

Address to the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE in LONDON,
FROM
The SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN in DUBLIN.

IMPRESSED with the resemblance in the title, nature and destination of their respective institutions; and acting under the fraternity of feelings, which such a coincidence naturally inspires: The title which you bear is a glorious one, and we too are Friends of the People. If we be asked; "who are the People?" we turn not our eyes here and there, to this party, or to that persuasion; and cry, "Lo! the People;" but we look around us without partiality or predilection, and we answer, "the multitude of human beings, the living mass of humanity afflicted to exist, to subsist, and to be happy. In them and them only we find the original of social authority, the measure of political value, and the pedestal of legitimate power."

As Friends of people, upholding their rights and deploring their sufferings, the great object of this Society is a real representation of the Irish Nation in an Irish Parliament; and as friends of the whole people, we support the necessity of Catholic emancipation as a means of making representation what it ought to be, Free, Equal, and Entire. If the people of one country be not obliged to obey the laws of another, on the same principle when the people resident in a country, have no sort of influence over the legislature, that legislature will receive rather discretionary acquiescence than legitimate obedience; and as this discretionary state is dangerous, because precarious, a change becomes necessary for the peace and happiness of the nation, violence being the last measure to which rational beings will resort.

The present state of Ireland with regard to population is upwards of four millions, three of which are of the Catholic Religion; and with regard to political freedom,

1. The State of Protestant representation is as follows: 17 Boroughs have no resident elector; 16 have but one; 16 have from 2 to 5; 90 have 13 electors each; 90 persons return for 166 ward boroughs, that is 212 members out of 300, the whole number. 54 Members are returned by five noblemen and four bishops, and borough influence has given landlords such power in the counties as makes them boroughs also.—In short, representation, which in its nature is only a deposit, has been converted into a property, and that constitution which is founded on equal liberty, and which declares, that no tax shall be levied without the "good will" of the people, is totally perverted in its principles and corrupted in its practice; yet the majesty of the people is still quoted with affected veneration; and if the crown be ostensibly placed on a part of Protestant portion, it is placed in mockery, for it is encircled with thorns.

2. With regard to the Catholics, the following is the simple and sorrowful fact: Three millions, every one of whom has an interest in the state, and collectively give it its value, are taxed without being represented, and bound by laws to which they have not given consent. They now require a share of political liberty, in the participation of the elective franchise, and of civil liberty in the privilege of serving on Grand Juries. There can be no civil without political liberty, and in requiring the right of suffrage they, in reality, demand only a safeguard for their religion, their property and their lives.

The Code of penal Laws against the Catholics reduced oppression into a system. The action and pressure of this system continually accumulating without any reaction on the part of the sufferers, sunk in the lethargy of servitude, has confirmed the governing portion of the people in a habit of domination. This Habit, mixing with the antipathies of past times, and the irritations of the moment, has impressed a strange persuasion, that the rights of the plurality are Protestant property, and that the birth-right of millions, born and to be born, continue the spoils of war and booty of conquest. The perversion of the understanding perverts the heart; and this Protestant ascendancy, as it calls itself, uniting power with passion, and hating the Catholics because it has injured them, on a bare inquisitorial suspicion insufficient to criminate an individual, would erase a whole people from the roll of citizenship, and for the sins (if they were sins) of remote ancestors would attain their remo-

tal posterity. We have read, and read with horror, that Louis 11th, ordered the children to be placed under the scaffold where the father was beheaded; that they might be sprinkled with his blood.

It is, we think, by this unequal distribution of popular privilege, that its very nature has, in this kingdom, been corrupted, and from the moment that equality of rights was overturned, and general liberty became particular power, the public mind has been split into a conflict of factions. General distribution of the elective franchise would make corruption impracticable, but when common right becomes the property of person, party or persuasion, it acquires a value equally unnatural and unconstitutional; is bought and sold; rises or falls, like any marketable commodity. The deprivation of the elective franchise, on the one hand, robs a great majority of the nation of an invaluable blessing; and its accumulation in the hands of the Protestant portion, operates on that very portion as a curse. The right of all, heaped up and hoarded by the few, becomes a public pest, and the nutriment of the constitution is changed into its poison. The iniquitous monopoly rots in boroughs, spreads its contagion through counties; taints its morals, and manners; makes elections mere fears for the traffic of franchise and the sale of men; in place of that nationality of mind which spreads its parental embrace around a whole people, substitutes the envious excluding spirit of selfish corporations; and swelling, at length, into monstrous and gigantic attendances, holds forth a hundred thousand hands to bribe and betray, and tramples with a hundred thousand feet on those miserable millions who have lost their only guarantee against injustice and oppression.

Instructed by the genius of the constitution, and the genuine spirit of the law; instructed, of late, by all that has been spoken, or written, or acted, or suffered in the cause of freedom; instructed by the late revolution in America, by the late revolution in Ireland, by the late revolution in France; hearing of all that has been done over the face of the globe for liberty, and feeling all that can be suffered from the want of it, reading the charter of independence to Ireland, and listening to the spirit-firing voice of her great deliverer; actuated, in fine, by that imperishable spark in the bosom of man which the servitude of a century may smother, but cannot extinguish, the Catholics of this country have been lessened into liberty, have learned to know their rights, to be sensible of their wrongs, and to detail by peaceful delegation, their grievances, rather than endure without obedience. You!—In either kingdoms, who reproach the Catholics of Ireland for asserting the rights of nature, burn your books, tear your charters, break down your free press, and crumble to pieces those moulds which have cast liberty in so fair a form, as to make Catholics feel what Protestants have felt, and join their admiration and love with those of a worshipping world.

This Society and many other Societies have associated to create that union of power, and that brotherhood of affection among all the inhabitants of this Island, which is the interest as well as duty of all.—We are all Irishmen, and our object is to unite the different descriptions of religion in the cause of our common country. From the most opposite points in the wide circumference of religions we tend with increasing velocity to the same centre of political union. A reform in Parliament preceding Catholic franchise would be in its nature partial and exclusive, and unless a reform immediately follows that emancipation (which it will certainly do) the extension of elective franchise, would only add to the mass of corruption. The centre of our union is fixed and immovable. The Presbyterian wishes for national freedom. The Catholic aspires to nothing more; nor can either of them be brought to believe that those varieties of religious faiths, which may be deemed the pleasures of the Creator, should be made the engines of political torture to any of his creatures. Too long have our people been set in array of battle against each other; too long have the rancour and revenge of our ancestors been left as a legacy of blood to their posterity; too long has one limb of the social body been tied down, until it had nearly lost all feeling, life and energy. It is our wish, it is our hope, to give Ireland the full and free possession of both her arms, her Catholic arm as well as her Protestant arm; that she may the better embrace her Friends or grapple with her Foes.

Such are the principles and practice of our Institution, which, having neither pow-

er nor patronage, but merely the energy of honesty, has not only been distinguished by the calumnies of those who are born only to bite the heel, and be crucified under foot, but has been honoured by the obloquy of men who fill the first offices in the state. From them we appeal to natural right and eternal justice, which ought ever to be established without compromise or reservation. From them we appeal to those who call themselves Friends of the People. Look not upon Ireland with an eye of indifference. The period of Irish insignificance is passing fast away. If the nation ever appeared contemptible, it was because the nation did not act; but no sooner in the late war was it abandoned by Government, than it rose to distinction as a People. As to any union between the islands, believe us when we assert that our union rests upon our mutual independence. We shall love each other, if we be left to ourselves. It is the union of minds which ought to bind these nations together. Reciprocal interests and mutual wants will ever secure mutual affection; but were any other union to be forced, and force only could effect it, you would endanger your liberties, and we should lose our rights; you would feel the influence of the crown increased beyond all sufferance; and we should lose the name and energies of a people, with every hope of raising to its merited station in the map of mankind this noble and neglected island "for which God has done so much and Man so little."

It having been demanded, by a member of the House of Commons last session, what is the *plus ultra* of the Irish Catholics, where demands will be fully satisfied, and where concession on the part of Government must end; they now come forward to declare it.

They are ready and willing to give every further proof in their power of their cordial and sincere desire to support and adhere to a Protestant King, a Protestant House of Lords, a Protestant House of Commons, and all high and responsible places of honor, trust and profit, in the hands of Irish Protestants.

The King they own, and to whom they owe more obligations than to any other since Henry the 2d, is his present Majesty George the Third, as King of Ireland, his heirs and successors; and as something respecting the Royal Family will hereafter be mentioned, it is therefore proper to define it—the Royal Family is, therefore, the King, the King's sons and brothers, the King's sisters husbands, and the King's daughters husbands, married according to law; these the Catholics, and the whole body of the Irish people, are willing and resolved to consider as natives of this kingdom, and therefore, if resident, qualified to fill every place of honour, trust and profit within it.

The Catholics having now declared their wishes and their will on the part of Government, come forward in the same manner on their own account, and of the people at large, to say what will satisfy them:—That, together with the right of voting, all subordinate places in the state, the custom-house, after the commissioners of the revenue, the post-office, after the post-masters general, the army, up to a company, and any places in the courts, under the judges; in short, that they shall be qualified to fill every subordinate place in the state, in any department whatsoever—they shall be qualified to commissions of the peace, and serve on grand and petty juries, without any distinction of religion, and except sitting in either house of parliament, or filling the high responsible places, they shall be qualified for every other employment in the state.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,
THE appearance of an advertisement to raise recruits for the East India service, in this city; and which is likely as usual, to be not a little productive, leads me to trouble you with a few observations as well on this practice, as some others which our friendly neighbours of the sister kingdom have received unmeasurable advantages from, for ages past. The East India Company of England is the greatest and the most unjust monopoly perhaps, in the world, the immense political preponderance it gives to the British Realm in exchange for its exclusive privileges, is the reason why Government has always drowned in the most expeditious manner, the smallest murmur against the glaring partiality of such a procedure; and if few

are sensible of the consequence of this partiality, few dare submit them to the public eye; although whilst England's great superiority in trade and commerce over this island can be traced to such partialities as their source, her overgrown metropolis should convince the inhabitants of her other valuable commercial towns, of the injustice they are treated with. It is amazing, how few people have noticed this obvious circumstance, "that all East India commodities whatever, imported, and that all their manufactures whatever, or raw produce of their islands which are exported to the East Indies, must float alone on Thames's side." It is still more amazing, that amongst the numberless calculators with which this scientific age is so replete, so few should have calculated the "certain exclusive advantages arising from this one circumstance." I believe there is no country in Europe admits such a monopoly, yet strange to relate, we Irishmen overlook it, allow it, aid it. They take our treasure, and we give our men! In Holland it is totally otherwise, each city of that wise Republic has a just proportion in their circular trade, why therefore, should Zealand, Rotterdam, or Delft partake in the advantages which Amsterdam might arrogate an exclusive right, whilst London alone despises the commercial exertions which might be made by such towns as Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin, or Belfast. 'Tis really a matter worthy of the most serious consideration of a Legislature, about to grant their political rights to a most numerous and wealthy class of our fellow subjects. Which concession united to a participation in the privileges granted to an East India Company, would almost instantaneously rise our consequence in the political and commercial scale, to the standard of our merits, O spirit of liberty—then should we see the surface of our Liffy, crowded with a fleet of respectable and majestic shipping, employed in the trade of every port in the four quarters of the globe;—East India commodities would come direct to us, and our manufactures would revive, and in many instances surpass those of our insidious sister, at the Eastern market, our natural spirit, and close personal connection, having procured us the strongest ties with the West Indians, we should soon dare to look for an equality in that great trade; and our steady attachment to the Independent Republicans of North America, having long given us the most decided preference along that vast Continent; we find ourselves every where received with the consequence of merchants, the congeniality of freemen, and the warmth of friends.

REYNAL.

TO BE LET

FROM the 25th March next, for such term of years as shall be agreed on, the Lands of KILKEA, containing upwards of 100 Acres, situate on the Bay of Oyster Haven; about one mile from Kinsale and ten from Cork. Proposals will be received by Haddock Chidleigh, Esq; in Kinsale, or Richard Keltlett, Esq; Cork. (11) Nov. 1, 1792.

GERARD GALWEY, George's

Quay, has for Sale
A few Hogsheads of choice Claret,
Bordeaux Vinegar,
Jamaica Rum,
Spirits Turpentine,
French Parasols of different sizes, and
French Hair Powder,
All which he will dispose of at the most reduced prices
(11) November 8.

TO BE SET OR SOLD,

THE Title and Interest of John Maunsell, late of Ballybrood, in the County Limerick, Esq; deceased, in the Lands of Kannate and Clofcauthy, part of the Lands of Bridgetown, in the Barony of Fermoy, in the County of Cork, being the Residue of the Term of 99 Years, containing between 50 and 60 Acres of the choicest Land, remarkably good for Tillage, Meadowing, or Pasture, with great convenience of Fire and Water.—Proposals post paid, and directed to Thomas Friend Maunsell, of Ballybrood, Esq; near Limerick; and John Maunsell, Gent Attorney, at his House at Millford, near Limerick, during Vacation, and at No. 44, Castle Street, Dublin, during Term time, will be attended to, and the Tenant or Purchaser declared by them, who are the Administrators of the said John Maunsell, the first day of January next.
(6) Millford, Nov. 15, 1792.

ROBERT BURKE has for Sale,

at his Stores, Knapp's Square,
Very fine Jamaica Scale and Fair Sugars,
Old London Particular Madeira Wine in Qt. Cases and Bottles,
St. Domingo Cotton in Bags and Pockets,
Heavy Jamaica Hides,
Rickerton making Coals, much approved of, with a few 2, 6, 8, 10 and 12 feet 2 and 3-inch red Deal.
The highest Currency will be given, thro' the Scales, for well saved Rape Seed, and other Grain, at said BURKE'S COIN STORES. (11) Oct. 4.