

Enclosure -

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The present state of Ireland appears to me to be such as to excite the apprehension of all who are interested in its Welfare and to call for the united efforts of every Loyal Subject to guard against the Danger - The first necessary step is a correct knowledge of the sources of that Danger that Knowledge must be founded on Information of the State of the Country and of all circumstances likely to operate upon its Inhabitants - with every sentiment of Respectful Duty towards His Royal Highness the Prince Regent I presume to offer such Observations as have occurred to me well aware that His Royal Highness' Judgment will assign to them their proper Value & trusting to the Interest his Royal Highness is known to take in the Prosperity of Ireland as well as to His Royal Highness' acknowledged Candour & Goodness to pardon whatever may appear to proceed from an honest Zeal for the Interests of my Sovereign & my Country - His Royal Highness is too conversant with the History & State of Ireland to render it necessary to dwell upon the assertion that the Internal Prosperity & Comfort of its Inhabitants - its Advantages as a Member of the British Empire and its Security against a Foreign Enemy are all most intimately connected with

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The Religious Dissensions of its Inhabitants and liable to be materially affected by the Policy & Conduct of its Government as applicable to those Divisions but feel it my Duty as a Protestant & faithful Subject of that Empire to wish His Royal Highness in one Day to Regard and Rule to the Satisfaction of a People in that Point unanimous is now entrusted to His Care in the Name & on the behalf of His Royal Father humbly to state my Conviction that there can be no Safety for Ireland in the System which has been lately pursued in that Country - a Reverse of that System can alone secure its Peace & Happiness It would be presumption in me to intrude upon His Royal Highness these Arguments in favour of the Wishes of my Roman Catholic Countrymen which have been so often & so ably stated and of the Force or Weakness of which His Royal Highness is so competent a Judge - to the Decisions of the Legislature it is my Duty to bow with Submission even should I feel that every Thing dear to me & to my Children as Protestants & Inhabitants of Ireland may be affected by those Decisions but should I feel that it must be the anxious Desire of His Royal Highness to render His Government a Source of Comfort & Consolation to those who have failed in their Applications to Parliament for an Object so just & so honorable as a full participation of all

The Rights & Privileges of the Constitution they live under I feel it my Duty to state explicitly & with feelings of deep Regret that the Conduct & Principles of His Royal Highness's Servants in Ireland have produced an effect the very opposite of His Royal Highness's benevolent Wishes - to all who know Ireland & the Temper of its People it is manifest that the Manners which grow out of the Laws affecting the Catholics have been more Grievous - more productive of Intemperance & of Mischief than the Laws themselves or than any refusal to repeal them - His Royal Highness's present Servants in Ireland have not by their Administration tended to soften those Refusals to those ^{whom} ~~whom~~ have experienced them or to correct those Manners which must ever result more or less from the Triumph of Party where Party Principles are allowed to prevail - It is said & with some truth that the Mass of the Catholics of Ireland feel little interested in their Applications to Parliament but they are deeply & genuinely interested in the Conduct & Principles of their Social Government as applied to local Objects & they are too easily made to believe that the Opposition to the great Objects of their Petition is extended to & made to influence their pursuits in a more

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Confined Sphere - they can too easily be made to believe
that they are objects of mistrust & suspicion to the
Government uniformly hostile to their Rights & they
are as likely to suspect that such a Government
will be adverse to many of their pursuits &
Individuals - A Wise, a brave & a humane Govern-
ment would feel that all this was natural & would
endeavour to counteract this natural effect by
marks of favour & of a prudent confidence
I am sorry to say that the present Government
of Ireland has not acted upon this Principle
& the result has been increased & increasing
Irritation of the Public Mind & a gloomy
part of the Catholic & an universal & gloomy
Apprehension among all thinking & disinterested
Men of renewed animosity between Catholic &
Protestant - I will venture to state, that Reports
of such Members have reached me & on good authority
but a few Facts ^{with my own knowledge} will I think show that the
present Administration in Ireland has uniformly
acted under the influence of Suspicion & of
Prejudices which would in their Progress very naturally
lead to the present lamentable Crisis of
Affairs in that Country -

2^d And here must beg to be allowed to disclaim
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being feeling or Opinion disrespectful to the
Lord Lieutenant or to the Lord Chancellor
or to either & I love their Characters & still lament
that they have not been able to guard themselves
against the Influence of those Prejudices & Suspicion
which it has been the Object of the Interest of others
to instil in to them or to secure themselves from the
all effects of Information founded upon or derived
from those Prejudices or from Private Interests & Opinions
rendering their prejudiced & subservient to their purposes
- The Defective System of County Government in
Ireland necessarily exposes the Lord & the
Lord Chancellor to many serious inconveniences
- In England the Lords & the County Government form
a proper & safe Channel of Communication
between the Seat of Government & the Counties
In Ireland the old Spirit of Jobbing deprived
Government of that advantage - many Men of
Fortune in a County wished to be a Governor
and the Office to oblige them was split into
so many parts as totally to do away any
Responsible - so that in point of Fact there

was no responsible Authority in the different Counties
from which could prove the recommendations of
the Commission to fill the Office of Magistrate. The
Consequence has been that sometimes one Representative
or one Governor recommended men who were after
wards displaced at the solicitation of the other
Members or of another Governor - sometimes a
Member of a Catholic has been placed on
the Commission at others they have been removed
The mischievous effects of such a System upon the
Magistracy of Ireland have been manifest & Mr
I am convinced that Lord Mansfield has felt
& wished to remedy it. His Lordship has been
at times deceived or given way in Cases bearing
most unhappily upon the feelings excited by
the Catholic Question. The following Instance
is within my knowledge - Two Magistrates one
a Protestant the other a Catholic quarrelled
the former published a paper that he would have
the latter removed & accordingly he was removed
without any Charge being specified & with Circumstances
which attached to his Case the appearance of having
been sacrificed on account of his Religion so far as
I call for a Remonstrance from some of the first

Roman Catholics & some Protestants of the Neighbourhood
with a Petition to the Lord Chancellor that he would be pleased
to restore his Commission or assign the powers on which
he had been removed. The Lord Chancellor thought proper
to refuse this request & in a short time & in the progress
of the quarrel between the two Gentlemen, the
Protestant Magistrate was prosecuted for Illegality
for proposing & publishing a Libel upon the execution
of his office - was one of the Special Jurors consisting
of some of the principal Gentlemen of the County
that tried the Cause - in which the Protestant Magistrate
was found guilty & sentenced to pay 200 £
Damages to the Gentlemen the son of the Catholic Magistrate
who had been imprisoned by him - On the Trial
some of the Witnesses deposed upon oath that
it was believed & publicly talked of in the County
that the Catholic Magistrate had been removed from
the Commission of the Peace at the solicitation
of a Gentleman a brother Officer & Personal
Friend of the Duke of Richmond made at the
request of the Protestant Magistrate & that I have
altered - I am fully convinced that the Lord Chancellor
was utterly incapable of being influenced by any
Methods such as were supposed & I have operated
- but the effect of the step was such. He was
led could not fail to be a belief of a prejudice
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in favour of a Party had his credit not fail to be
greatly depreciated when it appeared that the Protestant
Magistrate notwithstanding his conviction was allowed
to remain in Commission & the Roman Catholic
still unrestrained though the conviction of his Opponent
might naturally have excited some doubts of the
correctness of the Charge against him or that he
had been removed & I cannot place in a stronger or juster
point of View the lamentable System upon which the
Magistracy of Ireland has been governed or is supposed to
be governed than by the statement of what followed
in this case - it became a matter of open & notorious
negotiation between the two Parties when the Friends
of the convicted Protestant Magistrate undertook to
have the other restored upon Condition that the
latter should stop a further Prosecution such had
been commenced on account of another Instance of
his conduct - & the Roman Catholic Magistrate felt
so certain of the Influence of his Opponent to obtain his
restoration to the Commission that he acceded to the
Terms & put an end to the Prosecution - but Charles
was not restored - His Royal Highness will feel
the Injustice that must attach to Government by
such transactions at the source of them he shall they
may & it must be evident that in a Country where
they are considered as likely to occur - that

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In impartiality and a total abstinence from Party
 Principles in the Government becomes doubly essential
 in fact if a Party must be allowed to prevail
 or to appear in the Conduct of Government
 No Independent Gentlemen who can have no interest
 but a sense of Duty for labour upon Him the
 Office of a Justice of the Peace will wish His
 Reputation upon any Chance or prospect of His
 being removed from the Office by the Influence
 or private Information of those who may be
 adverse to him — Another Instance in which it appears
 to me that the present Government of Ireland incurred a
 very unfortunate proneness to suspicion in which it
 was misled by that vicious Policy of the old Irish School
 which endeavoured to draw every thing down upon the
 the Votaries of the Castle & which has always had the effect
 of bringing the Magistrates of the Country into a constant
 reference to the Castle in all cases connected with their
 Duty — thereby throwing upon the fact that responsibility
 which the Magistrates ought to take upon themselves &
 too often exposing it to the odium of acting wrong
 upon the most favourable information — upon
 such Information about three years ago — The

Lord Lieutenant was led to believe that a Depot of Arms
was concealed in the House of a Catholic Inhabitant
of the Town of Athboy trusting this Information with
a precipitation which strongly marked a pre-conceived
to suspicion - a Detachment of Troops was ordered from
Kells & another from Navan and a Staff Officer
sent from Dublin to conduct the Expedition - The
Town was surrounded to the great consternation
of its Inhabitants - but the most diligent Search could
discover no Arms & upon a total Communication
with these Gentlemen of the Neighbourhood they could
have given a correct Opinion it appeared that the
Error Suspected was in fact the Terror of all others
those former Conduct had least deserved Suspicion -

On a more recent Occasion in which I was in part concerned
I humbly conceive the Irish Government to have displayed rather
upon the same feelings of Mistrust & adverse Disposition &
the same imprudent & precipitate reliance on private Informa-
-tion - received with an easiness which may very fairly
be attributed to that Mistrust & adverse Disposition towards
a large Portion of those who are under their Government -
When the Union between the two Countries appeared to be
completed and the Government of Ireland increasing
in Popularity - I had presumed to take the Liberty in
some Communications with Lord Hawke - to give it

as my Opinion - that that Popularity would be still further
augmented - the Disposition of the People still further improved
& additional means of security as well against the foreign
Enemy as against internal Disturbance, acquired - of gentle
Men of Fortune throughout the Country were encouraged
to make a prudent Confidence in their Roman Catholic
Neighbours - by the formation of Supplementary Corps
of Yeomanry selected from a knowledge of the General
Characters of the Individuals and without Distinction of
Religion - Lord Hardwicke fully concurred in these sentiments
& in their Spirit. I formed and clothed at my own Expense
a small Corps consisting of Infantry & Cavalry composed
with one or two exceptions - entirely of Roman Catholics
The Permanent Sergeant & all the Non Commissioned
Officers were of this Persuasion. I can only say that
I should have had no hesitation of entrusting the Safety
of every thing dear to me to their good Conduct - or to have
pledged myself with their assistance to have maintained
the Peace of the District under any circumstances of more
internal Disturbance - In the Month of November last
being detained in England by my State of Health, I
was informed by a Letter from the Irish War Office
that the Lord Lieutenant had received Information from
respectable Authorities that the Arms of the Corps were
not safe & that Mr. Grace had therefore thought proper
I direct that they should be immediately called in

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- On Sunday expressed my suspicion & His Grace's pleasure
but expressed ^{also} my regret that there should appear to be any
necessity for a measure which could not fail to be construed
into some distrust of men who had always borne good character
or of a neighbourhood which had been uniformly peaceable
& subservient to the Law & which from every operation or
information I could collect still continued to be so & I expressed
my hopes that His Grace would direct a further investigation
into the grounds of the information He had received stating
at the same time that I had directed my Agent a Gentleman
- now of the first Respectability to attend at any appointed
time to deliver up the Arms & Ammunition of the
Corps. a circumstance the more necessary for me as the
Ammunition was deposited in a part of my House
which could not be properly opened except in the presence
of my Agent - I afterwards was informed that the Purveyor
whose duty it was to carry the Lord's orders into effect
without waiting for the Day ^{on} which my Agent had been appointed
to attend - had sent a Company escorted by a Party
of Men & carried off the Arms that were in my House
& ordered the Men who had them to surrender them
and then my Steward remonstrated & urged that surely
in a Country so peaceable & quiet as that had been
they might wait till the Day appointed. which would
have been the next The Purveyor however said He
could not wait an Hour for that afterwards an
opportunity of proving that the information was

Which the Lord St had been induced to act was not
 only founded in every respect - but that of in point
 of fact originated in a motive so excessively absurd
 & childish as to have excited a smile of contempt
 of pity of the House with which it had been received
 I acted upon had not produced the mischievous
 effect of breaking trust & ill will there were
 had been deserved and of exciting in the people
 a fear that dread of being the victims of private
 information & the well formed apprehension of
 not being able to guard against it by the most
 peaceable & orderly conduct - though the mischief
 was manifest & the information evidently false
^{in point of fact}
 I believed in its origin - a spirit of party or some
 other spirit which would prevent the removal
 of the mischievous effects of the measure by any
 declaration which could have been satisfactory to
 the wounded feelings of those who had thus been led
 forth as objects of suspicion - I could obtain none
 such from the justice or policy of the matter - therefore
 felt it my duty to resign my commission as Captain of
 the Corps - that I might have an opportunity in my
 farewell address of stating those assurances in which
 the Lord St had been pleased to express His reliance
 upon the peaceable & loyal Disposition of His

Inhabitants of that District in general & of the Individuals
 who had composed the Corps - The Reference which I
 humbly conceive ~~should~~ be drawn from the Instances I have
 mentioned is that the present Irish Government has been
 under the Influence of a strong Prejudice of or of an adverse
 Disposition towards the great Mass of the People they
 were sent to govern - A Circumstance which would natu-
 rally lead to the present unhappy State of Irritation
 that prevails in that Country - & which it was most
 peculiarly the Duty of a Government so circumstanced
 as the present Irish Government was to endeavour to
 guard against - without presuming to give an Opinion
 upon any of the Measures that led to the removal of
 the late & the appointment of the present Irish
 Govt - I must be allowed to say that a Government
 composed of men kindly disposed towards the
 People would have made allowances for the
 Degree of Irritation which might be naturally
 expected from the lamentable Cry of no Popery
 which preceded & accompanied their entrance into
 Power - I do think that a Wise Govt ^{even} whilst it steadily
 adhered to that rejection of the Prayer of the Catholics
 Petition should have ever gone out of its course & have
 marked in every other respect a conciliatory

Disposition & by Language & by Acts of kindness
 I have proved to the Honour of His Majesty's Subjects
 that they were not suspected or unfavour'd Party
 in the State - that such Conduct would have been useful
 Mr Pole has proved by his own Operation though an
 - fortunately He has not acted up to that Operation
 in His justification before Parliament of His
 Circular Letter - He thus states the Principles of
 His Government - He states it to have said & the
 "Catholic" - you are to expect no New Privileges
 "from us - but you shall have the Law equally adminis-^{ter'd}
 "that Justice shall be dealt out to you - nor
 "shall any Body of the Country either Protestants
 "or Dissenters insult or degrade you" - I totally
 acquit the Duke of Rich'mond & the Lord Chesham
 from all participation in the Terms & Tenors
 of this Boast - it bears the true genuine
 Stamp & Character of the old Irish School
 of Policy with which Mr Pole seems unyfully
 imbued - at that period since the accession
 of the illustrious House of Hanover has it ever
 occurred in England that the People stood in need
 of the Assistance of a Secretary that they should
 have the Benefits of the Law - that Justice should
 be dealt out to them & that they should be protected

From Insult & Degradation 3 Part of the Sole in this
memorable Boast displays the Principles of the old Irish
School He also conceals a knowledge of that System of Govern-
ment under which alone such Principles could operate
or exist - & the fact is that the Conduct & Principles of the
Irish Government bear more closely & strongly upon the
Pursuits, the occupations & the enjoyments of the People
than can be well conceived by those who view Ireland through
an English medium - A Spirit of Party produces mischief
more immediately felt by every individual here than
can be the case here - & that mischief is dreadfully
aggravated in reality & still more in its operation
whenever the Govt appears as the leader or supporter
of Party - The enlarged Powers of our Grand Jurors
the importance which from those Powers is attached
to the appointment of Sheriffs - the defective
system under which this High Office is administered
from the Permanence in Office of the Sub Sheriffs
Country & Law - their Practising as Attornies in the
Counties in which they are Sub Sheriffs - The Influence
they acquire over all the Unburdened Inhabitants
of their Districts the manner in which they often apply
this Influence & are still often suspected of applying
it to pack Jurors to serve the Purposes of
those who employ them as Attornies or who have

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Influence to procure grants from the Grand Jurors
- All these & other circumstances in our Internal Policy
- well worthy of deep consideration - will explain to those
- who are acquainted with them the manner in which
- the Castle may be made virtually the instrument
- of much that is piecemeal & much that is evicting
- without any evident or gross violation of Law or
- of Justice. The Irish Government is in fact more
- constantly in contact with the People than can
- be well understood here. & for that very reason
- should be more conscientious, more strictly im-
- partial more divested in reality & in appearance
- of every thing like a Party Spirit - if it be not so
- it will inevitably be the cause or be duped into being
- the instrument in the hands of others. A cause much
- of that "Oppression of that infringement of rights
- of that Degradation & Insult" from which our People
- so loudly promise to protect the Catholics. & from
- which in England the Law alone would suffice
- to protect them - though I have the satisfaction
- of being able to state that many of these evils
- & defects of our internal Policy have diminished

Yet they would still arrive with a Spirit of Party
or their final Removal would at least be retarded
The Evils of Party in Ireland are Deploable even
to the extent of shaking all Confidence in the Law
in the Minds of those who conceive that they are
Clasped under them that appear to form the weakest
and it can not be otherwise for State upon a subject
to appear that I have known Juries packed for
particular purposes - I have known large Sums
disposed of contrary to Law to gratify the Sheriff
& other public Officers with the due Administration
- tion of those Officers the Security of the Property
& the comfortable existence of the People through
every gradation are very closely connected which
are very liable to be all administered to serve
the purposes of those from whose Influence these
Officers have derived such gratifications - These Abuses
are too often the result of Private Party but they
have always been felt with approved Weight
where Party has appeared to rest upon some public
Principle - & the Difficulty of applying a Remedy
to such Abuses when they do prevail & are supported
by a strong Party Spirit may be conceived - when I state

as a Matter within my own Knowledge that Judges
have been reluctant & have Declined to prevent
a positive Infraction of the Law even when pointed
out to them - I have referred to these points as tending
to show how essential it is that the Irish Government
should evince the most Decided Impartiality
in Words in Manners & in Conduct - It is difficult
to attain this Character but it is necessary and it was
of terrible necessity under the circumstances that attended
the formation of the Present Irish Government - I can not
which I will also admit rendered it more difficult to guard
against being misled by those who at all times wish to
see the Castle at the Head of a Party - upon an
important View of the Subject I feel myself warranted in
the Opinion that the present Irish Government has
been from its commencement been considered as the
Head of a Party & that its Conduct in many Instances
have afforded the most plausible grounds for that
Opinion - And I much fear that recent events render it
rather by help that it should ever acquire the Character
of Impartiality or of being favourably disposed in
any respect towards that very important Part
of our Population which more than any other in
the Empire calls for the exertion of every just

Source & means of a beneficial influence over their
Minds - that such an influence might have been
attained & still may be attained even under
the circumstance of persevering Delays to the
Congress of their Petition - I have no Doubt & I think
an impartial review of the Conduct of the Roman
Catholics & of the Irish Government ever done to
the present moment would tend to confirm this
Opinion - What has been the Conduct of the Roman
Catholics in 1799 - they met the Demands of the Bill
in terms as Cordial & as acquiescent as the English
Language could furnish - more than was asked
they were ready to accept - What the Deputies signed
was known to all the efficient men of the Catholics
body & was tacitly acquiesced in - it remained
in that state & might have been acted upon at any
period during the succeeding 7 years - not a Symptom
of retraction appeared - they experienced unexpected
Delays but they relied upon the support of their Friends
They saw their Friends driven from their Offices
by a Cry of no Popery which it might be supposed
to raise & which might be justified - but which
Candour must allow to have been irritating &
as it was declaimed by Ministers it called

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for any thing that could be soothing called
for any thing that could prevent all intensions
violent or ambitious Members of the Body
from taking advantage of such Invitation to enable
themselves to act a prominent Part in the pursuit
of Catholic Emancipation - nothing was done to
soothe - or it would be easy to point out much
that might have been done acceptable to the
Catholics & most beneficial to Ireland, much
was done that at least afforded a Handle
for Misrepresentation & for aggravating
feelings already ulcerated. under these circum-
stances The Friends of the Catholics most
unfortunately brought forward those
Concessions which had been made in 1799 - & had
for 7 years been unproductive of advantage
to those who made them - it is to be lamented
but unfortunately it is not unnatural that
Papier should blind People to their own Interests
The R Catholics thus called upon to concede to those
whom they considered as their Enemies that which
under more happy auspices they had acceded to
their declared Friends

and at the same time told that the Conception
world of no avail to procure for them their
Objects - appear to have given weight to mistakes
or to the arts of those who were at all times
Watchful to take advantage of that mistake
& have committed themselves against those means
to which they had before consented - Here again
was a case in which allowance ought to have
been made & which called for a conciliatory conduct
on the part of Government - nothing like it marked the
conduct of the Irish Government towards the Roman Catholics
- Irritation increased with increasing toleration on both
Sides - That Committee of Catholics met which has led
to the present state of things - there is no justifying the violence
& intemperate language of many of the members
of that Committee - it was mischievous in the extreme
not only to the general Peace of the Country but to the
interests of the Roman Catholic Body - but it was the natural
& almost inevitable result of preceding causes - those causes
ought never to have occurred or having occurred their
force should have been weakened by prudence & even
kindness blended with firmness - Mr. Pole should have inter-

posed at a more early period & of his interference had borne
the Character of a Friendly Disposition towards those
who were the Objects of his Interference as well as of
firm Determination to prevent the Mischiefs
of such intemperate Conduct - there can be little Doubt
that it would have been successful - if it had not produced
an effect upon the violent members of the Committee
it would have so strengthened the Moderates as to have
ensured a change of Language in the Committee
by the Course adopted - The Irish Government was
made to wear the appearance of looking on
with silent Silence or with a feeling of Satisfaction
at the Mischiefs which the Catholic Cause was likely
to suffer from the Intemperance of the Committee -
every thing that was irritating every Party that
was likely to revive the old Animosities was allowed
to be sent forth to the World without an attempt
on the part of Government to stop it - and then
the Committee was evidently falling to pieces from its
own Violence which had drawn upon its members
as much Contempt as odium - when several members
who had for a long time absented themselves again attended
& had actually shamed or rebuked their Colleagues on
of some objectionable Measures & prevailed upon the

Committee to regard others & to adjourn for a fortnight
when it was evident that the Committee could never
again have been assembled in the same spirit of
violence. Mr Cole seized that moment to send forth
his Circular Letter as if eager to ^{deprive} ~~prevent~~ the
Catholics of the credit of a return of moderation & ^{and} ~~and~~
^{before it was too late} to bring forward an act of Government to increase &
to perpetuate the odium upon the Catholics which the
Transactions of the last day of the Committee's meeting gave
reason to hope would be removed in the most desirable
manner, by the subsequent more temperate conduct of
its members - The effect of that circular letter was
such as might be expected, an effect which would
have been useful to the Country though it might
be unpleasant to the Party - it reunited all the
Catholics & in uniting them it assumed Moderation
& Decorum in their Proceedings & it was evident that
their Measures to Petition Parliament & their Con-
-gruence would be in the spirit of the Constitution
& in Terms Decorous & Respectful - Lord Temple
& all the Rank & Character of the Catholic body
were again in their Places - they had firmly resisted
every attempt to obtain their sanction to the address
for the Removal of the B. L. & the Catholics

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in general had approved of their conduct - well
venture to report that so long as the proceedings of the
Catholic body were thus appearance no Protestants
in Ireland would have felt alarm. It becomes
Government at all times to be watchful - but there
was no danger or appearance of danger when
the late Proclamation was issued - the Proclamation
has evidently grown out of the circular letter
& not out of any danger to be apprehended from
the Catholic Committee - it was meant to ~~credit~~
bolster up the credit of the letter & to prove the
propriety of the letter by a presumed necessity
for the former - The Proclamation must
produce one or more of these effects - The
Magistrates of Ireland called upon to act, & called
upon when it was evident that there was a doubt as
to the law, will by acting revive the old
feud between Protestant & Catholic - as formerly
occurred upon that memorable occasion when
in the Administration of Lord Westmoreland the
Protestant & Jesuits were arrayed against the
Catholic Petition & then abandoned by the Government

which had urged them on or 2^dly as is most
probable the magistrates will either openly refuse
or secretly ~~endeavour~~ endeavour acting in support of the Procla-
-mation & thus exhibit the Irish Government abandoned
by those whose duty it ought to be to support it. If
there be really anything mischievous in the designs
of the Roman Catholics it must derive encouragement
from the exhibition of a magistracy afraid or
unwilling to act even when solemnly called upon
3^dly by the Proclamation a Discussion will be opened
& kept alive upon a Law which however it might have
been required by the circumstances of the times in which it
was passed, is evidently in contradiction to the spirit
of the Constitution & ought not to have been brought for-
-ward except in a case of urgent necessity it is clear
that the Catholic Committee was framed for the purpose
of petitioning any other object must be mere matters
of suspicion - a Jury will very readily apply such
a Law to such an avowed & evident object - & if it does
appear to be the Law according to the sense of the Proclama-
-tion the consequence will be aggregate meetings
of the Catholics in all the Counties to frame those Petitions
which they are prevented from doing by Delegates these
meetings will be held under the influence of the

Intention occasioned by the failure of their first attempt
& were the Protestant Country Gentlemen of Ireland
consulted I believe it would be found that they would
have preferred the meeting of a Com^{tee} to the
Innumerable meetings of all the Catholics around
them - if these meetings are to be prevented other
Laws of a harsh nature must be passed & what
then becomes of all the boasted good effects of
the Union? Such as Dr. Duigenan alleged would
& "render it unnecessary to cut to the Romanists
by any restrictive Law" I hope His Royal Highness
will believe that I should never have presumed
to have presented His Royal Highness any Opinion
upon the State of Ireland tinged with the slightest
Degree with Party Views or Principles - totally
unconnected with all Party I have no Interest in
any Measure except that which results from
the State of Affairs in the Country which he
is entrusted by the Resources of the Government
- therefore venture with humble confidence to
state my Opinion that His Royal Highness's Servants
in Ireland never can favour the Country
with that spirit of Conciliation so essential to its

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Safety & to the interests of the country & if they
they of Highness. What has been done can not be
undone by those who were the authors and advisers
except by such concessions as would degrade them
& through them the Government. The good advice
of the Duke of Richmond can no longer produce
the usual good effects & the talents & activity of
Mr Pole however useful they may be elsewhere
can in Ireland only produce mischief. I humbly
presume to assert that a steady charge of business
in the Irish Government is at all events essential
to the final preservation of Peace in that Country
without touching upon the great subject of Catholic
Emancipation which must be left to time & to Superior
Wisdom. I may presume to say that much might have been done
& may still be done well calculated to soothe the regrets of
Rejection or Delay - much that would gratify the Catholics & benefit
Ireland. The Mass of our People are less connected with the
Government by an Influence founded on benefits such as are
likely to be felt by the People, than in the case in most
parts of Europe. An improved system of Education might
at once have been made a source of beneficial Influence
& of eminent service to the State. The appointment of the
Board of Education by the Duke of Bedford gave room
to expect something the importance & the necessity of attending

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The subject in Ireland are manifest in the Documents
laid before the Board these Documents require attention
they have been very inadequately conveyed to the Public
in the Reports of the Board to the Board It is laid
before Parliament It is a matter in fact the Priddy
& Lowry Clauses take a considerable interest among
them the Education of their Children is a matter of more
Anxiety than is generally believed. The poor & aged
to be assisted & the Priddy Clauses look for better
Description of School there is now to be found
in the Country Parts of Ireland four years have
elapsed & nothing has been done - still much that
is defective & ^{wasteful} remains to be removed & no
Benefit has been extended to the Low Clauses & much
that nothing can be done in the present
State of the Dispositions of the Irish Govt & of
the Catholics towards each other - at least the
Board is at this moment apparently occupied
with Plans to fulfill that most important
branch of its ~~present~~ Duty namely to extend
the Benefits of Education to the Low Clauses
of the Reports subjects in Ireland the
Atterdown's Report prove abortive of it

be not unproductive of the mischief of
throwing difficulties in the way of future attempts
in the present state of things the Catholics look
with apprehension upon every Plan - it would
have been prudent & it would have been kind
in Ireland kindness towards the People as well
to have consulted the Catholic Clergy & to have
sought upon the best & most acceptable manner
of assisting the Catholic Poor in the Education of
their Children - it has not been done & I have before
me letters from several of the Catholics expressing
of apprehension & distrust & much fear that these
are more likely to increase than to diminish & so
it would be better not to agitate the subject till
a more favourable opportunity - it may only
serve as in the case of the "Veto" to come out many
against the measure which under more favourable
auspices they may be induced to support - much time
has been lost & opportunities allowed to pass by
when an application to respectable Catholics
for their Cooperation would have been considered
I wish -
Yours affec^d to the End

Government another means of gratifying the
Catholics & of serving the Country - promises or that
Head had been held out at the Union - nothing has
been done or attempted that has been more
= merely stated in Parliament by her in Office
that the Oppressors of the Landlords & that others
were the great grievance of the People in Ireland
- The Fact is that others are a great & an
important grievance not from any short of
obscure or exactness in the Clergy - who are in
general most moderate in their Demands - but from
various Causes peculiar to Ireland. Others are unequal
in their Operation & Operations in their Collection
The former is in great measure the effect of
that Vicious & base minded Spirit of Party which
governed the old Irish School of Politics & to
which the Interests of the Crown & the Church
the State & the People have in their turns
been sacrificed - The Title of a Parliament
was wrested from the Clergy first by a Vote
of the House of Commons & lastly by a
Law passed to remove an Obstacle to the
Success of the Bill for a Legislative Union -
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Consequence has been that in the richest Tracts of
Ireland Thousands & Tens of Thousands of Acres
have been exonerated from Tithe & the Clergy have
been obliged to lay additional burdens on the
small Holdings of the Poor - so that in one Parish
or District Potatoes & the Milk of the Poor are
heavily taxed whilst the Rich Grass in under them
they live is entirely exonerated & in an adjoining
Parish far less from a different system of occupation
of the Land - no Tithe is levied on the Potatoe Gardens
or on the Milk of the Labouring Poor - all
this appears susceptible of some better arrange-
ment & many other Modes of improving or removing
Objections & others might be devised if it were
ever possible for an Irish Government to bestow
serious attention to the Interests of the People
They are sent to Government - ~~After many other~~
Means presented themselves by which the present
Government in Ireland might have reached a friendly
Disposition towards those whose Objections they
concerned it to be their Duty to respect
by Recommendations from the Castle those
Officers which are open to the Protestant &
Roman Catholics might have been

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more generally cordially bestowed upon them
The effect would have been more exten-
sively beneficial to the Country & more
widely conciliatory than ~~any~~ any system
of Country a few tenders of the Body -
so far as has come under my observation
It has not been very limited - a Roman Catholic
is hardly ever to be found among the office
- men - the collectors of Public or of Country
Taxes - The Constables which forms a numerous
Body or ^{good} annual salaries - or in any other
situation of similar description - I am very
far from supposing that any English Gent
in Ireland would endeavour to prevent the
Roman Catholics from participating in these
offices - but the fact is that they do not participate
of them now. The great mass of
the middling & lower men wish to see their
Religion a ground of exclusion - know that in
the case - it would be wise in good nature
to let the influence & remove the

I'm prepared to induce Roman Catholics, whose
Character & Situation are proper, to put themselves
with Confidence forward with their Protestant
Neighbours as Candidates for the numerous
Small Offices that are to be disposed of in their
Respective Counties - It is hardly to be conceived
that an effect may be produced in a
small Circle of a Parish by the Appointment
of a Roman Catholic to the Situation of a Police
Officer - Not once conceals the Roman Catholic
by raising them in their own Estimation & makes
that Air of Superiority which is more prevalent
among Protestants of the lower than of the higher
Order - This effect was most evident in my
immediate neighbourhood when Lord Hardwicke
gave to my Corps of Catholics
- & most especially an attention to such points
would have been most peculiarly desirable in
a Government circumstances as was that of the
Duke of Richmond on the arrival in Ireland

I feel that I have been led by a deep interest
in the subject to lengthen what I fear must
be troublesome & yet the subject is very
far from being exhausted I have now only
to add ~~my~~ the expression of my
humble reliance on the goodness of His
Royal Highness & continue favourably
what I have written candidly but hastily
& my most sincere wishes for the Prosperity
& Honour & Comfort of His Royal
Highness; for ever & ever at all times
& under all circumstances

Robt Sturme Tighe

Cheltenham August 24th

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26 Sep 1874

Stornes Dyke Esq

State of Ireland

Stornes Dyke Esq

State of Ireland