My dear Dick

I am much obliged to you for the letter you sent me byaire. I began to think you had forgot I was in existence but I forgive your past silence on account of your recent kind attention. The new Irish administration have come with the olive branch in their hand, very wisely I think. The circumstances of the two countries are so totally different that I can assure you nothing could be so absurd as any attempt to see the party distinctions which prevail on your side of the water to this: nothing I will venture to assert can in truth preserve the connection between England and Ireland, but a permanent government here, acting upon fixed principles, is pursuing systematic measures. For this reason a change of chief govern ought to be nothing more than a simple transfer of government by no means to make any change in that political system respecting this country.
England must adopt, let whoever will be the Ministry which ever party may acquire the ascendency, if they mean to preserve Ireland as a part of the British Empire—You will say that this is a very good plan for preserving the Empire, as it tends to ensure them against all contingencies, but this is not my view of the case—My reason for thinking so is not my reason for thinking so—it must in the first place accommodate you that there never can be hereafter in this country any such thing as party connexion founded upon political principles, we have obtained all the great objects for which Ireland had existed for many years. Here does not now remain one national object of sufficient importance to unite men in the same pursuit—nothing but each object ever did unite men in this Kingdom, that not from principle, but because the spirit of the people was so far moved with respect to persons in which the public interest, the commerce, the prosperity of the nation at large was so materially concerned, that the House of Commons if they had not the virtue to forward at least, wanted the courage to oppose the general and determined wish of the whole Kingdom. They therefore made a virtue of necessity, joined the standard of a very small popular party, both sides voted equally against government, the latter of course, the former because each individual thought himself safe in the number who followed his example. This is the only I believe in the history of Irish Politics, where a party ever appeared to act upon just principles as the case of this singular instance has been removed by the attachment of the only objects which could have united men in one person, it is not probable that we shall in future proceed on any other example that will do honour to our public spirit. If you uphold an example you will perceive that our situation necessarily exposes to the formation of any party among us, the more you have in England composed of persons acting upon certain principles, so pledged it supports each other—I am willing to allow you that your executions are directed by Public spirit, but if those executions did not lead to proper: you must acknowledge that it is probable they would not be made or made that they would not be host of much use:—The object of a party in England is either to obtain power for themselves or to take it from those who are in power, but—They may do this from the present motives, with the utmost regard for the public good, but still you must allow that power is a very tempting object, the hope of obtaining it is no small incentive to their exertions, the consequences of excess to the individual of which the party is composed, no small strength.
to the bands which unite them together: Now if you were
to expect similar parties to be formed in Ireland, you would
exact of us more virtue than is necessary for yourselves.
From the peculiar situation of this country it is impossible
that the exactions of any party here can ever lead to power.
Here there is one very tempting object placed out of
our reach & within all those looked for consequences to
individuals, which will you induce them to pledge them-
selves to each other—so that nothing but poor public
spirit would be left to keep our Irish party together,
& consequently a greater degree of disinterestedness would
be necessary in them than is requisite in one of your English
parties. That no party exaction here can ever lead to power
is obvious when you reflect that we have in fact no
Irish Government, all power here being lodged in a
branch of the English Government, we have no Cabinet,
no administration of our own, no great officers of State,
every office we have is merely ministerial, it confers no
power but that of giving advice, which may or may not
be followed by the chief Governor—this all power therefore
is lodged solely in the English Government, of which
the Irish is only a branch, it necessarily follows that
no exaction of any party here could ever lead to power,
if they overturned the English government in this country.
or unless the efforts of such a party in the Irish House of Commons, could overturn the British Administration in England, if the leaders of it get into their places; the first you will allow would not be a very wise object of the latter you must acknowledge to be impossible. Upon the same principle, it would be found very difficult to form a party in this country which should co-operate with any particular party in England and consent to stand or fall with them.

The great leading interests in this kingdom are of course strongly averse to forming any such connections on your side of the water as it would tend to create a fluctuation in the affairs of this country, that would destroy all their consequence. As to the personal friends which a party in England may possibly have in this country, they may in the nature of things be few in number; consequently could only injure themselves by following the fortunes of a party in England without being able to render that party the smallest service; at all events to such persons this could be nothing but a losing game; it would be, to refuse to avail themselves of connections or talents in order to obtain office or honour, to rest all their pretensions upon the success of a party in another kingdom, to which success they could...
not in the smallest degree contribute, you will admit that to a party in England, no friends on this side of the water would be worth having, who did not possess connections or talents. If they did possess these, they must of course force themselves in to state. Let the government of this country be in whose hands it may, that upon a much more permanent footing than if they were connected with a party in England, they might have the gain by such a connection, nothing but the virtue of self-denial, in continuing out of office as long as their friends were in the chance of coming in, when their friends attained power, was the chance, for there are interests in this country which must not be offended; if the certainty of going out whenever their friends in England should be disposed of, so that they would exchange the certainty of station upon a permanent footing acquired by their own efforts, connections or talents, for the chance of station upon a most precarious footing, in which they would be placed in the inconstant predicament of doing nothing for themselves or resting their hopes and ambition upon the labours of others.

In addition to what I have said respecting the conversion of the subordinate colonists of this country, you are to take into consideration how peculiarly its inhabitants are circumstanced. Two out of three millions are Roman Catholics; I believe the proportion is still larger; two thirds of the remainder are violent rank Presbyterians who have always been, but most particular of late, strongly adverse to all government placed in the hands of the members of the church of England; nine tenths of the property, the landed property of the country. Hence a very great share of the latter—You will readily conceive how much these circumstances must give persons of property in this kingdom a leaning toward government, however real any must make them a pre-requisite for themselves placed between such potent enemies of a free nation. It must make them look up to English government in whatever hands it may be, for that giving the support which the smallness of their numbers prevents them finding among themselves; compare you will equally perceive that those political or party principles which create such serious differences among the people in England are matters of small importance to the persons of landed property in this country when compared with the necessity of their having the constant support of