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his own fate, and ruined his prospects. He stood found to this dict that it was for another he was trying, and not for himself. Until this anomalous state of things was remedied, it was in vain to hope for good order or tranquillity in Ireland. The ministers who would seek to rule Ireland, should take their stand upon some settled principle of right. The present ministry did not seek to do that. They were not held power on any settled principle. They were indebted for it to the mere accident that certain parties who ought to be mere obedient were disunited, and



the Irish Confederation. The few spies in my body, and although the government knew every one of them, took that chance, and a single man of them was arrested. And why? Because it was the object of the government to foment a rebellion, and to take vengeance on those who refused to aid England at the American revolution. Then came the French revolution, which not only Ireland, but the world, looked for the dawn of freedom—the French solution. Was it wonderful that the Irish Catholic people, who were governed by Protestants—who were oppressed by a penal code—were unable to stand idly and, eradicate their families—and those of the people they should look to the French cause for redemption? No; all the world was full of the French revolution. It was an earthquake that shook society to its centre. The English minister came again afire. He was obliged to send his forces to France, and he attempted to make use of the Irish people. ‘No,’ said the people, ‘you decimated before. The test now shall be Parliamentary reform.’ And let it be borne in mind, that the professions of hon. gentlemen opposite, is ‘Taxation without representation, is tyranny, and should be resisted.’ The late Earl Grey, Charles James Fox, and other Whigs, taught that lesson; but they gave it up when they got into power, or, at least as soon as Charles James Fox got into power, he said, ‘my idea of reform is that no governmental commissioners be allowed to sit in this house.’ When the Irish people heard themselves so often deceived, they said, ‘Well, we will go forward for nothing else than parliamentary reform.’ Precisely as the Whigs do deal with Ireland did Dumouriez deal with the liberty of the world. He turned traitor in France, and instead of giving life to the bill which had been approved of by the Council, he called the celebrated Convention Act. In 1776 the Catholic people of Ireland, operating on the fears of the British Government, got rid of some portion of their disabilities. They were allowed for instance to buy their father’s land back again, if they could only get the money to do so. (A laugh.) In 1798 came the rebellion, and when the history of our country is fairly written, it would be seen for what purpose that rebellion was fermented. But the history of the rebellion has not yet fairly written. We have given you no fair given your conquerors—we have given you no fair given your financiers—we have given you no fair given your statesmen—we have given you no fair given your dramatists and poets, until we cannot give you historians, because you have destroyed the literature of our country. I ask you commanded you? Who fought your battles? The answer is, Irish generals and Irish soldiers. I say so. Well then, sir, there was something better done from this country to Ireland than you have given her. How was the union carried? In 1797 Lord Foulton said in the House of Lords, that it was folly to coalesce the Irish people, and that it was better to submit to their legitimate and just demands. It was said that the British minister was perfectly aware of the treason carried on in the Irish camp. I shall not now go into the question of exports and imports. I shall not attempt to show how from 1780 up to 1800, Ireland had increased in her imports, exports, and general wealth, but I shall show by what course the union had been effected, and the great result that had been practised upon the country. I shall show what corruption inevitably leads to, I

Ireland, a system which was so far from being a great strain than the factitious system created by the Great Britain. In 1780, the Catholic system had not yet been established, and Ireland did not owe a fraction, notwithstanding the centuries of privation, suffering, and oppression she had undergone. In 1800, when the union was effected, she owed £14,000,000. This is what Ireland owed Lord Charles Cornwallis and the volunteers. They did it at once a farthing when helpless and unnumbered by the British Legislature, but when in the power of the borough-mongers, they owed £14,000,000. I have here the opinions of Lord Plunket, Earl Grey, Mr. Saund's, the Irish Attorney-General, and Mr Justice Byles; and a great many high authorities, all showing the means by which the union was carried, and forcing the result of that union, especially if Ireland were not properly governed by the Imperial Parliament, and all showing the state of prosperity in Ireland—'Ireland had advanced, before the passing of the Act of Union. When the union was carried Ireland was not in the position of being a fair contracting party. When you enter into partnership with a man, your will, as you are informed, of the amount of your partner's capital, and the advantages and disadvantages which he is in proportion to the respective amounts of capital possessed by each-party. In the case of the union our capital was undoubtedly slender, and without giving us the advantage to which such a capital might fairly entitle us, you made us pay a larger share of the interest on the National Debt than we ought to pay.' (Hear, hear.) You coerced Ireland into the partnership. She was then in a state of distress.—She was not free to act. Her hands were manacled—chained behind her back, and notwithstanding that you compelled her to enter into partnership against her consent, every article of the union was violated during twenty years of its completion.' The exchequerers of the two countries were consolidated, and instead of making up their accounts separately, our debt—as it has been put—was estimated at one hundred millions—two hundred millions. You made us pay more than we could extract from our resources. Let me now say that Ireland is not taxed; but the taxation, no matter how equitable, is always in proportion to the ability of the people who have to pay, and not to what they are thought to pay, or to the clemency of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. And now, not having occupied much time in running over the historical part of his question, let me come to the most material point—the *cassus belli*. What was the cause of the irritation existing between the Irish parliament and the Irish people? Was it not Catholic emancipation? Canning said, in the House of Commons, that the greatest reason—the most profound and sustainable reason for carrying the union was to remove the theatre of discussion on Irish questions; from College-green to the more placid arena of St Stephen's. Catholic emancipation was an implied contract at the time of the Union. The Irish parliament was composed entirely of Protestants; and Catholic emancipation was the principal question which was discussed. But Ireland had no parliament. The Irish nation had no voice in the parliament. The Irish nation had no right, nothing to do with the restriction coat for English Acts of Parliament. From 1495 to 1800, and from that period of boasted liberty to the time of the Union—twenty years—the liberality of the Irish parliament was manifested only in such an opposition to England as would insure an advantage to the Protestant borough-mongers, and who, I have shown, increased their borough properties to an enormous amount by corruption and patronage, granted by the necessities of England, and placed as a burden upon the Irish people a debt of no less than £14,000,000, within the short period of twenty years. Passing from the Poyning's Act in 1495, till the Act in 1780, and from 1780, till the passing of the Act of Union, corruption, place-men, and pensioners, rode roughshod over the rights of the Irish people. It was Catholic emancipation. The country was shackled by bribery and corruption. 226 members of the House of Commons were returned by a few peers. One hundred and thirty-five members of the House of Commons had the power of returning fourteen or fifteen members to the House of Commons, and of that number, a noble wheel of mine—Lord Longueville—returned four at cards, baggammon, and dice. A few persons owned all the patronage of the city and county of Cork, and they returned their minions to the House of Commons, in order to do the work of the British minister. Ireland never had a parliament. The Irish parliament was corrupt. It was governed through the means of Irish boroughs, under English influence and control, for the owners of those boroughs were bribed by the English government with place and patronage. In 1832, you reformed your own parliament, and thereby declared yourselves corrupt and incompetent to do the work of the nation; but instead of reforming the Irish parliament, you destroyed it; because the repeal of Poyning's Act had made the Irish parliament independent of England. (Laughter.) But what did Castlemeagh do? He pledged himself to give Catholic emancipation. But he violated the agreement of the Act of Union. The people protested against the Act of Union. Plunket, Savin, and others had sold themselves, and although I have stated their own opinions, I do not impeach them. I rely on such men with disdain. I am glad at first protected against the Act of Union as injurious and destructive to Ireland, and yet they afterwards mean enough to accept pensions and pensions from the enemies of their country. (Hear, hear.) I have shown you that the articles of the Act of Union have been violated, and now what remains for this house to do? Your duty now is to grant a committee to inquire into the way in which the dissolution of the Irish parliament was accomplished. If the government should resist this motion for inquiry, it will go forth to the Irish people, that the Irish nation who wished for this emancipation had been deceived, and that the government had failed to answer. If this motion be resisted, then the English government will stand condemned before the Irish people. It cost not £1,500,000,



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