from having any beauty. Again, many things are very beautiful, in which it is impossible to discern any idea of use. And I appeal to the first and most natural feelings of mankind, whether, on beholding a beautiful eye, or a well-fashioned mouth, or a well-turned leg, any ideas of their being well fitted for seeing, eating, or running, ever present themselves. What idea of use is it that flowers excite, the most beautiful part of the vegetable world? It is true, that the infinitely wise and good Creator has, of his bounty, frequently joined beauty to those things which he has made useful to us; but this does not prove that an idea of use and beauty are the same thing, or that they are any way dependent on each other.

## S E C T. VII.

## The real effects of FITNESS.

**W**HEN I excluded proportion and fitness from any share in beauty, I did not by any means intend to say that they were of no value, or that they ought to be disregarded in works of art. Works of art are the proper sphere of their power; and here it is that they have their full effect. Whenever the wisdom of our Creator intended that we should be affected with any thing, he did not confine the execution of his design to the languid and precarious operation of our reason; but he indued it with powers and properties that prevent the understanding, and even the will, which seizing upon the senses and imagination, captivate the soul before the understanding is ready either to join with them, or to oppose them. It is by a long deduction and much study that we discover the adorable wisdom of God in his works: when we discover it, the effect is very different, not only in the manner of acquiring it, but in its own nature, from that which strikes us without any preparation from the sublime or the beautiful. How different is the satisfaction of an anatomist, who discovers the use of the muscles and of the skin, the excellent contrivance of the one for the various movements of the body, and the wonderful texture of the other, at once a general covering, and at once a general outlet as well

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as inlet ; how different is this from the affection which possesses an ordinary man at the sight of a delicate smooth skin, and all the other parts of beauty, which require no investigation to be perceived ! In the former case, whilst we look up to the Maker with admiration and praise, the object which causes it may be odious and distasteful ; the latter very often so touches us by its power on the imagination, that we examine but little into the artifice of its contrivance ; and we have need of a strong effort of our reason to disentangle our minds from the allurements of the object, to a consideration of that wisdom which invented so powerful a machine. The effect of proportion and fitness, at least so far as they proceed from a mere consideration of the work itself, produce approbation, the acquiescence of the understanding, but not love, nor any passion of that species. When we examine the structure of a watch, when we come to know thoroughly the use of every part of it, satisfied as we are with the fitness of the whole, we are far enough from perceiving any thing like beauty in the watch-work itself ; but let us look on the case, the labour of some curious artist in engraving, with little or no idea of use, we shall have a much livelier idea of beauty than we ever could have had from the watch itself, though the master-piece of Graham. In beauty, as I said, the effect is previous to any knowledge of the use ; but to judge of proportion, we must know the end for which any work is designed. According to the end the proportion varies. Thus there is one proportion of a tower, another of an house ; one proportion of a gallery, another of an hall, another

ther of a chamber. To judge of the proportions of these, you must be first acquainted with the purposes for which they were designed. Good sense and experience acting together, find out what is fit to be done in every work of art. We are rational creatures, and in all our works we ought to regard their end and purpose; the gratification of any passion, how innocent soever, ought only to be of secondary consideration. Herein is placed the real power of fitness and proportion; they operate on the understanding considering them, which *approves* the work and acquiesces in it. The passions, and the imagination which principally raises them, have here very little to do. When a room appears in its original nakedness, bare walls and a plain ceiling; let its proportion be ever so excellent, it pleases very little; a cold approbation is the utmost we can reach; a much worse proportioned room with elegant mouldings and fine festoons, glasses, and other merely ornamental furniture, will make the imagination revolt against the reason; it will please much more than the naked proportion of the first room, which the understanding has so much approved, as admirably fitted for its purposes. What I have here said and before concerning proportion, is by no means to persuade people absurdly to neglect the idea of use in the works of art. It is only to shew, that these excellent things, beauty and proportion, are not the same; not that they should either of them be disregarded.

## S E C T. VIII.

## The RECAPITULATION.

**O**N the whole ; if such parts in human bodies as are found proportioned, were likewise constantly found beautiful, as they certainly are not ; or if they were so situated, as that a pleasure might flow from the comparison, which they seldom are ; or if any assignable proportions were found, either in plants or animals, which were always attended with beauty, which never was the case ; or if, where parts were well adapted to their purposes, they were constantly beautiful, and when no use appeared, there was no beauty, which is contrary to all experience ; we might conclude, that beauty consisted in proportion or utility. But since, in all respects, the case is quite otherwise ; we may be satisfied that beauty does not depend on these, let it owe its origin to what else it will.

## S E C T. IX.

## Perfection not the cause of BEAUTY.

**T**HERE is another notion current, pretty closely allied to the former ; that *Perfection* is the constituent cause of beauty. This opinion has been made to extend much farther than to sensible objects.

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jects. But in these, so far is perfection, considered as such, from being the cause of beauty; that this quality, where it is highest in the female sex, almost always carries with it an idea of weakness and imperfection. ~~Women are very sensible~~ of this; for which reason, they learn to lisp, to totter in their walk, to counterfeit weakness, and even sickness. In all this they are guided by nature. Beauty in distress is much the most affecting beauty. Blushing has little less power; and modesty in general, which is a tacit allowance of imperfection, is itself considered as an amiable quality, and certainly heightens every other that is so. I know it is in every body's mouth, that we ought to love perfection. This is to me a sufficient proof, that it is not the proper object of love. Who ever said we ought to love a fine woman, or even any of these beautiful animals which please us? Here to be affected, there is no need of the concurrence of our will.

#### S E C T. X.

How far the idea of BEAUTY may be applied to the qualities of the MIND.

**N**OR is this remark in general less applicable to the qualities of the mind. Those virtues which cause admiration, and are of the sublimer kind, produce terror rather than love; such as fortitude, justice, wisdom, and the like. Never was any man amiable by force of these qualities. Those which engage

Engage our hearts, which impress us with a sense of loveliness, are the softer virtues; easiness of temper, compassion, kindness, and liberality; though certainly those latter are of less immediate and incalculable concern to society, and of less dignity. But it is for that reason that they are so amiable. The great virtues turn principally on dangers, punishments, and troubles, and are exercised rather in preventing the worst mischiefs, than in dispensing favours; and are therefore not lovely, though highly venerable. The subordinate turn on reliefs, gratifications, and indulgences; and are therefore more lovely, though inferior in dignity. Those persons who creep into the hearts of most people, who are chosen as the companions of their softer hours, and their reliefs from care and anxiety, are never persons of shining qualities nor strong virtues. It is rather the soft green of the soul on which we rest our eyes, that are fatigued with beholding more glaring objects. It is worth observing how we feel ourselves affected in reading the characters of Cæsar and Cato, as they are so finely drawn and contrasted in Sallust. In one the *ignoscendo, largiundo*; in the other, *nil largiundo*. In one the *misericordiam*; in the other *malis perniciosam*. In the latter we have much to admire, much to reverence, and perhaps something to fear; we respect him, but we respect him at a distance. The former makes us familiar with him; we love him, and he leads us whither he pleases. To draw things closer to our first and most natural feelings, I will add a remark made upon reading this section by an ingenious friend. The authority of a father, so useful to our well-being, and

so justly venerable upon all accounts, hinders us from having that entire love for him that we have for our mothers, where the parental authority is almost melted down into the mother's fondness and indulgence. But we generally have a great love for our grandfathers, in whom this authority is removed a degree from us, and where the weakness of age mellows it into something of a feminine partiality.

#### S E C T. XI.

How far the idea of BEAUTY may be applied to VIRTUE.

**F**ROM what has been said in the foregoing section, we may easily see, how far the application of beauty to virtue may be made with propriety. The general application of this quality to virtue, has a strong tendency to confound our ideas of things; and it has given rise to an infinite deal of whimsical theory; as the affixing the name of beauty to proportion, congruity, and perfection, as well as to qualities of things yet more remote from our natural ideas of it, and from one another has tended to confound our ideas of beauty, and left us no standard or rule to judge by, that was not even more uncertain and fallacious than our own fancies. This loose and inaccurate manner of speaking, has therefore misled us both in the theory of taste and of morals; and induced us to remove the science of our duties from their proper basis, (our reason, our relations,

lations, and our necessities,) to rest it upon foundations altogether visionary and unsubstantial.

## S E C T. XII.

## The real cause of BEAUTY.

**H**AVING endeavoured to shew what beauty is not, it remains that we should examine, at least with equal attention, in what it really consists. Beauty is a thing much too affecting not to depend upon some positive qualities. And, since it is no creature of our reason, since it strikes us without any reference to use, and even where no use at all can be discerned, since the order and method of nature is generally very different from our measures and proportions, we must conclude that beauty is, for the greater part, some quality in bodies acting mechanically upon the human mind by the intervention of the senses. We ought therefore to consider attentively in what manner those sensible qualities are disposed, in such things as by experience we find beautiful, or which excite in us the passion of love, or some correspondent affection.

## S E C T. XIII.

## Beautiful objects small.

**T**HE most obvious point that presents itself to us in examining any object, is its extent or quantity. And what degree of extent prevails in bodies that are held beautiful, may be gathered from the usual manner of expression concerning it.

I am told that, in most languages, the objects of love are spoken of under diminutive epithets. It is so in all the languages of which I have any knowledge. In Greek the *ων* and other diminutive terms are almost always the terms of affection and tenderness. These diminutives were commonly added by the Greeks, to the names of persons with whom they conversed on the terms of friendship and familiarity. Though the Romans were a people of less quick and delicate feelings, yet they naturally slid into the lessening termination upon the same occasions. Anciently in the English language the diminishing *ling* was added to the names of persons and things that were the objects of love. Some we retain still, as *darling* (or little dear), and a few others. But to this day, in ordinary conversation, it is usual to add the endearing name of *little* to every thing we love: the French and Italians make use of these affectionate diminutives even more than we. In the animal creation, out of our own species, it is the small we are inclined to be fond of; little birds, and some of the smaller kinds of beasts. A great beautiful thing is a manner of expression scarcely ever used; but that of a great ugly thing, is very common. There is a wide difference between admiration and love. The sublime, which is the cause of the former, always dwells on great objects, and terrible; the latter on small ones, and pleasing; we submit to what we admire, but we love what submits to us; in one case we are forced, in the other we are flattered, into compliance. In short, the ideas of the sublime and the beautiful stand on foundations so different, that it is hard, I had almost said impossible, to think of reconciling

reconciling them in the same subject, without considerably lessening the effect of the one or the other upon the passions. So that, attending to their quantity, beautiful objects are comparatively small.

## S E C T. XIV.

## S M O O T H N E S S.

**T**HE next property constantly observable in such objects is \* *Smoothness*: A quality so essential to beauty, that I do not now recollect any thing beautiful that is not smooth. In trees and flowers, smooth leaves are beautiful; smooth slopes of earth in gardens; smooth streams in the landscape; smooth coats of birds and beasts in animal beauties; in fine women, smooth skins; and in several sorts of ornamental furniture, smooth and polished surfaces. A very considerable part of the effect of beauty is owing to this quality; indeed the most considerable. For take any beautiful object, and give it a broken and rugged surface; and however well formed it may be in other respects, it pleases no longer. Whereas, let it want ever so many of the other constituents, if it wants not this, it becomes more pleasing than almost all the others without it. This seems to me so evident, that I am a good deal surpris'd that none who have handled the subject have made any mention of the equality of smoothness, in the enumeration of those that go to the forming of beauty.

\* Part IV. sect. 21.

For indeed any rugged, any sudden, projection, any sharp angle, is in the highest degree contrary to that idea.

## S E C T. XV.

## Gradual V A R I A T I O N.

**B**UT as perfectly beautiful bodies are not composed of angular parts, so their parts never continue long in the same right line. \* They vary their direction every moment, and they change under the eye by a deviation continually carrying on, but for whose beginning or end you will find it difficult to ascertain a point. The view of a beautiful bird will illustrate this observation. Here we see the head increasing insensibly to the middle, from whence it lessens gradually until it mixes with the neck; the neck loses itself in a larger swell, which continues to the middle of the body, when the whole decreases again to the tail; the tail takes a new direction; but it soon varies its new course: it blends again with the other parts; and the line is perpetually changing, above, below, upon every side. In this description I have before me the idea of a dove; it agrees very well with most of the conditions of beauty. It is smooth and downy; its parts are (to use that expression) melted into one another; you are presented with no sudden protuberance through the whole, and yet the whole is continually changing.

\* Part V. sc. 2. 23.

Observe

Observe that part of a beautiful woman where she is perhaps the most beautiful, about the neck and breasts; the smoothness; the softness; the easy and insensible swell; the variety of the surface, which is never for the smallest space the same; the deceitful maze, through which the unsteady eye slides giddily, without knowing where to fix, or whither it is carried. Is not this a demonstration of that change of surface, continual, and yet hardly perceptible at any point, which forms one of the great constituents of beauty? It gives me no small pleasure to find that I can strengthen my theory in this point; by the opinion of the very ingenious Mr. Hogarth; whose idea of the line of beauty I take in general to be extremely just. But the idea of variation, without attending so accurately to the *manner* of the variation, has led him to consider angular figures as beautiful; these figures, it is true, vary greatly; yet they vary in a sudden and broken manner; and I do not find any natural object which is angular, and at the same time beautiful. Indeed few natural objects are entirely angular. But I think those which approach the most nearly to it are the ugliest. I must add too, that, so far as I could observe of nature, though the varied line is that alone in which complete beauty is found, yet there is no particular line which is always found in the most completely beautiful, and which is therefore beautiful in preference to all other lines. At least I never could observe it.



## S E C T. XVI.

## D E L I C A C Y.

**A**N air of robustness and strength is very prejudicial to beauty. An appearance of *delicacy*, and even of fragility, is almost essential to it. Whoever examines the vegetable or animal creation, will find this observation to be founded in nature. It is not the oak, the ash, or the elm, or any of the robust trees of the forest, which we consider as beautiful; they are awful and majestic; they inspire a sort of reverence. It is the delicate myrtle, it is the orange, it is the almond, it is the jasmine, it is the vine, which we look on as vegetable beauties. It is the flowery species, so remarkable for its weakness and momentary duration, that gives us the liveliest idea of beauty and elegance. Among animals, the greyhound is more beautiful than the mastiff; and the delicacy of a gennet, a barb, or an Arabian horse, is much more amiable than the strength and stability of some horses of war or carriage. I need here say little of the fair sex, where I believe the point will be easily allowed me. The beauty of women is considerably owing to their weakness or delicacy, and is even enhanced by their timidity; a quality of mind analogous to it. I would not here be understood to say that weakness betraying very bad health has any share in beauty; but the ill effect of this is not because it is weakness, but because the ill state of health which produces such weakness, alters the other conditions  
of

of beauty ; the parts in such a case collapse ; the bright colour, the *lumen purpureum juventæ*, is gone ; and the fine variation is lost in wrinkles, sudden breaks, and right lines.

## S E C T. XVII.

## Beauty in C O L O U R.

**A**S to the colours usually found in beautiful bodies it may be somewhat difficult to ascertain them, because, in the several parts of nature, there is an infinite variety. However, even in this variety, we may mark out something on which to settle. First, the colours of beautiful bodies must not be dusky or muddy, but clean and fair. Secondly, they must not be of the strongest kind. Those which seem most appropriated to beauty, are the milder of every sort ; light greens ; soft blues ; weak whites ; pink reds ; and violets. Thirdly, if the colours be strong and vivid, they are always diversified, and the object is never of one strong colour ; there are almost always such a number of them (as in variegated flowers,) that the strength and glare of each is considerably abated. In a fine complexion, there is not only some variety in the colouring, but the colours : neither the red nor the white are strong and glaring. Besides, they are mixed in such a manner, and with such gradations, that it is impossible to fix the bounds. On the same principle it is, that the dubious colour in the necks and tails of peacocks, and about the heads of drakes, is so very agreeable. In

reality, the beauty both of shape and colouring are as nearly related, as we can well suppose it possible for things of such different natures to be.

## S E C T. XVIII.

## R E C A P I T U L A T I O N.

**O**N the whole, the qualities of beauty, as they are merely sensible qualities, are the following. First, to be comparatively small. Secondly, to be smooth. Thirdly, to have a variety in the direction of the parts; but, fourthly, to have those parts not angular, but melted as it were into each other. Fifthly, to be of a delicate frame, without any remarkable appearance of strength. Sixthly, to have its colours clear and bright, but not very strong and glaring. Seventhly, or if it should have any glaring colour, to have it diversified with others. These are I believe, the properties on which beauty depends; properties that operate by nature, and are less liable to be altered by caprice, or confounded by a diversity of tastes, than any other.

## S E C T. XIX.

## The P H Y S I O G N O M Y.

**T**HE *Physiognomy* has a considerable share in beauty, especially in that of our own species. The manners give a certain determination to the countenance; which being observed to correspond pretty regularly with them, is capable of joining the effects

effects of certain agreeable qualities of the mind to those of the body. So that to form a finished human beauty, and to give it its full influence, the face must be expressive of such gentle and amiable qualities, as correspond with the softness, smoothness, and delicacy of the outward form.

## S E C T. XX.

## The E Y E.

I HAVE hitherto purposely omitted to speak of the *Eye*, which has so great a share in the beauty of the animal creation, as it did not fall so easily under the foregoing heads, though in fact it is reducible to the same principles. I think then, that the beauty of the eye consists, first, in its *clearness*, what *coloured* eye shall please most, depends a good deal on particular fancies ; but none are pleased with an eye whose water (to use that term) is dull and muddy \*. We are pleased with the eye in this view, on the principle upon which we like diamonds, clear water, glass, and such like transparent substances. Secondly, the motion of the eye contributes to its beauty, by continually shifting its direction ; but a slow and languid motion is more beautiful than a brisk one ; the latter is enlivening ; the former lovely. Thirdly, with regard to the union of the eye with the neighbouring parts, it is to hold the same rule that is given of other beautiful ones ; it is

\* Part IV. sect. 25.

not to make a strong deviation from the line of the neighbouring parts ; nor to verge into any exact geometrical figure. Besides all this, the eye affects, as it is expressive of some qualities of the mind, and its principal power generally arises from this ; so that what we have just said of the physiognomy is applicable here.

## S E C T. XXI.

## U G L I N E S S.

**I**T may perhaps appear like a sort of repetition of what we have before said, to insist here upon the nature of *Ugliness*. As I imagine it to be in all respects the opposite to those qualities which we have laid down for the constituents of beauty. But though ugliness be the opposite to beauty, it is not the opposite to proportion and fitness. For it is possible that a thing may be very ugly with any proportions, and with a perfect fitness to any uses. Ugliness I imagine likewise to be consistent enough with an idea of the sublime. But I would by no means insinuate that ugliness of itself is a sublime idea, unless united with such qualities as excite a strong terror.

S E C T.

## S E C T. XXII.

## G R A C E.

**G**RACEFULNESS is an idea not very different from beauty; it consists in much the same things. Gracefulness is an idea belonging to *posture* and *motion*. In both these, to be graceful, it is requisite that there be no appearance of difficulty; there is required a small inflection of the body; and a composure of the parts in such a manner, as not to incumber each other, not to appear divided by sharp and sudden angles. In this case, this roundness, this delicacy of attitude and motion it is that all the magic of grace consists, and what is called its *je ne sais quoi*; as will be obvious to any observer, who considers attentively the Venus de Medicis, the Antinous, or any statue generally allowed to be graceful in an high degree.

## S E C T. XXIII.

## ELEGANCE and SPECIOUSNESS.

**W**HEN any body is composed of parts smooth and polished, without pressing upon each other, without shewing any ruggedness or confusion, and at the same time affecting some *regular shape*, I call it *elegant*. It is closely allied to the beautiful, differing from it only in this *regularity*; which  
however

however, as it makes a very material difference in the affection produced, may very well constitute another species. Under this head I rank those delicate and regular works of art, that imitate no determinate object in nature, as elegant buildings, and pieces of furniture. When any object partakes of the above-mentioned qualities, or of those of beautiful bodies, and is withal of great dimensions, it is full as remote from the idea of mere beauty, I call it *fine* or *specious*.

## S E C T. XXIV.

## The beautiful in F E E L I N G.

**T**HE foregoing description of beauty, so far as it is taken in by the eye, may be greatly illustrated by describing the nature of objects, which produce a similar effect through the touch. This I call the beautiful in *Feeling*. It corresponds wonderfully with what causes the same species of pleasure to the sight. There is a chain in all our sensations; they are all but different sorts of feelings, calculated to be affected by various sorts of objects, but all to be affected after the same manner. All bodies that are pleasant to the touch, are so by the slightness of the resistance they make. Resistance is either to motion along the surface, or to the pressure of the parts on one another: if the former be slight, we call the body smooth; if the latter, soft. The chief pleasure we receive by feeling, is in the one or the other of these qualities; and if there be a combination of both,

both, our pleasure is greatly increased. This is so plain, that it is rather more fit to illustrate other things, than to be illustrated itself by an example. The next source of pleasure in this sense, as in every other, is the continually presenting somewhat new; and we find that bodies which continually vary their surface, are much the most pleasant or beautiful to the feeling, as any one that pleases may experience. The third property in such objects is, that though the surface continually varies its direction, it never varies it suddenly. The application of any thing sudden, even though the impression itself have little or nothing of violence, is disagreeable. The quick application of a finger a little warmer or colder than usual, without notice, makes us start; a slight tap on the shoulder, not expected, has the same effect. Hence it is that angular bodies, bodies that suddenly vary the direction of the outline, afford so little pleasure to the feeling. Every such change is a sort of climbing or falling in miniature; so that squares, triangles, and other angular figures are neither beautiful to the sight nor feeling. Whoever compares his state of mind, on feeling soft, smooth, variegated, unangular bodies, with that in which he finds himself, on the view of a beautiful object, will perceive a very striking analogy in the effects of both; and which may go a good way towards discovering their common cause. Feeling and sight, in this respect, differ in but a few points. The touch takes in the pleasure of softness, which is not primarily an object of sight; the sight, on the other hand, comprehends colour which can hardly be made perceptible to the touch: the touch again has the advantage in a new



idea of pleasure resulting from a moderate degree of warmth ; but the eye triumphs in the infinite extent and multiplicity of its objects. But there is such a similitude in the pleasures of these senses, that I am apt to fancy, if it were possible that one might discern colour by feeling (as it is said some blind men have done), that the same colours, and the same disposition of colouring, which are found beautiful to the sight, would be found likewise most grateful to the touch. But, setting aside conjectures, let us pass to the other sense ; of hearing.

## S E C T. XXV.

## The beautiful in SOUNDS.

**I**N this sense we find an equal aptitude to be affected in a soft and delicate manner ; and how far sweet or beautiful sounds agree with our descriptions of beauty in other senses, the experience of every one must decide. Milton has described this species of music in one of his juvenile poems \*. I need not say that Milton was perfectly well versed in that art ; and that no man had a finer ear, with a happier manner of expressing the affections of one sense by metaphors taken from another. The description is as follows :

— *And ever against eating cares,  
Lap me in soft Lydian airs ;*

\* L'allegro.

*In notes with many a winding bout  
 Of linked sweetness long drawn out ;  
 With wanton heed and giddy cunning,  
 The melting voice through mazes running ;  
 Untwisting all the chains that tie  
 The hidden soul of harmony.*

Let us parallel this with the softness, the winding surface, the unbroken continuance, the easy gradation of the beautiful in other things ; and all the diversities of the several senses, with all their several affections, will rather help to throw lights from one another to finish one clear, consistent idea of the whole, than to obscure it by their intricacy and variety.

To the above-mentioned description I shall add one or two remarks. The first is ; that the beautiful in music will not bear that loudness and strength of sounds, which may be used to raise other passions ; nor notes, which are shrill or harsh, or deep : it agrees best with such as are clear, even, smooth, and weak. The second is ; that great variety, and quick transitions from one measure or tone to another, are contrary to the genius of the beautiful in music. Such \* transitions often excite mirth, or other sudden and tumultuous passions ; but not that sinking, that melting, that languor, which is the characteristic effect of the beautiful as it regards every sense. The passion excited by beauty is in fact nearer to a species of melancholy, than to jollity and mirth. I do not

\* I ne'er am merry, when I hear sweet music.

SHAKESPEARE,

here mean to confine music to any one species of notes, or tones, neither is it an art in which I can say I have any great skill. My sole design in this remark is, to settle a consistent idea of beauty. The infinite variety of the affections of the soul will suggest to a good head, and skilful ear, a variety of such sounds as are fitted to raise them. It can be no prejudice to this, to clear and distinguish some few particulars, that belong to the same class, and are consistent with each other, from the immense crowd of different, and sometimes contradictory ideas, that rank vulgarly under the standard of beauty. And of these it is my intention to mark such only of the leading points as shew the conformity of the sense of hearing, with all the other senses in the article of their pleasures.

## S E C T. XXVI.

## T A S T E and S M E L L.

**T**HIS general agreement of the senses is yet more evident on minutely considering those of taste and smell. We metaphorically apply the idea of sweetness to sights and sounds; but as the qualities of bodies by which they are fitted to excite either pleasure or pain in these senses, are not so obvious as they are in the others, we shall refer an explanation of their analogy, which is a very close one, to that part, wherein we come to consider the common efficient cause of beauty, as it regards all the senses. I do not think any thing better fitted to establish a  
clear

clear and settled idea of visual beauty than this way of examining the similar pleasures of other senses ; for one part is sometimes clear in one of these senses, that is more obscure in another ; and where there is a clear concurrence of all, we may with more certainty speak of any one of them. By this means, they bear witness to each other ; nature is, as it were, scrutinized ; and we report nothing of her but what we receive from her own information.

## S E C T. XXVII.

The Sublime and Beautiful compared.

**O**N closing this general view of beauty, it naturally occurs, that we should compare it with the sublime ; and in this comparison there appears a remarkable contrast. For sublime objects are vast in their dimensions, beautiful ones comparatively small : beauty should be smooth and polished ; the great, rugged and negligent : beauty should shun the right line, yet deviate from it insensibly : the great in many cases loves the right line ; and when it deviates, it often makes a strong deviation : beauty should not be obscure ; the great ought to be dark and gloomy : beauty should be light and delicate ; the great ought to be solid, and even massive. They are indeed ideas of a very different nature, one being founded on pain, the other on pleasure ; and however they may vary afterwards from the direct nature of their causes, yet these causes keep up an eternal distinction between them, a distinction never to be forgotten

forgotten by any whose business it is to affect the passions. In the infinite variety of natural combinations, we must expect to find the qualities of things the most remote imaginable from each other united in the same object. We must expect also to find combinations of the same kind in the works of art. But when we consider the power of an object upon our passions, we must know that when any thing is intended to affect the mind by the force of some predominant property, the affection produced is like to be the more uniform and perfect, if all the other properties or qualities of the object be of the same nature, and tending to the same design as the principal ;

*If black and white blend, soften, and unite,  
A thousand ways, are there no black and white ?*

If the qualities of the sublime and beautiful are sometimes found united, does this prove that they are the same ; does it prove that they are any way allied ; does it prove even that they are not opposite and contradictory ? Black and white may soften, may blend ; but they are not therefore the same. Nor, when they are so softened and blended with each other, or with different colours, is the power of black as black, or of white as white, so strong as when each stands uniform and distinguished.

THE END OF THE THIRD PART.

A Philosophical Enquiry  
 INTO THE  
 ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS  
 OF THE  
 SUBLIME and BEAUTIFUL.

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## PART IV.

## S E C T I.

Of the efficient cause of the SUBLIME  
 and BEAUTIFUL.

**W**HEN I say, I intend to enquire into the efficient cause of sublimity and beauty, I would not be understood to say, that I can come to the ultimate cause. I do not pretend that I shall ever be able to explain, why certain affections of the body produce such a distinct emotion of mind, and no other; or why the body is at all affected by the mind, or the mind by the body. A little thought will shew this to be impossible. But I conceive, if we can discover what affections of the mind produced certain emotions of the body; and what distinct feelings and qualities of body shall produce certain determinate passions in the mind, and no others, I fancy a great deal will be done; something not unuseful towards a distinct knowledge of our passions, so far at least as we have them at present under our consideration.

tion. This is all, I believe, we can do. If we could advance a step farther, difficulties would still remain, as we should be still equally distant from the first cause. When Newton first discovered the property of attraction, and settled its laws, he found it served very well to explain several of the most remarkable phenomena in nature; but yet with reference to the general system of things, he could consider attraction but as an effect, whose cause at that time he did not attempt to trace. But when he afterwards began to account for it by a subtile elastic æther, this great man (if in so great a man it be not impious to discover any any thing like a blemish) seemed to have quitted his usual cautious manner of philosophising; since, perhaps, allowing all that has been advanced on this subject to be sufficiently proved, I think it leaves us with as many difficulties as it found us. That great chain of causes, which links one to another, even to the throne of God himself, can never be unravelled by any industry of ours. When we go but one step beyond the immediately sensible qualities of things, we go out of our depth. All we do after is but a faint struggle, that shews we are in an element which does not belong to us. So that when I speak of cause, and efficient cause, I only mean certain affections of the mind, that cause certain changes in the body; or certain powers and properties in bodies, that work a change in the mind. As if I were to explain the motion of a body falling to the ground, I would say it was caused by gravity; and I would endeavour to shew after what manner this power operated, without attempting to shew why it operated in this manner: or if I were to explain the effects of  
bodies

bodies striking one another by the common laws of percussión, I should not endeavour to explain how motion itself is communicated.

## S E C T. II.

## A S S O C I A T I O N.

**I**T is no small bar in the way of our enquiry into the cause of our passions that the occasion of many of them are given, and that their governing motions are communicated at a time when we have not capacity to reflect on them; at a time of which all sort of memory is worn out of our minds. For besides such things as affect us in various manners, according to their natural powers, there are associations made at that early season, which we find it very hard afterwards to distinguish from natural effects. Not to mention the unaccountable antipathies which we find in many persons, we all find it impossible to remember when a steep became more terrible than a plain; or fire or water more terrible than a clod of earth; though all these are very probably either conclusions from experience, or arising from the premonitions of others; and some of them impressed, in all likelihood, pretty late. But as it must be allowed that many things affect us after a certain manner, not by any natural powers they have for that purpose, but by association; so it would be absurd, on the other hand, to say that all things affect us by association only; since some things must have been originally and naturally agreeable or disagree-

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able,



able, from which the others derive their associated powers; and it would be, I fancy, to little purpose to look for the cause of our passions in association, until we fail of it in the natural properties of things.

## S E C T. III.

## Cause of PAIN and FEAR.

I Have before observed \*, that whatever is qualified to cause terror, is a foundation capable of the sublime; to which I add, that not only these, but many things from which we cannot probably apprehend any danger, have a similar effect, because they operate in a similar manner. I observed too, that † whatever produces pleasure, positive and original pleasure, is fit to have beauty engrafted on it. Therefore, to clear up the nature of these qualities, it may be necessary to explain the nature of pain and pleasure on which they depend. A man who suffers under violent bodily pain, (I suppose the most violent, because the effect may be the more obvious;) I say a man in great pain has his teeth set, his eyebrows are violently contracted, his forehead is wrinkled, his eyes are dragged inwards, and rolled with great vehemence, his hair stands on end, the voice is forced out in short shrieks and groans, and the whole fabric totters. Fear or terror, which is an apprehension of pain or death, exhibits exactly the same effects, approaching in violence to those just

\* Part I. sect. 8.

† Part I. sect. 19.

mentioned

mentioned, in proportion to the nearness of the cause, and the weakness of the subject. This is not only so in the human species: but I have more than once observed in dogs, under an apprehension of punishment, that they have writhed their bodies, and yelped, and howled, as if they had actually felt the blows. From hence I conclude, that pain and fear act upon the same part of the body, and in the manner, though somewhat differing in degree: That pain and fear consist in an unnatural tension of the nerves; that this is sometimes accompanied with an unnatural strength, which sometimes suddenly changes into an extraordinary weakness; that the effects often come on alternately, and are sometimes mixed with each other. This is the nature of all conclusive agitations, especially in weaker subjects, which are the most liable to the severest impressions of pain and fear. The only difference between pain and terror is, that things which cause pain operate on the mind, by the intervention of the body; whereas things that cause terror, generally affect the bodily organs by the operation of the mind suggesting the danger; but both agreeing, either primarily, or secondarily, in producing a tension, contraction, or violent emotion of the nerves\*, they agree likewise in every thing else. For it appears very clearly to me, from this, as well as from many other examples, that when the body is disposed, by any means whatsoever, to such emo-

\* I do not here enter into the question debated among physiologists, whether pain be the effect of a contraction, or a tension of the nerves. Either will serve my purpose; for by tension, I mean no more than a violent pulling of the fibres, which compose any muscle or membrane, in whatever way this is done.

tions as it would acquire by the means of a certain passion ; it will of itself excite something very like that passion in the mind.

## S E C T. IV.

Continued.

**T**O this purpose Mr. Spon in his *Recherches d'Antiquite*, gives us a curious story of the celebrated physiognomist Campanella. This man, it seems, had not only made very accurate observations on human faces, but was very expert in mimicking such as were any way remarkable. When he had a mind to penetrate into the inclinations of those he had to deal with, he composed his face, his gesture, and his whole body, as nearly as he could into the exact similitude of the person he intended to examine ; and then carefully observed what turn of mind he seemed to acquire by this change. So that, says my author, he was able to enter into the dispositions and thoughts of people as effectually as if he had been changed into the very men. I have often observed, that on mimicking the looks and gestures of angry, or placid, or frightened, or daring men, I have involuntarily found my mind turned to that passion, whose appearance I endeavoured to imitate ; nay, I am convinced it is hard to avoid it, though one strove to separate the passion from its correspondent gestures. Our minds and bodies are so closely and intimately connected, that one is incapable of pain or pleasure without the other. Campanella, of whom we have  
been

been speaking, could so abstract his attention from any sufferings of his body, that he was able to endure the rack itself without much pain ; and in lesser pains, every body must have observed, that when we can employ our attention on any thing else, the pain has been for a time suspended : on the other hand, if by any means the body is indisposed to perform such gestures, or to be stimulated into such emotions as any passion usually produces in it, that passion itself never can arise, though its cause should be never so strongly in action ; though it should be merely mental, and immediately affecting none of the senses. As an opiate, or spirituous liquors, shall suspend the operation of grief, or fear, or anger, in spite of all our efforts to the contrary ; and this by inducing in the body a disposition contrary to that which it receives from these passions.

## S E C T. V.]

How the Sublime is produced.

**H**AVING considered terror as producing an unnatural tension and certain violent emotions of the nerves ; it easily follows, from what we have just said, that whatever is fitted to produce such a tension must be productive of a passion similar to terror \*, and consequently must be a source of the sublime, though it should have no idea of danger connected with it. So that little remains towards shewing the cause of the sublime, but to shew that the instances we have given of it in the second part re-

\* Part II. Sect. 2.

late to such things, as are fitted by nature to produce this sort of tension, either by the primary operation of the mind or the body. With regard to such things as affect by the associated idea of danger, there can be no doubt but that they produce terror, and act by some modification of that passion; and that terror, when sufficiently violent, raises the emotions of the body just mentioned, can as little be doubted; but if the sublime is built on terror, or some passion like it, which has pain for its object, it is previously proper to enquire how any species of delight can be derived from a cause so apparently contrary to it. I say, *delight*, because, as I have often remarked, it is very evidently different in its cause, and in its own nature, from actual and positive pleasure.

## S E C T. VI.

How PAIN can be a cause of DELIGHT.

**P**ROVIDENCE has so ordered it, that a state of rest and inaction, however it may flatter our indolence, should be productive of many inconveniencies; that it should generate such disorders, as may force us to have recourse to some labour, as a thing absolutely requisite to make us pass our lives with tolerable satisfaction; for the nature of rest is to suffer all the parts of our bodies to fall into a relaxation, that not only disables the members from performing their functions, but takes away the vigorous tone of fibre which is requisite for carrying on the natural and necessary secretions. At the same  
time

time, that in this languid inactive state, the nerves are more liable to the most horrid convulsions, than when they are sufficiently braced and strengthened. Melancholy, dejection, despair, and often self-murder, is the consequence of the gloomy view we take of things in this relaxed state of body. The best remedy for all these evils is exercise or *labour*; and labour is a surmounting of *difficulties*, an exertion of the contracting power of the muscles; and as such resembles pain, which consists in tension or contraction, in every thing but degree. Labour is not only requisite to preserve the coarser organs in a state fit for their function; but it is equally necessary to these finer and more delicate organs, on which, and by which, the imagination and perhaps the other mental powers act. Since it is probable, that not only the inferior parts of the soul, as the passions are called, but the understanding itself makes use of some fine corporeal instruments in its operation; though what they are, and where they are, may be somewhat hard to settle: but that it does make use of such, appears from hence; that a long exercise of the mental powers induces a remarkable lassitude of the whole body; and on the other hand, that great bodily labour, or pain, weakens and sometimes actually destroys the mental faculties. Now, as a due exercise is essential to the coarse muscular parts of the constitution, and that without this rousing they would become languid and diseased, the very same rule holds with regard to those finer parts we have mentioned; to have them in proper order, they must be shaken and worked to a proper degree.

S E C T.

## S E C T. VII.

EXERCISE necessary for the finer organs.

**A**S common labour, which is a mode of pain, is the exercise of the grosser, a mode of terror is the exercise of the finer parts of the system; and if a certain mode of pain be of such a nature as to act upon the eye or the ear, as they are the most delicate organs, the affection approaches more nearly to that which has a mental cause. In all these cases, if the pain and terror are so modified as not to be actually noxious; if the pain is not carried to violence, and the terror is not conversant about the present destruction of the person, as these emotions clear the parts, whether fine or gross, of a dangerous and troublesome incumbrance, they are capable of producing delight; not pleasure, but a sort of delightful horror, a sort of tranquillity tinged with terror; which, as it belongs to self-preservation, is one of the strongest of all the passions. Its object is the sublime\*. Its highest degree I call *astonishment*; the subordinate degrees are awe, reverence, and respect, which, by the very etymology of the words, shew from what source they are derived, and how they stand distinguished from positive pleasure.

\* Part II. Sect. 2.

S E C T.

## S E C T. VIII.

Why things not dangerous produce a passion like TERROR.

\* **A** Mode of terror or pain is always the cause of the sublime. For terror, or associated danger, the foregoing explanation is, I believe, sufficient. It will require something more trouble to shew, that such examples as I have given of the sublime in the second part, are capable of producing a mode of pain, and of being thus allied to terror, and to be accounted for on the same principles. And first of such objects as are great in their dimensions: I speak of visual objects.

## S E C T. IX.

Why visual objects of great dimensions are Sublime.

**V**ISION is performed by having a picture formed by the rays of light which are reflected from the object painted in one piece, instantaneously, on the retina, or last nervous part of the eye. Or, according to others, there is but one point of any object painted on the eye in such a manner as to be perceived at once; but by moving the eye, we gather up with great celerity, the several parts of the object,

\* Part I sect. 7.

Part II sect. 2.



so as to form one uniform piece. If the former opinion be allowed, it will be considered \*, that though all the light reflected from a large body should strike the eye in one instant; yet we must suppose that the body itself is formed of a vast number of distinct points, every one of which, or the ray from every one, makes an impression on the retina. So that, though the image of one point should cause but a small tension of this membrane, another, and another, and another stroke, must in their progress cause a very great one, until it arrives at last to the highest degree; and the whole capacity of the eye, vibrating in all its parts, must approach near to the nature of what causes pain, and consequently must produce an idea of the sublime. Again, if we take it, that one point only of an object is distinguishable at once; the matter will amount nearly to the same thing, or rather it will make the origin of the sublime from greatness of dimension yet clearer. For if but one point is observed at once, the eye must traverse the vast space of such bodies, with great quickness, and consequently the fine nerves and muscles destined to the motion of that part must be very much strained; and their great sensibility must make them highly affected by this straining. Besides, it signifies just nothing to the effect produced, whether a body has its parts connected and makes its impression at once; or, making but one impression of a point at a time, it causes a succession of the same, or others so quickly as to make them seem united; as is evident from the common effect of whirling about a lighted torch

\* Part II. sect 7.

or piece of wood; which, if done with celerity, seems a circle of fire.

## S E C T. X.

UNITY why requisite to vastness.

**I**T may be objected to this theory, that the eye generally; receives an equal number of rays at all times, and that therefore a great object cannot affect it by the number of rays, more than that variety of objects which the eye must always discern whilst it remains open. But to this I answer, that admitting an equal number of rays, or an equal quantity of luminous particles to strike the eye at all times, yet if these rays frequently vary their nature, now to blue, now to red, and so on, or their manner of termination as to a number of petty squares, triangles, or the like, at every change, whether of colour or shape, the organ has a sort of a relaxation or rest; but this relaxation and labour so often interrupted, is by no means productive of ease; neither has it the effect of vigorous and uniform labour. Whoever has remarked the different effects of some strong exercise, and some little piddling action, will understand why a teasing fretful employment, which at once wearies and weakens the body, should have nothing great; these sorts of impulses, which are rather teasing than painful, by continually and suddenly altering their tenor and direction, prevent that full tension, that species of uniform labour, which is allied to strong pain, and

causes the sublime. The sum total of things of various kinds, though it should equal the number of the uniform parts composing some *one* entire object, is not equal in its effect upon the organs of our bodies. Besides the one already assigned, there is another very strong reason for the difference. The mind in reality hardly ever can attend diligently to more than one thing at a time; if this thing be little, the effect is little, and a number of other little objects cannot engage the attention; the mind is bounded by the bounds of the object; and what is not attended to, and what does not exist, are much the same in the effect; but the eye or the mind (for in this case there is no difference) in great uniform objects does not readily arrive at their bounds; it has no rest, whilst it contemplates them; the image is much the same every where. So that every thing great by its quantity must necessarily be, one, simple and entire.

## S E C T. XI.

### The artificial INFINITE.

**W**E have observed, that a species of greatness arises from the artificial infinite; and that this infinite consists in an uniform succession of great parts: we observed too, that the same uniform succession had a like power in sounds. But because the effects of many things are clearer in one of the senses than in another, and that all the senses bear an analogy to, and illustrate one another, I shall begin with this

this power in sounds, as the cause of the sublimity from succession is rather more obvious in the sense of hearing. And I shall here once for all observe, that an investigation of the natural and mechanical causes of our passions, besides the curiosity of the subject, gives, if they are discovered, a double strength and lustre to any rules we deliver on such matters. When the ear receives any simple sound, it is struck by a single pulse of the air, which makes the ear-drum and the other membranous parts vibrate according to the nature and species of the stroke. If the stroke be strong, the organ of hearing suffers a considerable degree of tension. If the stroke be repeated pretty soon after, the repetition causes an expectation of another stroke. And it must be observed, that expectation itself causes a tension. This is apparent in many animals, who, when they prepare for hearing any sound, rouse themselves, and prick up their ears : so that here the effect of the sounds is considerably augmented by a new auxiliary, the expectation. But though after a number of strokes, we expect still more, not being able to ascertain the exact time of their arrival, when they arrive, they produce a sort of surprise, which increases this tension yet further. For I have observed, that when at any time I have waited very earnestly for some sound, that returned at intervals, (as the successive firing of cannon) though I fully expected the return of the sound, when it came, it always made me start a little ; the ear-drum suffered a convulsion, and the whole body consented with it. The tension of the part thus increasing at every blow, by the united forces of the stroke itself,  
the

the expectation, and the surprize, it is worked up to such a pitch as to be capable of the sublime; it is brought just to the verge of pain. Even when the cause has ceased, the organs of hearing being often successively struck in a similar manner, continue to vibrate in that manner for some time longer; this is an additional help to the greatness of the effect.

### S E C T. XII.

The vibrations must be similar.

**B**UT if the vibration be not similar at every impression, it can never be carried beyond the number of actual impressions; for move any body as a pendulum, in one way, and it will continue to oscillate in an arch of the same circle, until the known causes make it rest; but if after first putting it in motion in one direction, you push it into another, it can never reassume the first direction; because it can never move itself, and consequently it can have but the effect of that last motion; whereas, if in the same direction you act upon it several times, it will describe a greater arch, and move a longer time.

S E C T.

## S E C T. XIII.

The effect of SUCCESSION in visual objects explained.

**I**F we can comprehend clearly how things operate upon one of our senses, there can be very little difficulty in conceiving in what manner they affect the rest. To say a great deal therefore upon the corresponding affections of every sense, would tend rather to fatigue us by an useless repetition, than to throw any new light upon the subject, by that ample and diffuse manner of treating it; but as in this discourse we chiefly attach ourselves to the sublime, as it affects the eye, we shall consider particularly why a successive disposition of uniform parts in the same right line should be sublime \*, and upon what principle this disposition is enabled to make a comparatively small quantity of matter produce a grander effect, than a much larger quantity disposed in another manner. To avoid the perplexity of general notions; let us set before our eyes a colonnade of uniform pillars planted in a right line; let us take our stand in such a manner, that the eye may shoot along this colonnade, for it has its best effect in this view. In our present situation it is plain, that the rays from the first round pillar will cause in the eye a vibration of that species: an image of the pillar itself. The pillar immediately succeeding increases

\* Part II. sect. 1a.

it; that which follows renews and enforces the impression; each in its order as it succeeds, repeats impulse after impulse, and stroke after stroke, until the eye, long exercised in one particular way, cannot lose that object immediately; and being violently roused by this continued agitation, it presents the mind with a grand or sublime conception. But instead of viewing a rank of uniform pillars; let us suppose, that they succeed each other, a round and a square one alternately. In this case the vibration caused by the first round pillar perishes as soon as it is formed; and one of quite another sort (the square) directly occupies its place; which however it resigns as quickly to the round one; and thus the eye proceeds, alternately, taking up one image, and laying down another, as long as the building continues. From whence it is obvious, that at the last pillar, the impression is as far from continuing as it was at the very first; because in fact, the sensory can receive no distinct impression but from the last; and it can never of itself resume a dissimilar impression: besides, every variation of the object is a rest and relaxation to the organs of sight; and these reliefs prevent that powerful emotion so necessary to produce the sublime. To produce therefore a perfect grandeur in such things as we have been mentioning, there should be a perfect simplicity, an absolute uniformity in disposition, shape, and colouring. Upon this principle of succession and uniformity it may be asked, why a long bare wall should not be a more sublime object than a colonnade; since the succession is no way interrupted; since the eye meets no check; since nothing more uniform can be conceived? A long  
bare

bare wall is certainly not so grand an object as a colonnade of the same length and height. It is not altogether difficult to account for this difference. When we look at a naked wall, from the evenness of the object, the eye runs along its whole space, and arrives quickly at its termination; the eye meets nothing which may interrupt its progress; but then it meets nothing which may detain it a proper time to produce a very great and lasting effect. The view of a bare wall, if it be of a great height and length, is undoubtedly grand: but this is only *one* idea, and not a *repetition of similar* ideas; it is therefore great, not so much upon the principle of *infinity*, as upon that of *vastness*. But we are not so powerfully affected with any one impulse, unless it be one of a prodigious force indeed, as we are with a succession of similar impulses; because the nerves of the sensory do not (if I may use the expression) acquire a habit of repeating the same feeling in such a manner as to continue it longer than its cause is in action; besides, all the effects which I have attributed to expectation and surprise in sect. 11. can have no place in a bare wall.

## S E C T. XIV.

Locke's opinion concerning darkness,  
considered.

**I**T is Mr. Locke's opinion, that darkness is not naturally an idea of terror; and that though an excessive light is painful to the sense, that the greatest



excess of darkness is no ways troublesome. He observes indeed in another place, that a nurse or an old woman having once associated the ideas of ghosts and goblins with that of darkness, night ever after becomes painful and horrible to the imagination. The authority of this great man is doubtless as great as that of any man can be, and it seems to stand in the way of our general principle \*. We have considered darkness as a cause of the sublime; and we have all along considered the sublime as depending on some modification of pain or terror: so that, if darkness be no way painful or terrible to any, who have not had their minds early tainted with superstitions, it can be no source of the sublime to them. But, with all deference to such an authority, it seems to me, that an association of a more general nature, an association which takes in all mankind, may make darkness terrible, for in utter darkness it is impossible to know in what degree of safety we stand; we are ignorant of the objects that surround us; we may every moment strike against some dangerous obstruction; we may fall down a precipice the first step we take; and if an enemy approach, we know not in what quarter to defend ourselves; in such a case strength is no sure protection; wisdom can only act by guess; the boldest are staggered, and he who would pray for nothing else towards his defence, is forced to pray for light.

*Ζωὴ πᾶσι ἀλλὰ ἐν σκοτεινῇ καὶ ἄνευ φωτὸς ἄχαιον  
Πιπτεῖν δ' ἀσφαλῆς, δεῖ δ' ἐφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεῖσθαι,  
Ἐν δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλισθηρῶν.*

As to the association of ghosts, and goblins; surely it is more natural to think, that darkness, being

\* Part II. sect. 3

originally

originally an idea of terror, was chosen as a fit scene for such terrible representations, than that such representations have made darkness terrible. The mind of man very easily slides into an error of the former sort; but it is very hard to imagine, that the effect of an idea so universally terrible in all times, and in all countries, as darkness, could possibly have been owing to a set of idle stories, or to any cause of a nature so trivial, and of an operation so precarious.

## S E C T. XV.

DARKNESS terrible in its own nature.

**P**ERHAPS it may appear on enquiry, that blackness and darkness are in some degree painful by their natural operation, independent of any associations whatsoever. I must observe, that the ideas of darkness and blackness are much the same; and they differ only in this, that blackness is a more confined idea. Mr. Cheselden has given us a very curious story of a boy, who had been born blind, and continued so until he was thirteen or fourteen years old; he was then couched for a cataract, by which operation he received his sight. Among many remarkable particulars that attended his first perceptions and judgments on visual objects, Cheselden tells us, that the first time the boy saw a black object, it gave him great uneasiness; and that some time after, upon accidentally seeing a negro woman, he was struck with great horror

at the sight. The horror, in this case, can scarcely be supposed to arise from any association. The boy appears by the account to have been particularly observing and sensible for one of his age ; and therefore it is probable, if the great uneasiness he felt at the first sight of black had arisen from its connexion with any other disagreeable ideas, he would have observed and mentioned it. For an idea, disagreeable only by association, has the cause of its ill effect on the passions evident enough at the first impression ; in ordinary cases, it is indeed frequently lost ; but this is, because the original association was made very early, and the consequent impression repeated often. In our instance, there was no time for such an habit ; and there is no reason to think that the ill effects of black on his imagination were more owing to its connexion with any disagreeable ideas, than that the good effects of more cheerful colours were derived from their connexion with pleasing ones. They had both probably their effects from their natural operation.

## S E C T. XVI.

Why DARKNESS is terrible.

**I**T may be worth while to examine how darkness can operate in such a manner as to cause pain. It is observable, that still as we recede from the light, nature has so contrived it, that the pupil is enlarged by the retiring of the iris, in proportion to our recesses. Now, instead of declining from it but a little,  
suppose

suppose that we withdraw entirely from the light ; it is reasonable to think that the contraction of the radial fibres of the iris is proportionably greater ; and that this part may by great darkness come to be so contracted, as to strain the nerves that compose it beyond their natural tone ; and by this means to produce a painful sensation. Such a tension it seems there certainly is, whilst we are involved in darkness ; for in such a state, whilst the eye remains open, there is a continual nifus to receive light ; this is manifest from the flashes and luminous appearances which often seem in these circumstances to play before it ; and which can be nothing but the effect of spasms, produced by its own efforts in pursuit of its object ; several other strong impulses will produce the idea of light in the eye, besides the substance of light itself, as we experience on many occasions. Some who allow darkness to be a cause of the sublime, would infer, from the dilation of the pupil, that a relaxation may be productive of the sublime as well as a convulsion : but they do not I believe consider, that although the circular ring of the iris be in some sense a sphincter, which may possibly be dilated by a simple relaxation, yet in one respect it differs from most of the other sphincters of the body, that it is furnished with antagonist muscles, which are the radial fibres of the iris : no sooner does the circular muscle begin to relax, than these fibres, wanting their counterpoise, are forcibly drawn back, and open the pupil to a considerable wideness. But though we were not apprized of this, I believe any one will find, if he opens his eyes and makes an effort to see in a dark place, that a very perceivable pain ensues.

And

And I have heard some ladies remark, that after having worked a long time upon a ground of black, their eyes were so pained and weakened, they could hardly see. It may perhaps be objected to this theory of the mechanical effect of darkness, that the ill effects of darkness or blackness seem rather mental than corporeal : and I own it is true, that they do so : and so do all those that depend on the affections of the finer parts of our system. The ill effects of bad weather appear often no otherwise, than in a melancholy and dejection of spirits ; though without doubt, in this case, the bodily organs suffer first, and the mind through these organs.

#### S E C T. XVII.

##### The effects of BLACKNESS.

**B**LACKNESS is but a partial darkness ; and therefore it derives some of its powers from being mixed and surrounded with coloured bodies. In its own nature, it cannot be considered as a colour. Black bodies, reflecting none, or but a few rays, with regard to sight, are but as so many vacant spaces dispersed among the objects we view. When the eye lights on one of these vacancies, after having been kept in some degree of tension by the play of the adjacent colours upon it, it suddenly falls into a relaxation ; out of which it as suddenly recovers by a convulsive spring. To illustrate this ; let

us consider, that when we intend to sit in a chair, and find it much lower than we expected, the shock is very violent ; much more violent than could be thought from so slight a fall as the difference between one chair and another can possibly make. If, after descending a flight of stairs, we attempt inadvertently to take another step in the manner of the former ones, the shock is extremely rude and disagreeable ; and by no art can we cause such a shock by the same means when we expect and prepare for it. When I say that this is owing to having the change made contrary to expectation ; I do not mean solely, when the *mind* expects. I mean likewise, that when any organ of sense is for some time affected in some one manner, if it be suddenly affected otherwise, there ensues a convulsive motion ; such a convulsion as is caused when any thing happens against the expectation of the mind. And though it may appear strange that such a change as produces a relaxation, should immediately produce a sudden convulsion ; it is yet most certainly so, and so in all the senses. Every one knows that sleep is a relaxation ; and that silence, where nothing keeps the organs of hearing in action, is in general fittest to bring on this relaxation : yet when a sort of murmuring sounds dispose a man to sleep, let these sounds cease suddenly, and the person immediately awakes ; that is, the parts are braced up suddenly, and he awakes. This I have often experienced myself, and I have heard the same from observing persons. In like manner, if a person in broad day light were falling asleep, to introduce a sudden darkness, would prevent his sleep for that time, though silence and darkness in themselves, and not suddenly introduced,  
are

are very favourable to it. This I knew only by conjecture on the analogy of the senses when I first digested these observations; but I have since experienced it. And I have often experienced, and so have a thousand others, that on the first inclining towards sleep, we have been suddenly awakened with a most violent start; and that this start was generally preceded by a sort of dream of our falling down a precipice: whence does this strange motion arise, but from the too sudden relaxation of the body, which by some mechanism in nature restores itself by as quick and vigorous an exertion of the contracting power of the muscles? The dream itself is caused by this relaxation: and it is of too uniform a nature to be attributed to any other cause. The parts relaxed too suddenly, which is in the nature of falling; and this accident of the body induces this image in the mind. When we are in a confirmed state of health and vigour, as all changes are then less sudden, and less on the extreme, we can seldom complain of this disagreeable sensation.

#### S E C T. XVIII.

The effects of BLACKNESS moderated.

**T**HOUGH the effects of black be painful originally, we must not think they always continue so. Custom reconciles us to every thing. After we have been used to the sight of black objects, the terror abates, and the smoothness and glossiness or some agreeable accident of bodies so coloured, softens

tens in some measure the horror and sternness of their original nature ; yet the nature of the original impression still continues: Black will always have something melancholy in it, because the sensory will always find the change to it from other colours too violent ; or if it occupy the whole compass of the sight, it will then be darkness ; and what was said of darkness, will be applicable here. I do not purpose to go into all that might be said to illustrate this theory of the effects of light and darkness ; neither will I examine all the different effects produced by the various modifications and mixtures of these two causes. If the foregoing observations have any foundation in nature, I conceive them very sufficient to account for all the phænomena that can arise from all the combinations of black with other colours: To enter into every particular, or to answer every objection, would be an endless labour. We have only followed the most leading roads ; and we shall observe the same conduct in our enquiry into the cause of beauty.

## S E C T. XIX.

## The physical cause of LOVE.

**W**HEN we have before us such objects as excite love and complacency ; the body is affected, so far as I could observe, much in the following manner : The head reclines something on one side ; the eye-lids are more closed than usual, and the eyes roll gently with an inclination to the object ; the

Y

mouth



mouth is a little opened, and the breath drawn slowly, with now and then a low sigh; the whole body is composed, and the hands fall idly to the sides. All this is accompanied with an inward sense of melting and languor. These appearances are always proportioned to the degree of beauty in the object, and of sensibility in the observer. And this gradation from the highest pitch of beauty and sensibility, even to the lowest of mediocrity and indifference, and their correspondent effects, ought to be kept in view, else this description will seem exaggerated, which it certainly is not. But from this description it is almost impossible not to conclude, that beauty acts by relaxing the solids of the whole system. There are all the appearances of such a relaxation; and a relaxation somewhat below the natural tone seems to me to be the cause of all positive pleasure. Who is a stranger to that manner of expression so common in all times and in all countries, of being softened, relaxed, enervated, dissolved, melted away by pleasure? The universal voice of mankind, faithful to their feelings, concurs in affirming this uniform and general effect: and although some odd and particular instance may perhaps be found, wherein there appears a considerable degree of positive pleasure, without all the characters of relaxation, we must not therefore reject the conclusion we had drawn from a concurrence of many experiments; but we must still retain it, subjoining the exceptions which may occur according to the judicious rule laid down by Sir Isaac Newton in the third book of his Optics. Our position will, I conceive, appear confirmed beyond any reasonable doubt, if we can shew that such things as we have already observed to be the genuine constituents  
of

of beauty, have each of them, separately taken, a natural tendency to relax the fibres. And if it must be allowed us, that the appearance of the human body, when all these constituents are united together before the sensory, further favours this opinion, we may venture, I believe, to conclude, that the passion called love is produced by this relaxation. By the same method of reasoning which we have used in the enquiry into the causes of the sublime, we may likewise conclude, that as a beautiful object presented to the sense, by causing a relaxation in the body, produces the passion of love in the mind ; so if by any means the passion should first have its origin in the mind, a relaxation of the outward organs will as certainly ensue in a degree proportioned to the cause.

## S E C T. XX.

## Why SMOOTHNESS is beautiful.

**I**T is to explain the true cause of visual beauty that I call in the assistance of the other senses. If it appears that *smoothness* is a principal cause of pleasure to the touch, taste, smell, and hearing, it will be easily admitted a constituent of visual beauty ; especially as we have before shewn, that this quality is found almost without exception in all bodies that are by general consent held beautiful. There can be no doubt that bodies which are rough and angular, rouse and vibrate the organs of feeling, causing a sense of pain which consists in the violent tension or contraction of

the muscular fibres. On the contrary, the application of smooth bodies relax; gentle stroking with a smooth hand allays violent pains and cramps, and relaxes the suffering parts from their unnatural tension; and it has therefore very often no mean effect in removing swellings and obstructions. The sense of feeling is highly gratified with smooth bodies. A bed smoothly laid, and soft, that is, where the resistance is every way inconsiderable, is a great luxury, disposing to an universal relaxation, and inducing beyond any thing else, that species of it called sleep.

## S E C T. XXI.

## SWEETNESS, its nature.

**N**OR is it only in the touch, that smooth bodies cause positive pleasure by relaxation. In the smell and taste, we find all things agreeable to them, and which are commonly called sweet, to be of a smooth nature, and that they all evidently tend to relax their respective sensories. Let us first consider the taste. Since it is most easy to enquire into the property of liquids, and since all things seem to want a fluid vehicle to make them tasted at all, I intend rather to consider the liquid than the solid parts of our food. The vehicles of all tastes are *water* and *oil*. And what determines the taste is some salt, which affects variously according to its nature, or its manner of being combined with other things. Water and oil, simply considered, are capable of giving some pleasure to the taste. Water, when simple, is insipid,

insipid, inodorous, colourless, and smooth ; it is found when *not cold* to be a great resolver of spasms, and lubricator of the fibres : this power it probably owes to its smoothness. For as fluidity depends, according to the most general opinion, on the roundness, smoothness, and weak cohesion of the component parts of any body ; and as water acts merely as a simple fluid ; it follows, that the cause of its fluidity is likewise the cause of its relaxing quality ; namely, the smoothness and slippery texture of its parts. The other fluid vehicle of tastes is *oil*. This too, when simple, is insipid, inodorous, colourless, and smooth to the touch and taste. It is smoother than water, and in many cases yet more relaxing. Oil is in some degree pleasant to the eye, the touch, and the taste, insipid as it is. Water is not so grateful ; which I do not know on what principle to account for, other than that water is not so soft and smooth. Suppose that to this oil or water were added a certain quantity of a specific salt, which had a power of putting the nervous papillæ of the tongue into a gentle vibratory motion ; as suppose sugar dissolved in it. The smoothness of the oil, and the vibratory power of the salt, cause the sense we call sweetness. In all sweet bodies, sugar, or a substance very little different from sugar, is constantly found ; every species of salt, examined by the microscope, has its own distinct, regular, invariable form. That of nitre is a pointed oblong ; that of sea-salt an exact cube ; that of sugar a perfect globe. If you have tried how smooth globular bodies, as the marbles with which boys amuse themselves, have affected the touch when they are rolled backward and forward and over one another, you will easily conceive how sweetness,

ness, which consists in a salt of such nature, affects the taste; for a single globe, (though somewhat pleasant to the feeling) yet by the regularity of its form, and the somewhat too sudden deviation of its parts from a right line, it is nothing near so pleasant to the touch as several globes, where the hand gently rises to one and falls to another; and this pleasure is greatly increased if the globes are in motion, and sliding over one another; for this soft variety prevents that weariness, which the uniform disposition of the several globes would otherwise produce. Thus in sweet liquors, the parts of the fluid vehicle, though most probably round, are yet so minute, as to conceal the figure of their component parts from the nicest inquiry of the microscope; and consequently being so excessively minute, they have a sort of flat simplicity to the taste, resembling the effects of plain smooth bodies to the touch; for if a body be composed of round parts excessively small, and packed pretty closely together, the surface will be both to the sight and touch as if it were nearly plain and smooth. It is clear from their unveiling their figure to the microscope, that the particles of sugar are considerably larger than those of water or oil, and consequently, that their effects from their roundness will be more distinct and palpable to the nervous papillæ of that nice organ the tongue; they will induce that sense called sweetness, which in a weak manner we discover in oil, and in a yet weaker in water; for insipid as they are, water and oil are in some degree sweet; and it may be observed, that insipid things of all kinds approach more nearly to the nature of sweetness than to that of any other taste.

S E C T.

## S E C T. XXII.

## S W E E T N E S S relaxing.

**I**N the other senses we have remarked, that smooth things are relaxing. Now it ought to appear that sweet things, which are the smooth of taste, are relaxing too. It is remarkable, that in some languages soft and sweet have but one name. *Doux* in French signifies soft as well as sweet. The Latin *Dulcis* and the Italian *Dolce* have in many cases the same double signification. That sweet things are generally relaxing, is evident; because all such, especially those which are most oily, taken frequently or in a large quantity, very much enfeeble the tone of the stomach. Sweet smells, which bear a great affinity to sweet tastes, relax very remarkably. The smell of flowers disposes people to drowsiness; and this relaxing effect is further apparent from the prejudice which people of weak nerves receive from their use. It were worth while to examine, whether tastes of this kind, sweet ones, tastes that are caused by smooth oils and a relaxing salt, are not the originally pleasant tastes. For many, which use has rendered such, were not at all agreeable at first. The way to examine this is, to try what nature has originally provided for us, which she has undoubtedly made originally pleasant; and to analyse this provision. *Milk* is the first support of our childhood. The component parts of this are water, oil, and a sort of a very sweet salt, called the sugar of milk. All these when blended have  
a great

a great *smoothness* to the taste, and a relaxing quality to the skin. The next thing children covet is *fruit*, and of fruits those principally which are sweet; and every one knows that the sweetness of fruit is caused by a subtile oil, and such a salt as that mentioned in the last section. Afterwards, custom, habit, the desire of novelty, and a thousand other causes, confound, adulterate, and change our palates, so that we can no longer reason with any satisfaction about them. Before we quit this article, we must observe, that as smooth things are, as such, agreeable to the taste, and are found of a relaxing quality; so, on the other hand, things which are found by experience to be of a strengthening quality, and fit to brace the fibres, are almost universally rough and pungent to the taste, and in many cases rough even to the touch. We often apply the quality of sweetness, metaphorically, to visual objects. For the better carrying on this remarkable analogy of the senses, we may here call sweetness the beautiful of the taste.

### S E C T. XXIII.

#### VARIATION, why beautiful.

**A**NOTHER principal property of beautiful objects is, that the line of their parts is continually varying its direction; but it varies it by a very insensible deviation; it never varies it so quickly as to surprize, or by the sharpness of its angle to cause any twitching or convulsion of the optic nerve. Nothing long continued in the same manner, nothing very suddenly

suddenly varied, can be beautiful ; because both are opposite to that agreeable relaxation which is the characteristic effect of beauty. It is thus in all the senses. A motion in a right line, is that manner of moving next to a very gentle descent, in which we meet the least resistance : yet it is not that manner of moving, which, next to a descent, wears us the least. Rest certainly tends to relax : yet there is a species of motion which relaxes more than rest ; a gentle oscillatory motion, a rising and falling. Rocking sets children to sleep better than absolute rest ; there is indeed scarce any thing at that age, which gives more pleasure than to be gently lifted up and down ; the manner of playing which their nurses use with children, and the weighing and swinging used afterwards by themselves as a favourite amusement, evince this very sufficiently. Most people must have observed the sort of sense they have had, on being swiftly drawn in an easy coach on a smooth turf, with gradual ascents and declivities. This will give a better idea of the beautiful, and point out its probable cause better, than almost any thing else. On the contrary, when one is hurried over a rough, rocky, broken road, the pain felt by these sudden inequalities shews why similar sights, feelings, and sounds, are so contrary to beauty : and with regard to feeling, it is exactly the same in its effect, or very nearly the same, whether, for instance, I move my hand along the surface of a body of a certain shape, or whether such a body is moved along my hand. But to bring this analogy of the senses home to the eye : if a body presented to that sense has such a waving surface, that the rays of light reflected from it are in a continual insensible



deviation from the strongest to the weakest (which is always the case in a surface gradually unequal), it must be exactly similar in its effect on the eye and touch; upon the one of which it operates directly, on the other indirectly. And this body will be beautiful if the lines which compose its surface are not continued, even so varied, in a manner that may weary or dissipate the attention. The variation itself must be continually varied.

## S E C T. XXIV.

## Concerning SMALLNESS.

**T**O avoid a sameness, which may arise from the too frequent repetition of the same reasonings, and of illustrations of the same nature, I will not enter very minutely into every particular that regards beauty, as it is founded on the disposition of its quantity, or its quantity itself. In speaking of the magnitude of bodies there is great uncertainty, because the ideas of great and small are terms almost entirely relative to the species of the objects, which are infinite. It is true, that having once fixed the species of any object, and the dimensions common in the individuals of that species, we may observe some that exceed, and some that fall short of, the ordinary standard: these which greatly exceed, are by that excess, provided the species itself be not very small, rather great and terrible than beautiful; but as in the animal world, and in a good measure in the vegetable world likewise, the qualities that constitute beauty may possibly be united to things  
of

of greater dimensions ; when they are so united, they constitute a species something different both from the sublime and beautiful, which I have before called *Fine* ; but this kind, I imagine, has not such a power on the passions, either as vast bodies have, which are endued with the correspondent qualities of the sublime ; or as the qualities of beauty have when united in a small object. The affection produced by large bodies adorned with the spoils of beauty, is a tension continually relieved ; which approaches to the nature of mediocrity. But if I were to say how I find myself affected upon such occasions, I should say, that the sublime suffers less by being united to some of the qualities of beauty, than beauty does by being joined to greatness of quantity, or any other properties of the sublime. There is something so over-ruling in whatever inspires us with awe, in all things which belong ever so remotely to terror, that nothing else can stand in their presence. There lie the qualities of beauty either dead and unoperative ; or at most exerted to mollify the rigour and sternness of the terror, which is the natural concomitant of greatness. Besides the extraordinary great in every species, the opposite to this, the dwarfish and diminutive ought to be considered. Littleness, merely as such, has nothing contrary to the idea of beauty. The humming bird, both in shape and colouring, yields to none of the winged species, of which it is the least ; and perhaps his beauty is enhanced by his smallness. But there are animals, which when they are extremely small are rarely (if ever) beautiful. There is a dwarfish size of men and women, which is almost constantly so gross

and massive in comparison of their height, that they present us with a very disagreeable image. But should a man be found not above two or three feet high, supposing such a person to have all the parts of his body of a delicacy suitable to such a size, and otherwise endowed with the common qualities of other beautiful bodies, I am pretty well convinced that a person of such a stature might be considered as beautiful; might be the object of love; might give us very pleasing ideas on viewing him. The only thing which could possibly interpose to check our pleasure is, that such creatures, however formed, are unusual, and are often therefore considered as something monstrous. The large and gigantic, though very compatible with the sublime, is contrary to the beautiful. It is impossible to suppose a giant the object of love. When we let our imagination loose in romance, the ideas we naturally annex to that size are those of tyranny, cruelty, injustice, and every thing horrid and abominable. We paint the giant ravaging the country, plundering the innocent traveller, and afterwards gorged with his half-living flesh: such are Polyphemus, Cacus, and others, who make so great a figure in romances and heroic poems. The event we attend to with the greatest satisfaction is their defeat and death. I do not remember, in all that multitude of deaths with which the Iliad is filled, that the fall of any man remarkable for his great stature and strength touches us with pity; nor does it appear that the author, so well read in human nature, ever intended it should. It is Simoisius, in the soft bloom of youth, torn from his parents, who tremble for a courage so ill suited to his strength; it is another hurried by war from the

new embraces of his bride, young, and fair, and a novice to the field, who melts us by his untimely fate. Achilles, in spite of the many qualities of beauty, which Homer has bestowed on his outward form, and the many great virtues with which he has adorned his mind, can never make us love him. It may be observed, that Homer has given the Trojans, whose fate he has designed to excite our compassion, infinitely more of the amiable social virtues than he has distributed among his Greeks. With regard to the Trojans, the passion he chooses to raise is pity; pity is a passion founded on love; and these *lesser*, and if I may say domestic virtues, are certainly the most amiable. But he has made the Greeks far their superiors in politic and military virtues. The councils of Priam are weak; the arms of Hector comparatively feeble; his courage far below that of Achilles. Yet we love Priam more than Agamemnon, and Hector more than his conqueror Achilles. Admiration is the passion which Homer would excite in favour of the Greeks, and he has done it by bestowing on them the virtues which have but little to do with love. This short digression is perhaps not wholly beside our purpose, where our business is to shew, that objects of great dimensions are incompatible with beauty, the more incompatible as they are greater; whereas the small, if ever they fail of beauty, this failure is not to be attributed to their size.

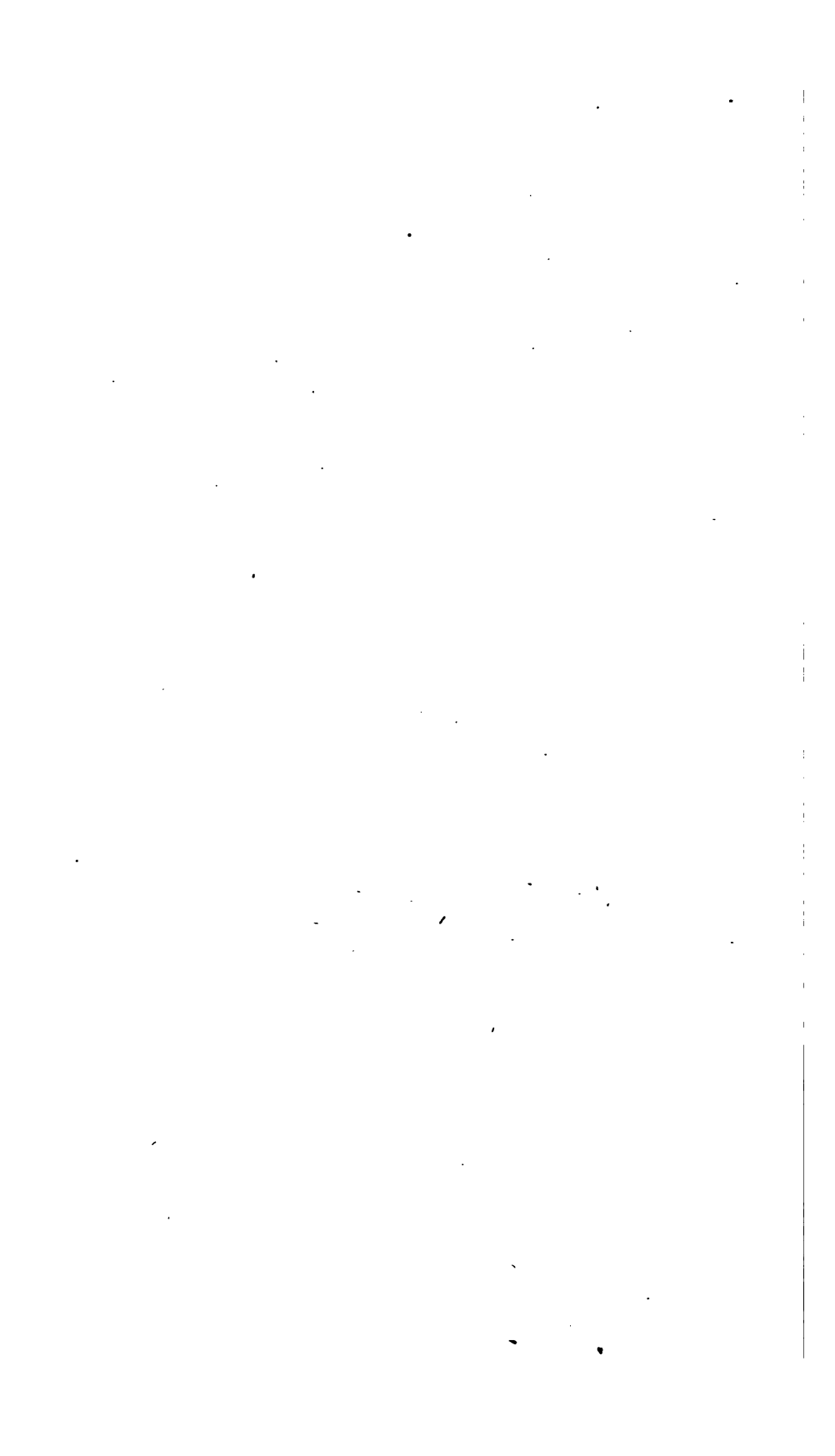
## S E C T. XXVI.

## O f C O L O U R.

WITH regard to color, the disquisition is almost infinite ; but I conceive the principles laid down in the beginning of this part are sufficient to account for the effects of them all, as well as for the agreeable effects of transparent bodies, whether fluid or solid. Suppose I look at a bottle of muddy liquor, of a blue or red colour : the blue or red rays cannot pass clearly to the eye, but are suddenly and unequally stopped by the intervention of little opaque bodies, which without preparation change the idea, and change it too into one disagreeable in its own nature, conformable to the principles laid down in sect. 24. But when the ray passes without such opposition through the glass or liquor, when the glass or liquor are quite transparent, the light is something softened in the passage, which makes it more agreeable even as light ; and the liquor reflecting all the rays of its proper colour *evenly*, it has such an effect on the eye, as smooth opaque bodies have on the eye and touch. So that the pleasure here is compounded of the softness of the transmitted, and the evenness of the reflected light. This pleasure may be heightened by the common principles in other things, if the shape of the glass which holds the transparent liquor be so judiciously varied, as to present the colour gradually and interchangeably weakened and strengthened with all the variety

variety which judgment in affairs of this nature shall suggest. On a review of all that has been said of the effects, as well as the causes of both ; it will appear that the sublime and beautiful are built on principles very different, and that their affections are as different : the great has terror for its basis ; which when it is modified, causes that emotion in the mind, which I have called astonishment ; the beautiful is founded on mere positive pleasure, and excites in the soul that feeling, which is called love. Their causes have made the subject of this fourth part.

THE END OF THE FOURTH PART



A Philosophical Enquiry  
 INTO THE  
 ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS  
 OF THE  
 SUBLIME and BEAUTIFUL.

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PART I.  
 S E C T I.  
 O F W O R D S.

**N**ATURAL objects affect us, by the laws of that connexion, which Providence has established between certain motions and configurations of bodies, and certain consequent feelings in our mind. Painting affects in the same manner, but with the superadded pleasure of imitation. Architecture affects by the laws of nature, and the law of reason; from which latter result the rules of proportion, which make a work to be praised or censured, in the whole or in some part, when the end for which it was designed is or is not properly answered. But as to words; they seem to me to affect us in a manner very different from that in which we are affected by natural objects, or by painting or architecture; yet words have as considerable a share in exciting ideas of beauty and of the sublime as any of those, and sometimes a much greater than any of them;

A a

therefore



therefore an enquiry into the manner by which they excite such emotions is far from being unnecessary in a discourse of this kind.

## S E C T. II.

The common effect of POETRY, not by raising ideas of things.

THE common notion of the power of poetry and eloquence, as well as that of words in ordinary conversation, is, that they affect the mind by raising in it ideas of those things for which custom has appointed them to stand. To examine the truth of this notion, it may be requisite to observe that words may be divided into three sorts. The first are such as represent many simple ideas *united by nature* to form some one determinate composition, as man, horse, tree, cattle, &c. These I call *aggregate words*. The second, are they that stand for one simple idea of such compositions, and no more; as red; blue, round, square, and the like. These I call *simple abstract words*. The third, are those, which are formed by an union, an *arbitrary union* of both the others, and of the various relations between them in greater or lesser degrees of complexity; as, virtue, honour, persuasion, magistrate, and the like. These I call *compound abstract words*. Words, I am sensible, are capable of being classed into more curious distinctions; but these seem to be natural, and enough for our purpose; and they are disposed in that order in which they are commonly taught, and in which the

mind,

mind gets the ideas they are substituted for. I shall begin with the third sort of words; compound abstracts, such as virtue, honour, persuasion, docility. Of these I am convinced, that whatever power they may have on the passions, they do not derive it from any representation raised in the mind of the things for which they stand. As compositions, they are not real essences, and hardly cause, I think, any real ideas. Nobody, I believe, immediately on hearing the sounds, virtue, liberty, or honour, conceives any precise notions of the particular modes of action and thinking, together with the mixt and simple ideas, and the several relations of them for which these words are substituted; neither has he any general idea, compounded of them; for if he had, then some of those particular ones, though indistinct perhaps, and confused, might come soon to be perceived. But this, I take it, is hardly ever the case. For put yourself upon analysing one of these words, and you must reduce it from one set of general words to another, and then into the simple abstracts and aggregates, in a much longer series than may be at first imagined, before any real idea emerges to light, before you come to discover any thing like the first principles of such compositions; and when you have made such a discovery of the original ideas, the effect of the composition is utterly lost. A train of thinking of this sort, is much too long to be pursued in the ordinary ways of conversation, nor is it at all necessary that it should. Such words are in reality but mere sounds; but they are sounds, which being used on particular occasions, wherein we receive some good, or suffer some evil; or see others affected with good

or evil ; or which we hear applied to other interesting things or events ; and being applied in such a variety of cases, that we know readily by habit to what things they belong, they produce in the mind, whenever they are afterwards mentioned, effects similar to those of their occasions. The sounds being often used without reference to any particular occasion, and carrying still their first impressions, they at last utterly lose their connexion with the particular occasions that gave rise to them ; yet the sound, without any annexed notion, continues to operate as before.

### S E C T. III.

#### General words before IDEAS.

**M**R. LOCKE has somewhere observed, with his usual sagacity, that most general words, those belonging to virtue and vice, good and evil, especially, are taught before the particular modes of action to which they belong are presented to the mind ; and with them, the love of the one, and the abhorrence of the other ; for the minds of children are so ductile, that a nurse, or any person about a child, by seeming pleased or displeas'd with any thing, or even any word, may give the disposition of the child a similar turn. When afterwards, the several occurrences in life come to be applied to these words, and that which is pleasant often appears under the name of evil ; and what is disagreeable to nature is called good and virtuous ; a strange confusion of ideas and  
affections

affections arises in the minds of many ; and an appearance of no small contradiction between their notions and their actions. There are many who love virtue and who detest vice, and this not from hypocrisy or affectation, who notwithstanding very frequently act ill and wickedly in particulars without the least remorse ; because these particular occasions never came into view, when the passions on the side of virtue were so warmly affected by certain words heated originally by the breath of others ; and for this reason, it is hard to repeat certain sets of words, though owned by themselves unoperative, without being in some degree affected, especially if a warm and affecting tone of voice accompanies them, as suppose,

*Wise, valiant, generous, good and great.*

These words, by having no application, ought to be unoperative ; but when words commonly sacred to great occasions are used, we are affected by them even without the occasions. When words which have been generally so applied are put together without any rational view, or in such a manner that they do not rightly agree with each other, the style is called bombast. And it requires in several cases much good sense and experience to be guarded against the force of such language ; for when propriety is neglected, a greater number of these affecting words may be taken into the service, and a greater variety may be indulged in combining them.

## S E C T. IV.

## The effect of W O R D S.

**I**F words have all their possible extent of power, three effects arise in the mind of the hearer. The first is, the *sound*; the second, the *picture*, or representation of the thing signified by the sound: the third is, the *affection* of the soul produced by one or by both of the foregoing. *Compounded abstract* words, of which we have been speaking, (honour, justice, liberty, and the like), produce the first and the last of these effects, but not the second. *Simple abstracts*, are used to signify some one simple idea without much adverting to others which may chance to attend it, as blue, green, hot, cold, and the like; these are capable of affecting all three of the purposes of words; as the *aggregate* words, man, castle, horse, &c. are in a yet higher degree. But I am of opinion, that the most general effect even of these words, does not arise from their forming pictures of the several things they would represent in the imagination; because, on a very diligent examination of my own mind, and getting others to consider theirs, I do not find that once in twenty times any such picture is formed, and when it is, there is most commonly a particular effort of the imagination for that purpose. But the aggregate words operate, as I said of the compound abstracts, not by presenting any image to the mind, but by having from use the same effect on being mentioned, that their original

ginal has when it is seen. Suppose we were to read a passage to this effect: "The river Danube rises in a moist and mountainous soil in the heart of Germany, where winding to and fro, it waters several principalities, until, turning into Austria, and laving the walls of Vienna, it passes into Hungary; there with a vast flood, augmented by the Saave and the Drave, it quits Christendom, and rolling through the barbarous countries which border on Tartary, it enters by many mouths into the Black sea." In this description many things are mentioned, as mountains, rivers, cities, the sea, &c. But let any body examine himself, and see whether he has had impressed on his imagination any pictures of a river, mountain, watery soil, Germany, &c. Indeed it is impossible, in the rapidity and quick succession of words in conversation, to have ideas both of the sound of the word, and of the thing represented; besides, some words, expressing real essences, are so mixed with others of a general and nominal import, that it is impracticable to jump from sense to thought, from particulars to generals, from things to words, in such a manner as to answer the purposes of life; nor is it necessary that we should.

## S E C T. V.

Examples that WORDS may affect without raising IMAGES.

**I** Find it very hard to persuade several that their passions are affected by words from whence they have no ideas; and yet harder to convince them, that

that, in the ordinary course of conversation we are sufficiently understood without raising any images of the things concerning which we speak. It seems to be on odd subject of dispute with any man, whether he has ideas in his mind or not. Of this, at first view, every man, in his own forum, ought to judge without appeal. But, strange as it may appear, we are often at a loss to know what ideas we have of things, or whether we have any ideas at all upon some subjects. It even requires a good deal of attention to be thoroughly satisfied on this head. Since I wrote these papers, I found two very striking instances of the possibility there is, that a man may hear words without having any idea of the things which they represent, and yet afterwards be capable of returning them to others, combined in a new way, and with great propriety, energy, and instruction. The first instance, is that of Mr. Blacklock, a poet blind from his birth. Few men blessed with the most perfect sight can describe visual objects with more spirit and justness than this blind man ; which cannot possibly be attributed to his having a clearer conception of the things he describes than is common to other persons. Mr. Spence, in an elegant preface which he has written to the works of this poet, reasons very ingeniously, and, I imagine, for the most part, very rightly, upon the cause of this extraordinary phænomenon ; but I cannot altogether agree with him, that some improprieties in language and thought, which occur in these poems, have arisen from the blind poet's imperfect conception of visual objects, since such improprieties, and much greater, may be found in writers even of an higher class than  
Mr.

Mr. Blacklock, and who notwithstanding possessed the faculty of seeing in its full perfection. Here is a poet doubtless as much affected by his own descriptions as any that reads them can be ; and yet he is affected with this strong enthusiasm by things of which he neither has, nor can possibly have any idea further than that of a bare sound : and why may not those who read his works be affected in the same manner that he was, with as little of any real ideas of the things described ? The second instance is of Mr. Saunderson, professor of mathematics in the university of Cambridge. This learned man had acquired great knowledge in natural philosophy, in astronomy, and whatever sciences depend upon mathematical skill. What was the most extraordinary and the most to my purpose, he gave excellent lectures upon light and colours ; and this man taught others the theory of those ideas which they had, and which he himself undoubtedly had not. But it is probable that the words red, blue, green, answered to him as well as the ideas of the colour themselves ; for the ideas of greater or, lesser degrees of refrangibility being applied to these words, and the blind man being instructed in what other respects they were found to agree or to disagree, it was as easy for him to reason upon the words, as if he had been fully master of the ideas. Indeed it must be owned he could make no new discoveries in the way of experiment. He did nothing but what we do every day in common discourse. When I wrote this last sentence, and used the words *every day* and *common discourse*, I had no images in my mind of any succession



of time : nor of men in conference with each other ; nor do I imagine that the reader will have any such ideas on reading it. Neither when I spoke of red, or blue and green, as well as refrangibility, had I these several colours, or the rays of light passing into a different medium, and there diverted from their course, painted before me in the way of images. I know very well that the mind possesses a faculty of raising such images at pleasure ; but then an act of the will is necessary to this ; and in ordinary conversation or reading, it is very rarely that any image at all is excited in the mind. If I say “ I shall go to Italy next summer,” I am well understood. Yet I believe nobody has by this painted in his imagination the exact figure of the speaker passing by land or by water, or both ; sometimes on horseback, sometimes in a carriage ; with all the particulars of the journey. Still less has he any idea of Italy, the country to which I proposed to go ; or of the greenness of the fields, the ripening of the fruits, and the warmth of the air, with the change to this from a different season, which are the ideas for which the word *summer* is substituted ; but least of all has he any image from the word *next* ; for this word stands for the idea of many summers, with the exclusion of all but one : and surely the man who says *next summer*, has no images of such a succession, and such an exclusion. In short, it is not only of those ideas which are commonly called abstract, and of which no image at all can be formed, but even of particular real beings, that we converse without having any idea of them excited in the imagination ; as will certainly appear on a diligent examination of our own minds.

Indeed

Indeed, so little does poetry depend for its effect on the power of raising sensible images, that I am convinced it would lose a very considerable part of its energy if this were the necessary result of all description. Because that union of affecting words, which is the most powerful of all poetical instruments, would frequently lose its force along with its propriety and consistency, if the sensible images were always excited. There is not perhaps in the whole *Æneid* a more grand and laboured passage than the description of Vulcan's cavern in *Etna*, and the works that are there carried on. *Virgil* dwells particularly on the formation of the thunder, which he describes unfinished under the hammers of the Cyclops. But what are the principles of this extraordinary composition ?

*Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubes aqueas  
Addiderant ; rutili tres ignis et alvis austri ;  
Fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque, metumque  
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras.*

This seems to me admirably sublime ; yet if we attend coolly to the kind of sensible images which a combination of ideas of this sort must form, the chimeras of madmen cannot appear more wild and absurd than such a picture. “ Three rays of twisted  
“ showers, three of watery clouds, three of fire, and  
“ three of the winged south wind ; then mixed they  
“ in the work terrific lightnings, and sound, and  
“ fear, and anger, with pursuing flames.” This strange composition is formed into a gross body ; it

is hammered by the Cyclops, it is in part polished, and partly continues rough. The truth is, if poetry gives us a noble assemblage of words, corresponding to many noble ideas, which are connected by circumstances of time or place, or related to each other as cause and effect, or associated in any natural way, they may be moulded together in any form, and perfectly answer their end. The picturesque connection is not demanded; because no real picture is formed; nor is the effect of the description at all the less upon this account. What is said of Helen by Priam and the old men of his council, is generally thought to give us the highest possible idea of that fatal beauty.

Οὐ νύμεις Τροίης καὶ Ἰουκτιμίδας Ἀχαιῶν  
 Τόση δ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους ἄλγιστα πάσχουσιν  
 Αἰεὶς ὀδυνώμενοι δὴναι εἰς ὄψα βασιλῆος.

*They cry'd, no wonder such celestial charms  
 For nine long years have set the world in arms;  
 What winning graces! what majestic mien!  
 She moves a goddess, and she looks a queen.*

POPE.

Here is not one word said of the particulars of her Beauty; nothing which can in the least help us to any precise idea of her person; but yet we are much more touched by this manner of mentioning her than by those long and laboured descriptions of Helen, whether handed down by tradition, or formed by fancy, which are to be met with in some authors. I am sure it affects me much more than the minute description which Spencer has given of Belphebe; though

I own

I own that there are parts in that description, as there are in all the descriptions of that excellent writer, extremely fine and poetical. The terrible picture which Lucretius has drawn of Religion, in order to display the magnanimity of his philosophic hero in opposing her, is thought to be designed with great boldness and spirit :

*Humana ante oculos feda cum vita jaceret,  
In terris, oppressa gravi sub religione,  
Qua caput e caeli regionibus ostendebat  
Horribili desuper visu mortalibus instans ;  
Primus Graius homo mortales tollere contra  
Est oculos ausus.——*

What idea do you derive from so excellent a picture ? none at all, most certainly ; neither has the poet said a single word which might in the least serve to mark a single limb or feature of the phantom, which he intended to represent in all the horrors imagination can conceive. In reality poetry and rhetoric do not succeed in exact description so well as painting does ; their business is, to affect rather by sympathy than imitation ; to display rather the effect of things on the mind of the speaker, or of others, than to present a clear idea of the things themselves. This is their most extensive province, and that in which they succeed the best.

## S E C T. VI.

POETRY not strictly an imitative art.

**H**ENCE we may observe that poetry, taken in its most general sense, cannot with strict propriety be called an art of imitation. It is indeed an imitation so far as it describes the manners and passions of men which their words can express; where *animus effert interprete lingua*. There it is strictly imitation; and all merely *dramatic* poetry is of this sort. But *descriptive* poetry operates chiefly by *substitution*; by the means of sounds, which by custom have the effect of realities. Nothing is an imitation further than as it resembles some other thing; and words undoubtedly have no sort of resemblance to the ideas for which they stand.

## S E C T. VII.

How WORDS influence the passions.

**N**OW, as words affect, not by any original power, but by representation, it might be supposed, that their influence over the passions should be but light; yet it is quite otherwise; for we find by experience that eloquence and poetry are as capable, nay indeed much more capable, of making deep and lively impressions than any other arts, and even than nature itself in very many cases. And this arises chiefly

chiefly from these three causes. First, that we take an extraordinary part in the passions of others, and that we are easily affected and brought into sympathy by any tokens which are shewn of them; and there are no tokens which can express all the circumstances of most passions so fully as words; so that if a person speaks upon any subject, he can not only convey the subject to you, but likewise the manner in which he is himself affected by it. Certain it is, that the influence of most things on our passions is not so much from the things themselves, as from our opinions concerning them; and these again depend very much on the opinions of other men, conveyable for the most part by words only. Secondly, there are many things of a very affecting nature, which can seldom occur in the reality, but the words which represent them often do; and thus they have an opportunity of making a deep impression and taking root in the mind, whilst the idea of the reality was transient; and to some perhaps never really occurred in any shape, to whom it is notwithstanding very affecting, as war, death, famine, &c. Besides, many ideas have never been at all presented to the senses of any men but by words, as God, angels, devils, heaven, and hell, all of which have however a great influence over the passions. Thirdly, by words we have it in our power to make such combinations as we cannot possibly do otherwise. By this power of combining we are able, by the addition of well-chosen circumstances, to give a new life and force to the simple object. In painting we may represent any fine figure we please; but we never can give it those enlivening touches which it may receive from words. To present

present an angel in a picture, you can only draw a beautiful young man winged : but what painting can furnish out any thing so grand as the addition of one word, “ the angel of the *Lord?*” It is true, I have here no clear idea ; but these words affect the mind more than the sensible image did ; which is all I contend for. A picture of Priam dragged to the altar’s foot, and there murdered, if it were well executed, would undoubtedly be very moving ; but there are very aggravating circumstances, which it could never represent :

*Sanguine sædentem quos ipse sacraverat ignes.*

As a further instance, let us consider those lines of Milton, where he describes the travels of the fallen angels through their dismal habitation ;

———*O'er many a dark and dreary vale  
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous ;  
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp ;  
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,  
A universe of death.*

Here is displayed the force of union in

*Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, fens, and shades ;*

which yet would lose the greatest part of the effect, if they were not the :

*Rocks, caves, lakes, dens, bogs, fens, and shades——  
——of Death*

The idea or this affection caused by a word, which  
nothing

nothing but a word could annex to the others, raises a very great degree of the sublime ; and this sublime is raised yet higher by what follows, a *universe of " Death."* Here are again two ideas not presentable but by language ; and an union of them great and amazing beyond conception ; if they may properly be called ideas which present no distinct image to the mind :—but still it will be difficult to conceive how words can move the passions which belong to real objects, without representing these objects clearly. This is difficult to us, because we do not sufficiently distinguish, in our observations upon language, between a clear expression, and a strong expression. These are frequently confounded with each other, though they are in reality extremely different. The former regards the understanding ; the latter belongs to the passions. The one describes a thing as it is ; the other describes it as it is felt. Now, as there is a moving tone of voice, an impassioned countenance, an agitated gesture, which affect independently of the things about which they are exerted, so there are words, and certain dispositions of words ; which being peculiarly devoted to passionate subjects, and always used by those who are under the influence of any passion, touch and move us more than those which far more clearly and distinctly express the subject matter. We yield to sympathy what we refuse to description. The truth is, all verbal description, merely as naked description, though never so exact, conveys so poor and insufficient an idea of the thing described, that it would scarcely have the smallest effect, if the speaker did not call in to his aid those modes of speech that mark a strong and lively feeling

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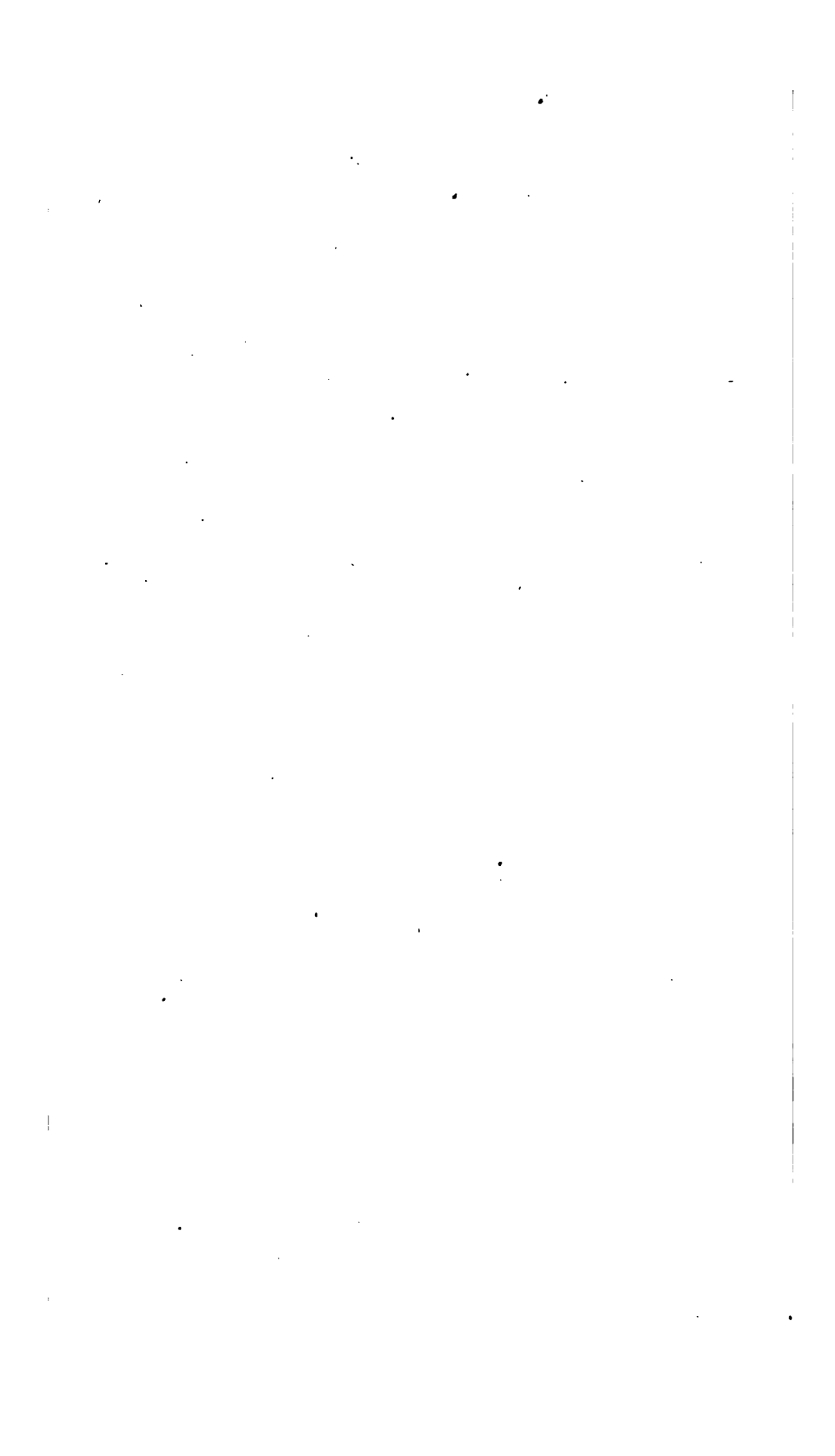
feeling in himself. Then, by the contagion of our passions, we catch a fire already kindled in another; which probably might never have been struck out by the object described. Words, by strongly conveying the passions, by those means which we have already mentioned, fully compensate for their weakness in other respects. It may be observed, that very polished languages, and such as are praised for their superior clearness and perspicuity, are generally deficient in strength. The French language has that perfection and that defect. Whereas the oriental tongues, and in general the languages of most unpolished people, have a great force and energy of expression; and this is but natural. Uncultivated people are but ordinary observers of things, and not critical in distinguishing them; but, for that reason, they admire more, and are more affected with what they see, and therefore express themselves in a warmer and more passionate manner. If the affection be well conveyed, it will work its effect without any clear idea; often without any idea at all of the thing which has originally given rise to it.

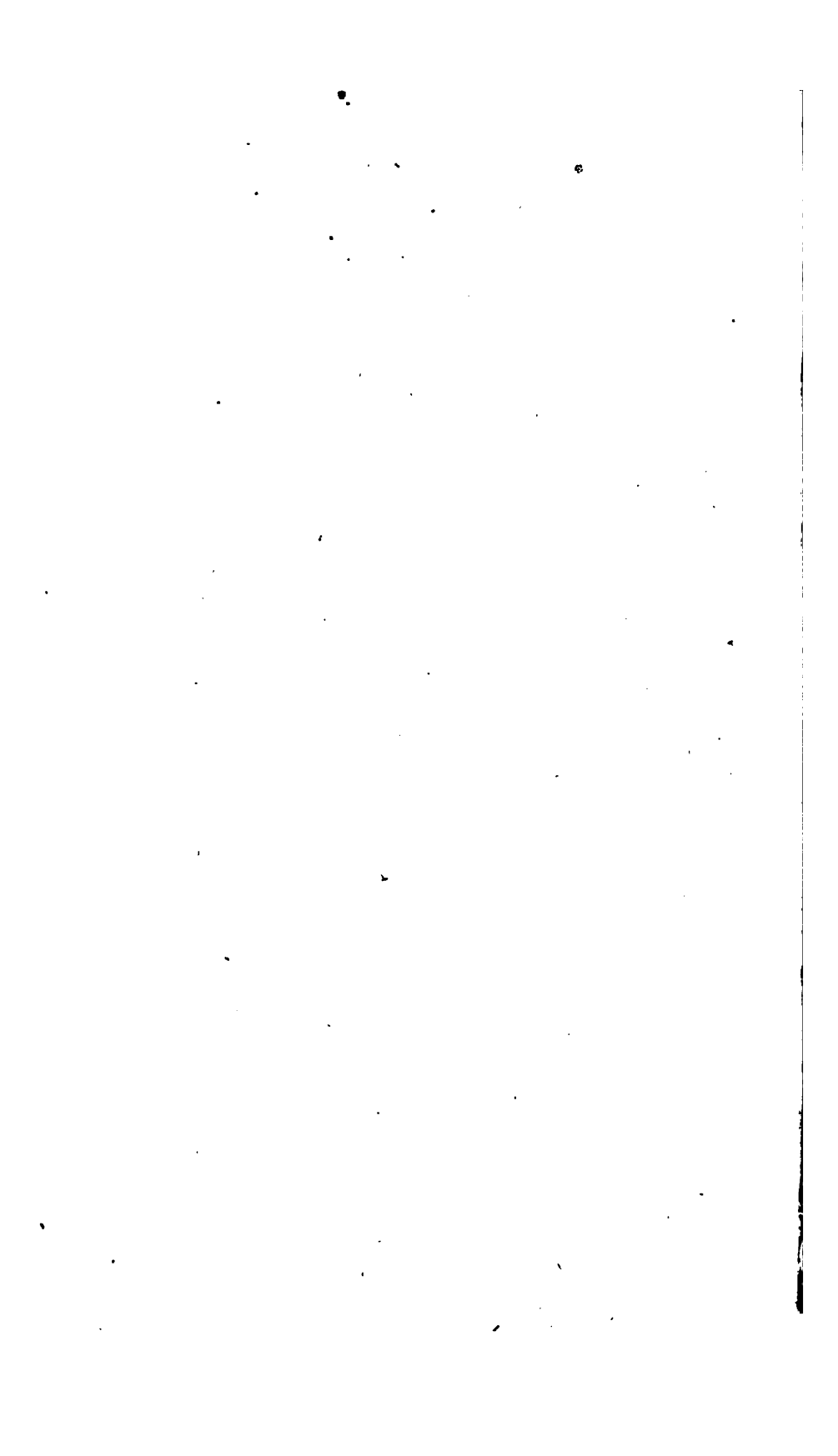
It might be expected from the fertility of the subject, that I should consider poetry as it regards the sublime and beautiful more at large; but it must be observed that in this light it has been often and well handled already. It was not my design to enter into the criticism of the sublime and beautiful in any art, but to attempt to lay down such principles as may tend to ascertain, to distinguish, and to form a sort of standard for them; which purposes I thought might be best effected by an enquiry into the properties of such things

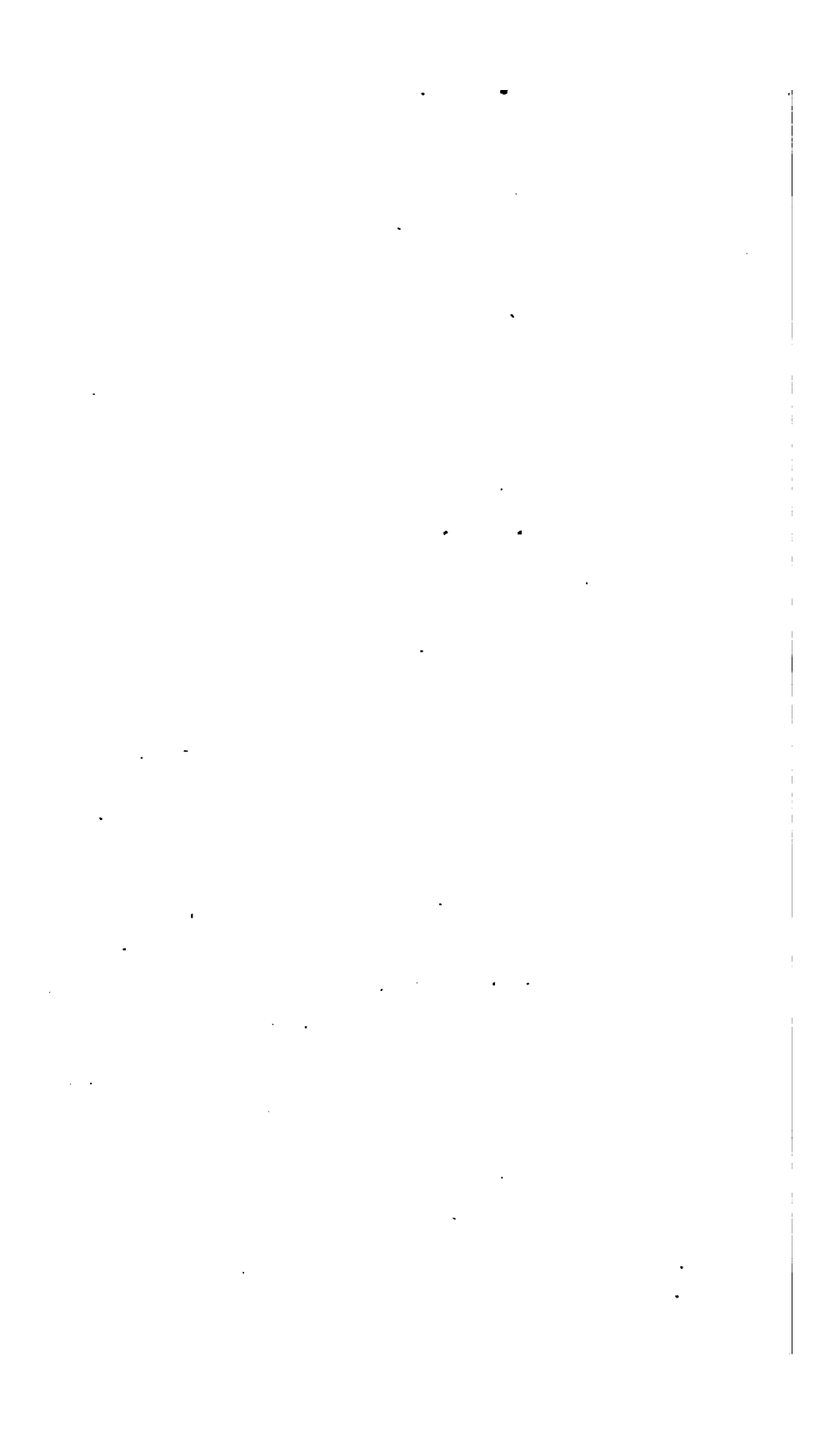
things in nature, as raise love and astonishment in us; and by shewing in what manner they operated to produce these passions. Words were only so far to be considered, as to shew upon what principle they were capable of being the representatives of these natural things, and by what powers they were able to affect us often as strongly as the things they represent, and sometimes much more strongly.

THE END.

D. BUCHANAN, MONTROSE.

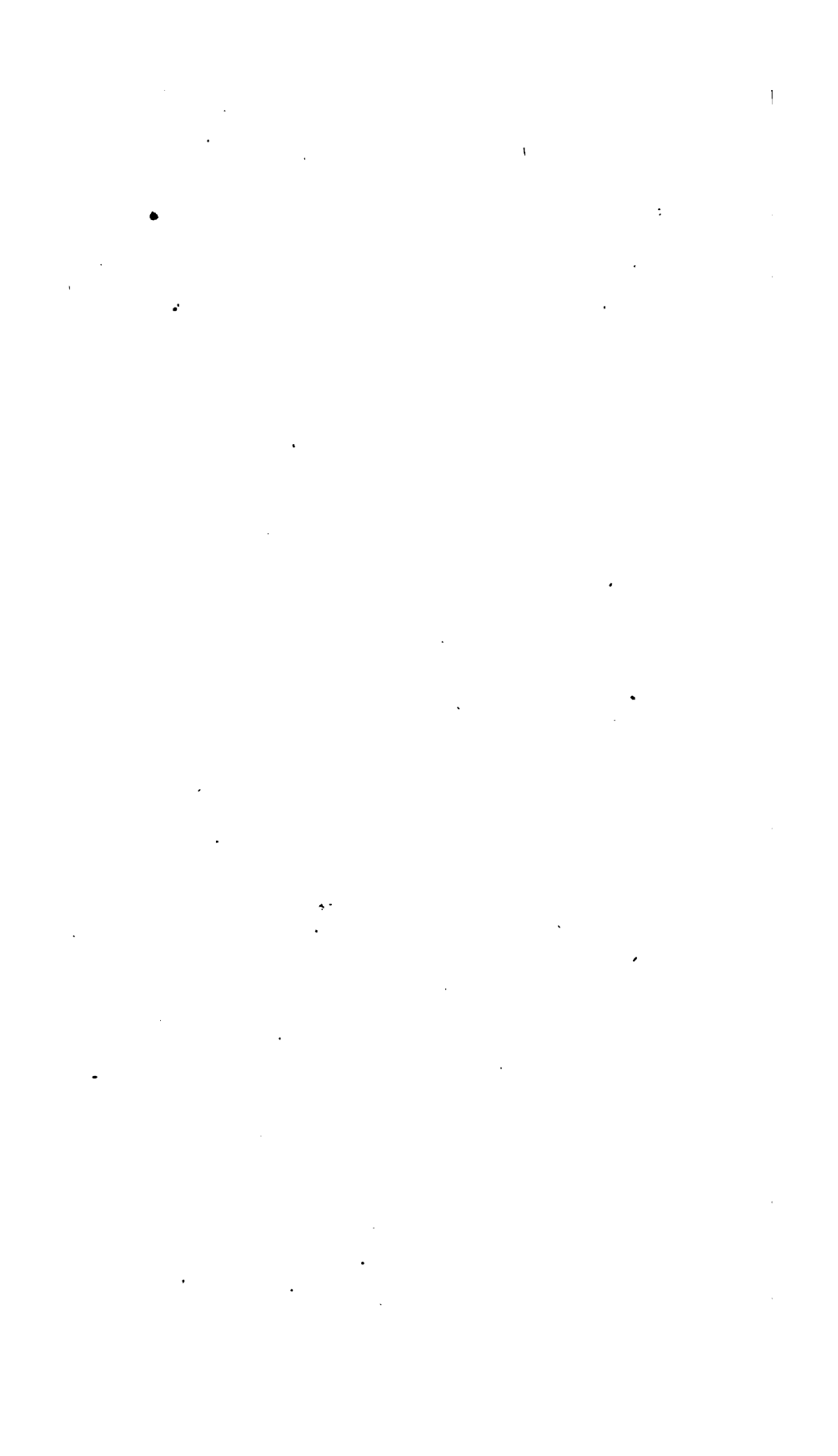
















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