THE

POLITICAL,

COMMERCIAL, AND CIVIL,

STATE OF IRELAND.

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HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES.

BEING

AN APPENDIX

TO

"*UNION OR SEPARATION.*"

[The attention of the Houſe of Lords was called by the *Marquis of Lanſdowne*, to "Union or "Separation," as "containing more ſound ſenſe, "more knowledge, and more experience of the "world, than volumes which had been written "on the ſubject."

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1799.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas

WE ſhould cautiouſly guard againſt the condemnation of a great and important meaſure, before we have examined it in all its bearings, with the ſound and deliberate exerciſe of unprejudiced reaſon. For, however ſublime the range of genius may be, or however high the caſt of authority, they ſhould not be admitted with aſſertions as arguments, nor unſupported opinions as proofs.——We ſhould try them by the unerring touchſtone of facts and common ſenſe. Genius may dazzle, but not elucidate; and authority may impoſe, if not err—it often does ſo. But facts cannot miſlead, common ſenſe cannot deceive. And, if by theſe two guides the people be ſuffered to judge for themſelves, we are convinced they will judge juſtly.

Having thus exerciſed their underſtanding fully and fairly, if they find an Union pernicious to the welfare of Ireland, then, in the name of common ſenſe, let them reject and oppoſe it to the laſt extremity. But, if on the contrary, they perceive, that it is the only hand which pours oil into the wounds of their bleeding country, and binds them up for ever; if it be the only means to heal *particular* grievances, and to promote *general* welfare, let them in God's name embrace it. And judging of it, let them coolly and diſpaſſionately direct their

views to the *whole* intereſt of Ireland, which muſt, unavoidably include their own *particular* welfare; let them alſo conſider well the ſtate of Ireland to day: the ſtate of the Empire and of Europe, the caſt of the times, and the awful condition of the civilized and bleeding world,—and then they will judge juſtly.

On a ſubject ſo comprehenſive, ſhould any arguments be advanced, which have been more ably enforced before, we truſt we ſhall be excuſed: at the cloſe of a long diſcuſſion, perhaps, it is not unpardonable, as it is not unwiſe, to refreſh the memory of conviction.

One ground, however, remains yet untrodden—it is that of commerce. And on *this important ground* we hold it our duty, ſo far as full and authentic documents enable us, to inſtruct our fellow ſubjects in Ireland, and to warn them with anxious concern as they value their country, and almoſt their exiſtence as a nation, to think wiſely, and act juſtly.—For this purpoſe we ſhall lay before them a body of evidence on Commerce, which is incontrovertible by the higheſt, and we doubt not, will prove concluſive to the meaneſt capacity, on the ſubject of an Union.

It has, however, been aſſerted, that though the wiſdom and expediency of an Union were manifeſt, it is not lawful. Now, in the very aſſertion, there is a plain contradiction to the point advanced. The eſſence of all power and all law is *neceſſity*: which neceſſity is in other words an imperious principle, called the *good of Society*. Whatever, therefore, is wiſe and expedient, contains that eternal principle, and is the eſſential baſis of all laws whatever, whether they be *fundamental* laws or laws of regulation.

But

But, without dragging an heavy load for conteſt, we ſhall, like David when he would not encumber himſelf with the weighty armour of Saul, enter the conflict in a different manner. We aſſert, therefore, that the Parliament is fully competent to enact an Union: and our authority is —that of Coke, Hale, Blackſtone, the great and honeſt Lord Somers, and the four preſent Chief Judges of Ireland. And who can be more perſonally affected *againſt* an Union, from their official ſituation, than the laſt named authorities: and what authority ſtands higher for diſcernment, than that of Lord Clare; what one more pure or exalted, than that of Lord Carlton;——more able than that of Lord Yelverton;——or more profound than that of Lord Kilwarden?—— Beſide, if the Parliament of Ireland be not competent to this act, then the great and eſſential powers of Parliament are blaſted, and its beſt authority is no more. What is the Catholic Bill reduced to by this argument?——A public infringement on the rights of individuals. What the propoſed reform?——An unlawful abrogation of corporative franchiſes. What the repeal of the Declaratory Act, of the 6th of George I.? A nullity—an act of uſurpation; and the Parliament of Ireland is ſtill bound by Engliſh laws.—But we need no ſtronger teſt of the invalidity of an opinion, than the abſurdity of its conſequences. Beſide, if the Prerogative of the Crown, the Privileges of the People, and the Conſtitution of Parliament, be not ſubject to its control, how, in the name of common ſenſe, did we, the ſubjects of the King of Great Britain, attain the invaluable bleſſings of that Conſtitution we enjoy ſo eminently above other nations? Such crude aſſertions really deſerve no anſwer. For if

Parliament had not this competency, we had been ſtationary in bondage, like the other ſlaves of Europe. But, thank God, every thing is within the power of the Parliaments of thoſe realms, which is for the good of their reſpective nations, and Parliament has no other fundamental law nor limitation.

The queſtion then is, whether the propoſed Union be for the *good* of the *Iriſh nation*, or *not?*

As this Queſtion includes the benefits derivable by the People of Ireland, from her *preſent* ſyſtem, and thoſe from an *incorporative* Union, we ſhall, in order to bring the matter to a clear iſſue, conſider the preſent Political, Commercial, and Civil ſtate of Ireland. And under thoſe three general heads abundant proofs will concur, to enable us to decide accurately and fully which of the two ſyſtems, the *preſent* or the *propoſed* one. ought to prevail, with a view to the good of the People.—Unfortunately, the happineſs of the people of Ireland, is according to the opinions of many, found wanting in the balance of preſent good. If ſo, humanity, however, weeps over the folly of pride, and ſometimes pardons the weakneſs of ambition —but can the mean dread of loſing authority blind particular men to the common utility of their nation—do not its wounds cry unto them,—or can they be deaf to an awful ſentiment of their own individual condition? The great voice of Nature ſurely cannot be drowned, in thoſe times, in ſilly prejudice or calamitous error.

POLITICAL STATE.

The Political ſtate of a country may be conſidered internally and externally. The internal ſtate includes its government and powers; the external ſtate its relations, in point of enmity or friendſhip, with other nations. In thoſe two views let us conſider Ireland.

Firſt: As to the government of Ireland, the policy of its arrangements in 1779, marks the imperfection of its practical powers; and that ſkill which ſo nobly attempted to cure political complaints, introduced but new diſorders. For from the great object of that arrangement, which was independency, aroſe the idea of diſtinctneſs, and through this diſtinctneſs between the two bodies of the Empire, as well as the two bodies of the Iriſh nation, the contagious poiſon of the times has infuſed that of ſeparation. And againſt this deadly conſequence to all parties there is no antidote, nor reſource left, but an incorporative Union.

Here however independency riſes againſt the propoſition, pleading with all the force of honourable pride. To this manly principle, therefore, we bow and anſwer, that Iriſh independency does not, can not exiſt, ſave under an incorporative Union. If it did *really* exiſt, what muſt follow? Ultimately and unavoidably a ſeparation of the two kingdoms, through jealouſy and variance: if Ireland be *nominally* independent, the ſeparation is ſo much the more inevitable, when one Parliament in the moſt powerful kingdom, is *really* independent, and the other

in the weak kingdom is *practically* ſubſervient. ——That this is the caſe, every law of Ireland announces under the *great ſeal of Britain*: which is a record of the dependency of its connexion, and an atteſtation of the inferiority of its ſtate. Remove that inferiority, and ſeparation enſues: embrace equality, and the Union may be immortal.

The Parliament of Ireland is *ipſo facto*, in a dependent ſtate, as we have ſhewn before: the Crown of Ireland is by law dependent on that of Great Britain, and the commerce of Ireland, is by neceſſity; and it muſt with gratitude be acknowledged as a favour that it is permitted to be dependent upon the bounty of the Britiſh Parliament: as we ſhall incontrovertibly ſhew hereafter.

Thus then we ſee, that the Union removes at once all theſe dependencies, and makes Ireland completely independent and equal to Great Britain. She will then become politically free, whereas her government and powers are now politically dependent.

Next: with reſpect to its Political Relations, that with Britain is a dependent one, not only in Crown and Commerce, and under the ſeal of its laws, but under the ſhield of its protection: and that with other nations, is but through abſolute dependence. For it wears again this badge in the ſigns and ſeals of all treaties, and diplomatic arrangements, entered into by Great Britain with other Powers. And if it be not thus included, and dependently connected, it has neither political relation, nor rank amongſt treating nations.

Were ſhe not thus dependently connected with Great Britain, what muſt be the obvious reſult? It is remarked by Machiavel, that war ſhould be the only ſtudy of States, and ſays Hobbes,

war

war is the ſtate of nature. Theſe two men demonſtrate to us the melancholy hiſtory of Political Societies. The leagues of nations are confederacies of intereſt; that intereſt originates and ends in views of power. What then is the power of Ireland? where is her portion, to ſecure friendſhip by leagues, or repel enmity by arms, were ſhe independent? This want of power muſt, neceſſarily and ever, make her dependent in the wildeſt ſchemes of fancied independency, either to become wholly unconnected, or remain connected as at preſent by a federal Union. The proofs are evidently before her. But had ſhe ample power for independence, would the propoſition of Union now exiſt? Moſt indubitably not: ſhe had long ſince been independent. But her diminutive ſtrength and relative poſition on the globe deny this independence, therefore, ſhe can only be conjunctively independent; and through no other conjunction, that all the wit of man can deviſe, can ſhe be independent, than through an incorporative one. We defy the moſt profound judgment, or ſharpeſt ingenuity, to point out any other mode, whereby Ireland can be in reality and practically independent, than through an Union of the Legiſlatures. She has neither population, territories, revenues, nor commerce, to be ſeparately independent; but, by incorporation and identity with Great Britain, ſhe acquires all theſe: and, therefore by Union, and with Great Britain alone, can ſhe, or will ſhe ever be independent.

As to Union with France, it is Union with deſpotiſm and robbery. That murdering nation has twice renewed her vaſt armies, which have been ſwept off the face of the polluted earth. She has twice publicly robbed her own ſubjects, giving them for their plundered property, paper of no

value, under the name of Aſſignats and Mandats. —She has, unceaſingly and without diſtinction, ſince the revolution, ſtripped her people, after ſhe had robbed her throne and ſacked her altars. Not glutted with the ſlaughter of above two millions of her unhappy ſubjects, ſhe plucked the ſword from the bowels of her own people, to plunge it into the boſom of foreign nations. She has vexed both elements: the earth and the ſea bear witneſs againſt her havoc of the human ſpecies: and Heaven itſelf had not bounds for her crimes---ſhe has inſulted the Majeſty of the Creator upon his throne.

The whole globe was unequal to her horrors: even one ſmall portion of it has been plundered by her rapacity of 1,691,757,354*l.* ſterl. [ſee Table A. And we believe it might with great truth be aſſerted, that tigers and wolves have not collectively committed ſuch havoc upon their reſpective ſpecies ſince the creation, as the French upon their own, ſince the revolution. Now that theſe men ſhould with ſuch qualifications ſet up to be legiſlators of the world, is ſomewhat ſtrange. But it is more ſtrange, that Ireland or any other nation, in its ſenſes, ſhould unite with them. For have they not puniſhed virtue with chains, baniſhment, and death: do they not regard their *own people* as an herd of cattle, to be butchered for their purpoſes: have they not treated the people of other nations in the ſame manner, or ſold and transferred them as beaſts to other maſters? It was the caſe in Venice: Have they not deſtroyed old and free republics to convert them into new, and load them with chains and oppreſſions? It is the caſe in Switzerland. Will Ireland then unite with them to be-

become independent and a republic, that is, to bleed under their chains, guillotines, and tortures? or will ſhe *unite with Great Britain*, to become as *free* as Britain in her *Crown* and *commerce*, in her *Parliament* and *political Relations*; to become as *powerful* as Great Britain herſelf, and, we truſt, a joint inſtrument of Heaven to ſtay the *ſcourge of humanity*.

COMMERCIAL

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COMMERCIAL STATE.

Let us now conſider, what is the nature and extent of the commercial advantages of Ireland under her preſent ſyſtem, and what are thoſe derivable from the propoſed ſyſtem of an Union?

Here we ſhall fully and fairly ſee, upon the plain and unequivocal evidence of figures, whether the opinion of all thoſe who oppoſe an Union on the *ground of trade*, is ſound or not, and if their teſtimony be as true and diſintereſted as they pretend.

Since the commerce of Ireland depends on Britiſh connexion, as will obviouſly be ſhown, it is reaſonable to aſk what is this connexion? It is one which ſubſiſts through the Sovereign of both countries being the ſame. But it is aſſerted by Ireland, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, in all their functions, legiſlative and political, are diſtinct and ſeparate from thoſe of Great Britain. Conſequently, whatever is diſtinct, ſeparate, and independant of each other, muſt indiſputably be without contact, and of courſe without * connexion. Where, then, is the baſis for Iriſh commerce? where the cement to preſerve from diſſolution this ſyſtem of Britiſh conceſſion?

It is true, an Act of Parliament has fixed the Crown of Ireland on the brow of a Britiſh King;

* The fallacy of the preſent relation between Great Britain and Ireland, has been moſt fully and ably diſcuſſed by Lord Grenville, under every poſſible relation of State, Church, Finance, Army, &c. whereby his Lordſhip made it appear, that there was really *No Connexion* between the two countries.

but as that King and his Parliament of Ireland are ſeparate and diſtinct in all functions of authority from thoſe of England, this Act of Parliament does not invalidate the conſequences reſulting from their being diſtinct, ſeparate, and independent of each other; namely, that they are indiſputably without contact, and of courſe—without connexion. Beſide, what one Act of Parliament has done, another Act of Parliament can undo. We ſee nothing but confuſion here; yet this is the connexion upon which the commercial exiſtence of Ireland depends: this is the ſtate of ſeparation upon which Britiſh courteſy and Britiſh conceſſion ſtand;—and of what value and extent theſe conceſſions are, in the common commercial calculations of loſs and gain, between the two nations, let us now inquire.

Iriſh Commerce with Great Britain.

(The following ſtatements are founded upon the Public Accounts laid before the Houſe of Lords, 25th of February, 1799, by Thomas Irving, Eſq. Inſpector General of the Revenue.)

1799,	£.	s.	d.
On an average of four years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, the annual IMPORTS from IRELAND into Great Britain amounted to - - - - -	2 812 383	5	5
On an average of the ſame period the Britiſh and *Foreign exports* to Ireland amounted to - - - - - - - -	2 733 870	16	2
On average of THREE years (the laſt year, 1798, not being yet made out in the account given in), the *imports* from the world amounted to -	16 734 541	11	7
On an average of four years preceding the fifth of January, 1799, the *exports* to the world - - - - -	30 053 664	17	10

Obſerve

Obſerve that the above values are computed agreeably to the ancient eſtimates in the Inſpector General's Office, which eſtimates are upon an average about 70 per cent. beneath the real and preſent value of the articles.

Such is the comparative commerce of Great Britain with Ireland, on a fair average of four years, and of the commerce of Great Britain with the world.——— We ſhall now take another view of it under thoſe two heads during the laſt year, whereby the advantages, and diſadvantages will appear beyond the power of contradiction in the ſelf-evidence of figures.

The TOTAL *imports* of 1798 into Great Britain not being yet made out, we ſhall take the value of the preceding year, 1797 - -	£. 21 013 956	
Total *exports*, 1798,	£. 33 655 396	
Whole trade with the world, - - -		£. 54 669 352
Imports from Ireland into Great Britain during 1798, - -	£. 2 734 362	
Exports during do. to Ireland		
Britiſh manufactures, -	£. 1 676 648	
Foreign merchandize,	£. 1 316 218	
Whole trade with Ireland, - - - - -		£. 5 727 229

Valued according to the ancient rates, or about 70 per cent, beneath the preſent value.

Thus we ſee clearly what is the value of the Iriſh commerce, and what is the value of the whole commerce of Great Britain. It now remains to conſider the Revenues ariſing to Great Britain from theſe reſpective ſources of commerce.

By the Inſpector General's account, it appears that the amount of the revenue of cuſtoms collected from that part of the trade of Great Britain carried on with Ireland, was in the year ending the

the 5th January, 1799,—47,542 *l.* The amount of the revenue of cuſtoms, collected from the total trade of Great Britain 6 899 835 *l.*

Hence therefore it is obvious and incontrovertible, that, while Ireland enjoys more than a ninth part of the commerce of Great Britain, that commerce, which it might be ſuppoſed would contribute a proportionate (that is a ninth) part to the revenues, does not contribute an hundred and forty-fifth part.

Conſequently, by comparing the Britiſh commerce with Ireland, and with other nations, and by comparing the cuſtoms paid reſpectively by them to Great Britain for that commerce, it appears obviouſly, and beyond the poſſibility of doubt, that Ireland has an advantage over other nations as 145 to nine; a ſuperiority unexampled in all the ſyſtems of jealous commerce ſince time began. For Britain loſes ſo much in her revenues; ſhe has ſacrificed ſo much to foſter and favour Ireland; to elevate her near herſelf in commercial rank, and now ſhe would unite her in her unparalleled greatneſs. She has not only ſacrificed a ſixteen-fold loſs in her public revenues, which ſhe might have gained by the ſame trade with other countries; but, in the view of commercial purchaſe and individual calculation, ſhe pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland for thoſe articles, than ſhe might procure the ſame for from other nations. Therefore, the balance of the account ſtands thus:—the public revenue of Great Britain ſuſtains a loſs in the trade of Ireland, on the comparative proportion of its commerce, as 145 to 9; that is, ſhe receives an hundreth forty-fifth part, where a ninth part is the proportion; or, to make it ſtill more clear, ſhe receives about one thouſand out of every ſixteen thouſand that might

be

be expected. Further, this is not merely ſo much gain to Ireland, but a ſource of *incalculable gain* through its *reſults* on her productive labours.—It goes however further: the *private* conſumer in Britain pays 25 per cent. more to Ireland than he need pay, were the ſame articles for his conſumption taken from other nations, and which form the *chief* and almoſt entire trade of that country. What then is the additional reſult of this gain through out its effects on the induſtry of Ireland?

But the advantages of Britiſh commerce to Ireland go ſtill further.

On an average of the three laſt years, the annual imports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Ireland into Great Britain, amounted to 5,510,825 *l.* whereas on a like average, the exports of the *products* and *manufactures* of Great Britain, amounted to but 2,087,672 *l.* Here then is a balance of 3,425,153 *l.* in favour of Ireland, operating upon the great ſyſtem of national induſtry.

But the advantages of Britiſh commerce to Ireland go ſtill further.

Britiſh protection and connexion have opened to Ireland new channels for her manufactures; in return for which ſhe imports foreign articles, and then exports theſe foreign articles to Britain. On an average of the three laſt years, ſhe has ſupplied Britain with foreign commodities to the annual amount of 101 864 *l.* and in return for thoſe ſhe has taken from Britain, articles of the nature of raw materials, which are the elements of internal induſtry in Ireland to the amount of 447,477 *l.*

But the advantages of Britiſh commerce to Ireland go ſtill further. We may, however, be interrupted and aſked—Does not Ireland take, beſide

ſide theſe *raw* materials, (which ſhe cannot get elſewhere) the woollen and cotton manufactures of Great Britain? Granted: but it is a feather in the balance of her trade. Let us ſee what is the relative proportion of theſe branches, without comparing them with the whole of her other trade?

Total value of woollen manufactures exported in one year, preceding the 5th of January, 1799, . . £. 6,836,603
Ditto to Ireland, . . . £. 580,723

Thus then without heeding fractions, we may ſay that there is but a *twelfth* part of her woollen manufactures exported to Ireland. Now let us ſee the value of the cottons:

The *Total Export* of cottons during one year preceding the 5th January 1799, amounted to . . £ 3,497,197
Ditto to Ireland . . £ 107,293

Thus then the exports to Ireland are about a thirty-ſecond part of the whole. And what has been given for thoſe by Ireland? her native products, and the manufactures of her induſtry. Beſide, where elſe than in Great Britain could thoſe articles of woollen and cotton have been procured, of ſo good a quality, and at ſo cheap a rate? No where on the globe. Whereas the linens taken in return for them could have been procured at a much more moderate rate, from various countries. What proportion, too, does the value of theſe two branches of woollen and cotton bear to the value of Iriſh linens? So little (as will appear hereafter) that Ireland takes further from Britain, in order to make up the balance, and as ſtated by the preſent Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland,

" Salt

" Salt for *fiſheries* and *proviſions* ; hops, which ſhe *cannot grow* ; coals, which ſhe *cannot raiſe* ; tin, which ſhe *has not* ; and bark which ſhe *cannot get elſewhere* ; and all theſe without reſerving *any* duty, or a power to impoſe any on them, though her own ſubjects pay two, three, or four ſhillings a *chaldron* for *coals*, ſent coaſtways, and in London ten ſhillings." (Mr. Foſter's ſpeech—Woodfall's report, p. 110). Such is the preſent Speaker's ſtatement of the trade. And as to the foreign produce which ſhe takes from Great Britain, the *whole* during one year ending the 5th Jan. 1799, amounts to 1,412,504*l.* according to the *real* value, and which ſhe could not poſſibly procure from any other market at ſo moderate a rate. This will be perceived when it is ſtated that four of theſe articles are tea, muſlins, pepper, ſugar, and amount to about 900 000 *l.* of the foregoing ſum. But it ſhould not be loſt ſight of, and therefore it may be repeated, that all theſe articles were not only procured in Great Britain cheaper than elſewhere; but were alſo taken in return to balance the extenſive exports of Iriſh products and manufactures. But the advantage of the Britiſh commerce to Ireland goes ſtill further.

It is of ſuch importance, that in Mr. Foſter's words (p. 109) " It is almoſt *neceſſary* to her exiſtence." The linen trade of Ireland is by much the greateſt portion of its commerce—and of that trade, about nine-tenths depend upon Britain. What then are the dangers, which menace this trade, without an incorporative Union? They are inevitable ruin. Without political ſeparation, without rebellious commotion, or without civil ſhock in Ireland—commercial conſequences muſt alone diſſolve the trade of that country.

Its

Its own proſperity prepares its death warrant under its preſent relations; every further advance to ſucceſs is a ſtep nearer to the grave.

The watchfulneſs of Great Britain over her trade and navigation, which conſtitute the ſources of her power and her ſplendor, was ſufficiently marked for Ireland, by the Committee of the Lords of Trade. It was this commercial vigilance that appointed them to inveſtigate the Iriſh *Act for granting* BOUNTIES *on the* EXPORT *of the linen and hempen manufacturers of that kingdom, and for repealing the bounties on flax ſeed imported; and for encouraging the growth thereof in that kingdom.* For ſo long as the kingdoms are diſtinct and ſeparate, ſave by a parliamentary dependence of one crown upon another, we may reaſonably conclude that Britain will always be awake to her own intereſts, and in obedience to theſe intereſts, will turn the balance of Iriſh trade, by either withdrawing her bounties on Iriſh articles, or diminiſhing the duties on the ſame articles from foreign nations. Thus ſhe can always ſay to the tide of Iriſh commerce, under the preſent connection, "ſo far ſhalt though go:"—but under an Union, ſhe can never ſay—"*no further.*" Her own intereſts, as well as the terms of the compact, will bar the ſentiment. Whereas, under the exiſting connexion, what was the opinion of Mr. Foſter, p. 108. "The Honorable Gentleman," ſays he alluding to Mr. Flood) *complains* of the report of the Engliſh Privy Council, who ſay that to put Ireland and England on a footing of *exact reciprocity* as to linens, *Ireland ought* to give a *bounty* on the *exportation* of *Engliſh* linens, becauſe England gives a bounty on the exportation of Iriſh linens.—CAN ANY THING BE MORE JUST?" Such was the ſen-

tence

tence of Mr. Foſter. "Yet, (adds he) England makes *no ſuch demand*, but is ready by this adjuſtment," which is preciſely applicable to this preſent meaſure—"to give additional ſecurity to our LINEN trade FOR EVER."

Now, in order to aſcertain what is the power of Great Britain at preſent, over the linen trade of Ireland, we muſt alſo mark what is the influence of her Bounties on that trade; and thus we ſhall clearly ſee how to calculate; firſt, what muſt be the effects of the final adjuſtment of an *Union*, whereby probably all foreign competition in *import*, and conſequently *export* with Iriſh linen, would be prohibited; and next, what muſt be the effect of ſucceſs *without* an Union, when commercial conteſts muſt enſue, and "the war * of *bounties*, wherein Ireland cannot cope with Britain?"

Effects of an Union on the Linen Trade.

The effects of an Union, in counteracting foreign competition againſt Iriſh trade, may be viewed through the effects of thoſe Bounties, which have already operated on that competition.

The firſt Bounties on Iriſh linen exported from Great Britain, took place in 1743, and the export under the bounty was,

In the year	1743,	-	40,907 yards;
———	1753,	-	1,039,967 ——
———	1763,	-	2,588,564 ——
———	1773,	-	2,832,246 ——

This increaſe through bounties has been alſo aided by duties on the import of foreign linens, but

* Mr. Foſter's ſpeech.

as

theſe duties have certainly operated to the prejudice of the woollen manufactures of Great Britain; as foreign powers conſequently laid on them reciprocal duties and reſtrictions. The effect however of thoſe bounties on Iriſh linens, and of accumulated duties on foreign linens, ſwelled the import of the former conſiderably. For

In 1743 there was imported 6,418,375 yards;
— 1773, - - - 17,876,617 ——
Increaſe 11,458,242 yards.

That this increaſe aroſe from the operation of bounties and duties, will appear obviouſly from the decreaſe in the import and export of foreign linens, compared at the ſame periods.

Foreign linens *imported* into London and the outports were,

In 1743, - 155,84,503 ells;
— 1773, - 8,954,649 —
Decreaſe 9,629,834.

Foreign linens *exported* from London, and the outports were,

In 1743, - 9,894,837 ells;
— 1773, - 4,385,276 ——
Decreaſe 5,509,561 ells.

But there is now a ſecond period whereby we may aſcertain the effects of Britiſh *connexion* and *commerce*, as we did in the foregoing period of Britiſh *bounties* and *duties*, in favour of the Iriſh linen trade.

The Iriſh linens exported from Great Britain entitled to bounty, were,

In 1743,	- -	40,907 yards:
— 1773,	- -	2,832,246 ——
— 1789,	- -	3,587,848 ——
— 1792,	- -	5,598,446 ——
— 1795,	- -	7,482,147 ——

Here then is an *increaſe* of exports on Iriſh linens, from 40 thouſand yards, to nearly ſeven million and a half in 1795.

The imports of Iriſh linen as we have ſeen were in 1743, above four millions of yards—in 1773 above 17 millions: but,

In 1789,	-	30,044,960 yards;
— 1791,	-	36,232,888 ——
— 1794,	-	38,018,102 ——
— 1797,	-	39.869,965* ——

That this aſtoniſhing increaſe, from FOUR *millions to nearly* FORTY, has been the effect of the *extended* commerce of Great Britain will obviouſly appear, ſince the foreign linens have *not decreaſed* during the ſecond period 1789, as they did during the firſt from 1743, as has been juſt ſtated.

The value of foreign linens imported

In 1789,	- -	£. 433,884
— 1796,	- -	£. 456,679

Thus we ſee that they *increaſed*, which is in itſelf a proof of the effects of the increaſed commerce of Great Britain; but on the whole, it may

* Ireland ſupplies other countries with about four millions of yards; or one-tenth; the other nine depend on Britiſh commerce.

be

be ſaid that they have preſerved their level in the imports. As to the exports, their value was,

In 1786,	- -	£. 122 731
— 1796,	- -	£. 132 822

Here we behold the ſame effects from the ſame cauſes, and the ſame arguments are applicable.

The Iriſh linens have an advantage over the foreign, to the amount of 25*l.* per cent.——— And to this ſyſtem of bounty and duty, they firſt owed their increaſe; and to the unparalleled extention of Britiſh commerce, they now owe their extraordinary augmentation.

The linens imported from Ireland, on an average of the three years preceding January 1798, amounted to - - - £. 2,600,421

Whereas the value of foreign linens imported during the ſame period, amounted to but £. 414,719

Of theſe alſo there were exported to the amount of - - - £. 119 263

Therefore there were conſumed in Great Britain; but - - - - £. 299,456

Whereas there were conſumed in Great Britain Iriſh linens to the amount of about £. 2,410,421

As on the average of three years, about £. 190,000 is exported.

Such is the ſuperiority which the Iriſh linens have over the foreign in the Britiſh market; beſide on exportation, the Iriſh linens enter a foreign market, with all the benefits of a large bounty paid to *them* in Britain, and of Engliſh capital which can afford long credit. Whereas foreign linens enter the ſame market after having left behind them in Britain, a certain part of the duties paid on importation, and after having paid ſome other cuſtom-houſe charges; ſo that before they can be un-

ſhipped, there is a diſadvantage againſt them, equivalent to from five to ſix per cent.

But the importance of Britiſh connexion, and the growing magnitude of Iriſh commerce through that connection, muſt be obvious to every man who reflects that the TOTAL value of the linen trade in Ireland, was,

	£.
In 1741, - -	480,516
— 1751, - -	751,993
— 1761, - -	803,258
— 1771, - -	1,691,787

Whereas the linen trade, including yarn, with Great Britain alone, upon an average value of the three years ending 1798, amounted to 2,844,402*l.* If, indeed, the Union which with reſpect to the linen trade of Ireland, is preciſely the ſame in ſubſtance as the adjuſtment whereon Mr. Foſter uſed thoſe emphatic words, (p. 108) "if it were to take away the benefit of the linen trade from Ireland, it would be a good cauſe for rejecting it: but as it for EVER confirms ALL THE ADVANTAGES we derive from the linen trade, and *binds* England from making *any* laws that can be *injurious* to it: ſurely gentlemen who regard that trade, and whoſe *fortunes* and rent depend on its *proſperity*, will not entertain a *moment's* doubt about EMBRACING THE OFFER." And as the linen trade much exceeds all the reſt of the commerce of Ireland, and as nine-tenths of it depend ſolely upon Britain, what then muſt be the reſult were the ſyſtem of bounties and duties, which conſtitute almoſt the principle of its exiſtence, to receive a ſhock? If the public revenues of Great Britain ſuffer by this ſyſtem, if the private conſumer ſuffers, by paying 25 per cent. more than he need; if the manufactures of Britain ſuffer by reciprocal duties

duties and reſtrictions laid on by foreign nations—if the intereſts of Ireland be different, and ſeparate from thoſe of Britain, is it reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the people of Great Britain will not inſiſt on the ſupport of *her* ſeparate intereſts? They have long and loudly demanded why they ſhould be charged with this 25 per cent. on the conſumption of Iriſh linens; the linen trade, nay, I may ſay, the entire trade of Ireland (as will appear hereafter) muſt be deſtroyed, if this blind policy of ſeparate intereſts be forced upon the Britiſh by the Iriſh nation. Ireland ſhould at leaſt reflect that the Britiſh market would, if the operation of bounties and duties ceaſed, ſoon be cheaply filled, not only with foreign linens, but that Britain herſelf would ſoon ſupply her own market, as in the caſe of the ſail cloth manufacture, *which* Ireland *loſt*. The foreign linens at this moment, with even 25 per cent. againſt them, not only ſupport a competition with the Iriſh linens, but underſell them in ſome branches. Three Provinces of France alſo, which manufacture more linens than all Ireland together, might ſtruggle for this market; but as the home conſumption of Britain would ſoon increaſe, ſo muſt the home produce. And what the extent of this manufacture is in Britain, may be calculated upon the following comparative view of the exports of linens entitled to bounty.

	IRISH.	BRITISH.
In 1743,	40 907 yards -	52 779 yards
1753,	1 039 967 —— -	641 510 ——
1763,	2 588 564 ——	2 308 310 ——
1773,	2 832 246 —— -	3 279 808 ——

Thus it appears, that, while the Iriſh manufacture increaſed from 40 thouſand yards, to two millions, the Britiſh increaſed from 52 thouſand yards, to three millions, leaving out fractions. And this increaſe of the linen manufacture is daily becoming more conſiderable in Great Britain.

The increaſe in the exports of Britiſh linens *not* entitled to bounty, has alſo been as great in value, as that entitled to bounty. And the foreign linens alſo, which pay duties on exportation from Great Britain, have been able, beſide the competition in the Britiſh market, to maintain a competition in the foreign markets with Iriſh linens, which receive a bounty on leaving the Engliſh ports for thoſe markets. Thus, then, ſtands the caſe of the Iriſh linen manufacture, with the whole ſyſtem of bounties and duties in its favour. But what would follow were that ſyſtem to ceaſe?—Commercial death. And this ſyſtem muſt be broken and deſtroyed, if inſtead of Union ſeparate intereſts exiſt; whereas new force muſt be given to that ſyſtem by union, and identity of intereſts. One plain and obvious queſtion will ſhew to every man of what importance and benefit an union muſt be to Ireland. It appears that the principal market for Iriſh linens is Great Britain, and that four-fifths of the quantity imported, and thoſe of the higheſt price, are conſumed there; conſequently the other one-fifth has been exported: Now we aſk, has the *Iriſh* bill of bounties been able to direct the export of this *one-fifth* into her own direct commerce? Surely no ſtronger proof can be adduced of the ſuperior advantages of Britiſh commerce and Britiſh capital; and, conſequently, of an incorporative union, with all thoſe advantages. For, though the Iriſh exporter has at preſent

preſent an obvious ſuperiority over the Engliſh one (which is the caſe, though the bounties in both countries be equal) of five and a half per cent. paid for freightage, commiſſion, warehouſing, wharfaging, and other incidents attendant on the import of Iriſh linens into the Britiſh ports, for the purpoſe of export from thence; ſtill there is not a decreaſe, but an aſtoniſhing *increaſe* in the exports of Iriſh linens *from Great Britain*. Even in the laſt year, which was a confuſed period of rebellion, the increaſe above the preceding year, amounted to 149 059 *l.* This then, is an obvious teſt of the effects of capital, which can afford long credit—of well aſſorted cargoes, of India goods, foreign linens, Mancheſter, Birmingham, Norwich and Sheffield manufactures; all of which have reſiſted the operative advantage of five and a half per cent. in favour of the Iriſh exporter. Since here, then, is an unequivocal and clear conviction of the benefits of *Engliſh* trade, it may be aſked—Is Ireland diſpoſed to ſurrender thoſe benefits at home and abroad, or to ſecure them for ever?

Thoſe advantages are no leſs numerous and extenſive, than they are ſingular in their nature. For, in order to eſtabliſh a reciprocity, "Ireland *ought* to give a bounty on the exportation of Engliſh linens, becauſe England gives a bounty on the exportation of Iriſh linens."—*Can any thing* be *more juſt*, ſaid Mr. Foſter. But what is actually the caſe? The annual bounties paid to Ireland by England, on an average of the four laſt years, amount to 34, 000 *l.*; and the annual revenues from the trade of Ireland, during the ſame period, amount to 40, 000 *l.*: therefore, the annual balance for the gain of the Britiſh revenue, or for the ninth part of its trade, was 6, 000 *l.*, which bears

bears a proportion to its whole revenue, during that period, (5,734,525*l.*) as one to 850. Thus then England obtains one, where eight hundred and fifty are its due: ſuch is the rate of *favour* above other nations, or of benefit to Ireland ariſing from *Britiſh bounties*. And further: the benefit obtained by Ireland from the loſs ſuſtained in the *Britiſh revenues*, amounts to above 700,000 *l. per ann:* which Britain muſt receive, were Iriſh linens taxed equally with thoſe of foreign countries. Theſe extraordinary advantages however, Ireland cannot hold under the preſent ſyſtem of things. Not only ſeparate intereſts muſt produce a ſeparation of connexion, but without ſeparation of connexion, this commercial ſyſtem ſo long and loudly murmured againſt in England, muſt finally be diſſolved and conſequently the trade of Ireland be no more.

Commercial effects without an Union.

One of two events muſt follow, *without an union*; either Ireland will ſink under the *ruin* of the preent commercial ſyſtem, or under the *ſucceſs* of it.

The *ruin* of it will be founded on the loſs to the public revenues of Great Britain; on the advanced price paid by the private conſumers in Great Britain; on the detriment to the general manufacturers of Great Britain; on the univerſal murmurs in Great Britain; and hence that "war of *bounties*," predicted by Mr. Foſter, and the inevitable diſſolution of the ſyſtem, becauſe the intereſts of both countries are not *one and the ſame*.

The further *ſucceſs* of Iriſh commerce, under the preſent ſyſtem, alſo unfolds the inevitable *ruin* of this ſyſtem, and that ſucceſs is tolerably evident. For, notwithſtanding the enumerated cauſes of

Engliſh

Engliſh ſucceſs, contrary to the Iriſh Bill of Bounties, are as ſo many embarraſſments which bear upon the Iriſh exporters; howevre, means of palliating them will gradually develop themſelves; and it muſt unavoidably enſue, that an exiſting operative advantage in favour of any branch of trade, will ultimately, though perhaps not rapidly, effectuate its eſtabliſhment.

What then muſt follow? The commercial intercourſe between the two countries muſt be ruined by a *ſucceſs* which will operate to the diminution of the export trade of Great Britain, to the diminution of the returns of that trade; and conſequently to the prejudice of her navigation and commercial intereſts in general. For can it reaſonably be ſuppoſed that one nation will uphold another, by foſtering its trade at an immenſe expenſe to herſelf and her ſubjects, and at a loſs to her revenues and manufactures, her navigation, and commercial intereſts?—No; Ireland is too juſt. ———Or, can ſuch a trade be continued, while the intereſts of the two countries claſh, and inſiſted on as ſeparate, are made to war for ſeparation? No: Britain is too wiſe. Let the Iriſh well obſerve that the Lords of Trade have conſidered ſuch a revulſion of commerce, as that juſt pointed out and provided againſt it. They have told the committee of council "that in ſuch a caſe, a *reduction* in the duties on *foreign* linens MUST take place; that the kingdom of Great Britain would thus be enabled to ſupply herſelf as cheaply as ever; that ſhe would do it with *advantage* to the *revenue*; and that ſhe would probably too obtain *larger* conſumption of *her woollen manufactures*, and *other goods* upon the continent of Europe."

But

But ſuppoſe that ſuch miſchiefs to the navigation and commerce of Great Britain were not to enſue, at leaſt ſuddenly, or to a great extent; *ſucceſs* in commerce is, however, a death-blow to the linen trade of Ireland, under her *ſubſiſting* connexion with Great Britain: for, the conſequences of improved commerce, is increaſed opulence. The conſequence of increaſed opulence is increaſed price of land, proviſions, labour, and conſequently manufactures. Therefore, as ſoon as the price of linens be augmented, its importation into Great Britain will decline, and that of foreign linens proportionately increaſe, *without any lowering* of the duties. *Now* the foreign linens are able to ſtand the market with Iriſh linens; *then* they would beat them out. The import of fine linens for home conſumption, would ſuffer particularly; the import of table linen, &c. would be wholly loſt: and if the low-priced linens ſhould take another channel by direct export from Ireland, then, through want of a ſuitable aſſortment for the Engliſh market, all the branches of the Iriſh trade would be conſiderably diminiſhed in their imports into Great Britain. This would unqueſtionably follow, *without* reducing the duties on foreign linens. And, as to the Bounties on Britiſh linens, either they muſt be *continued*, or they muſt be *changed*. If they be continued, inaſmuch as the demand for the Iriſh branch of the trade diminiſhes, that for the Engliſh muſt increaſe: this demand increaſing, the produce will increaſe proportionately, and then the ſame reſults will follow, as formerly, in the ſail cloth branch: For it ſhould be remarked by the Iriſh, that, though Great Britain is at this moment ſubject to great diſadvantages in the linen trade, yet ſhe is ſuppoſed to manufacture more than is exported from Ireland:

conſequenty,

conſequently ſhe is in that improved ſtate of the buſineſs, that it requires but mere will to advance rapidly; and this muſt reſult from any further *ſucceſs* of Iriſh commerce, under the *continuance* of Britiſh Bounties. But, on the other hand, can it be required that theſe Bounties ſhould be *changed*; that is, that they ſhould be raiſed for the *benefit* of Ireland, in order to *check* the foreign imports, and conſequently charge the Britiſh conſumer with the *double* increaſe, of Iriſh price and Britiſh Bounty? Or are the *duties* on foreign linens to be raiſed, to charge the Britiſh conſumer with a *double* increaſe, of foreign duty and Iriſh price, to diminiſh the public revenues; to injure the national manufactures; and to violate all the principles of commercial policy? Yet, if this be not done, the *ſucceſs* of Iriſh commerce, is the tomb of its linen trade.

What then muſt follow *without Union*? Waving the certainty of ſeparation and ruin from political and civil cauſes, either Ireland muſt remain as it is, withone ſolitary manufacture, which cannot be improved; and with an unfortunate peaſantry, who are not virtuous, becauſe they are NOT HAPPY, but are ſeduced into ſedition through poverty, and afterwards made tools of rebellion through deſpair. Or, in the next place, ſhould Ireland be ſucceſsful in commerce, then that very ſucceſs becomes ſelf-deſtruction, under the exiſting ſyſtem, and the doctrine of ſeparate intereſts.

The friends of Ireland therefore, will do well to conſider a plain and ſimple ſtatement ariſing from the two views, which we have taken of its commerce.—Ireland, without an incorporative Union, ſtands expoſed to private povertys—to public calamities—to deſperate and immoral convulſions—

to

to SEPARATION. Ireland, without an incorporative Union, is barred by her DEPENDANCE on ENGLISH BOUNTY, and by the power of Great Britain over that bounty, from attaining any high eminence in commerce. Or we ſhall ſuppoſe, againſt all probability, that Ireland, without Union, may become ſucceſsful in commerce: therefore, in ſo much muſt ſhe injure the trade and navigation of Great Britain in all its direct conſequences, and all its collateral relations: and conſequently, their commercial intercourſe muſt be hazarded, their concord broken, and their preſent connexion be diſſolved. Or finally, ſuppoſe the connexion be not thus hazarded, and that ſhe be ſucceſsful:—then, ſince the intereſts of both countries are not one and the ſame, irreparable miſchiefs muſt enſue to Ireland; its trade will be loſt by a very *ſmall riſe* upon her commodities, that *muſt* follow her ſucceſs; for Great Britain will not, on the principle of ſeparate intereſts, and on the claims of her manufacturers, and on the grounds of commercial policy, *increaſe* her bounties; Ireland, therefore, muſt fall from a pinnacle not lofty, into ruin the moſt profound!

However, that we may aſcertain fully, what ſhe muſt ſuffer, by the *loſs* of Britiſh trade, either through *ſeparation*, which muſt follow *non-incorporation* of parliaments and intereſts, or through the conſequences of *ſucceſs without* incorporation; and further what ſhe may *gain* by an incorporation of legiſlatures and intereſts, let us review the ſtate of her whole commerce. And in order to inveſtigate this matter fairly, we ſhall not take a *ſingle* year, but an average of three years; whereby we may ſee, beyond doubt or deception, what is the real nature and full extent of the Iriſh commerce with Great Britain.

On an average of the LAST *three Years.*

CATTLE TRADE.

	£.
Cows and oxen, 6 *l.* each, - - - -	144,450
Horſes, 10 *l.* each, - - -	13,610
Swine, 30 *s.* each - - - - -	10,182
	168,242

CORN TRADE.

Barley, 17 *s.* per quarter, - -	17,579
Oats, 14 *s.* per ditto. - - -	205,391
Oatmeal, 7 *s.* 6 *d.* per boll, - -	24,884
Wheat, 40 *s.* per quarter, - - -	35,436
Flour, - - - - -	5,710
	289,000

PROVISION TRADE.

Beef, 3 *l.* 15 *s.* per barrel, - -	388,522
Butter, 3 *l.* 10 *s.* per cwt. - - -	784,654
Pork, 3 *l.* 15 *s.* per barrel, - -	674,981
Bacon, 2 *l* 5 *s.* per cwt. - - -	106,056
	1,954,213

LINEN TRADE.

Plain ſhirting and ſheeting, at 1 *s.* 5 *d.* per yard,	2,600,101
Other linens, - - - -	320
Linen yarn (raw) - - - -	243,981
	2,844,402

TOTALS.

	£.
Cattle, - - -	168,242
Corn, - - -	289,000
Proviſion, - -	1,954.213
	2,411,455

Thus

Thus it appears that on the average of 1796, 1797, 1798, the linen trade alone amounted to £. 2,844,402

While all the branches of proviſion, corn, and cattle, produced - - £. 2,411,455

*Therefore the linen trade alone exceeds all theſe, by £. 432,947

And as her whole produce and manufactures imported amount on the ſame average to £. 5,510,825

And as her cattle, corn, proviſion, and linen trade, which ſhe could not find a market for but in England, amount to - - £. 5,255,857

Conſequently there remains out of her whole trade, for which ſhe might perhaps find another market beſide Great Britain, - £. 254,968

It muſt alſo be obſerved, that there are articles of *foreign* produce, for which probably ſhe would not find a *foreign* market, but which Great Britain now takes from her, with her other imports, to the amount of - - - £. 101,864

Therefore, it may with great truth be aſſerted, † that *the commercial exiſtence of Ireland depends upon Great Britain.*

The advantages might appear more ſtriking, were we to detail the Iriſh articles favoured by Great Britain on *importation*, and the Britiſh articles favoured by Great Britain on *exportation* to Ireland. This, however, ſhall be only given in ſome inſtances, that we may not intrude too much upon the reader's attention.—Bacon is admitted into Engliſh ports FREE, from Ireland—from other

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* Her linen trade alone is more than all the other branches collectively, carried on with domeſtic and foreign produce.

† See Mr. Foſter's Speech.

coun-

countries it pays 2 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* per hundred weight: Beef *free*, from Ireland; and from other countries PROHIBITED—Cattle in *like* manner. Linens FREE, from Ireland—from other countries 25 *l.* per cent. We ſhall not enumerate any more of the *imports*, but ſpecify a few of thoſe favoured on exportation to Ireland—Coals, 1 *s.* 2 *d.* the chaldron—to any other place in Britiſh ſhips, 15 *s.* 5 *d.* —and in foreign ſhips, 1 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.*,—Sugars in loaves, 1 *l.* 6 *s.* per hundred weight Bounty, when *deſtined* to foreign countries, &c. &c.—Goods *permitted* to Ireland, but PROHIBITED to other countries,—Coin of gold and ſilver.—Tools or utenſils in the cotton, linen, woollen, ſilk, iron, and ſteel manufactures, &c. &c. Beſide *all Bounties* given by *Parliament*, on *Britiſh ſhips* in the Greenland fiſhery, are allowed to *ſhips* from *Ireland*. And ſhips from Ireland are allowed *all the numerous* privileges of Britiſh ſhips.

Thus we have obviouſly before us the nature and extent of the Iriſh commerce with Great Britain, which conſtitutes almoſt the whole of its trade, —we ſee alſo what has been its wonderful increaſe, and the cauſes of that increaſe; firſt, the *repulſe* given to its competitors, by accumulated *duties*, and the *ſupport* given to Ireland by extenſive *bounties*; though both operate to the loſs of the Britiſh revenue, the expenſe of the Britiſh conſumer, and the injury of Britiſh manufactures.—In the ſecond place, we obſerve, that the cauſe of this increaſe of Iriſh trade, is the unparalleled and aſtoniſhing extenſion of Britiſh commerce. (See Table, E.)———We behold alſo, that while Ireland by her connection enjoys more than a ninth part of that commerce, Britain does not derive a ninth part of the cuſtoms, but a 145th part—

that

that is, ſhe favours her above other nations, and to her own diſadvantage, in the proportion of 145 to 9; —Hereby Great Britain ſuſtains a ſixteen-fold loſs, and gives Ireland a ſixteen-fold gain, or infinitely more in the reſults.—She now offers Ireland further, the key of her treaſures, and the ſecurity and increaſe of that commerce,--to clothe the naked peaſants of that country, feed their hungry offspring, and give their families comfortable dwellings.—But it is ſaid they are indolent. And why are they indolent? From moral effects, which we could eaſily trace, to civil cauſes, that muſt wither under the influence of the Union. Be it granted, however, that they are indolent: but are they not indigent? Is the ſeverity of labour ſoftened by due rewards? For if they be *thus* indigent, they muſt be idle. The caſe is ever the ſame, where labour and induſtry are not animated by proportionate returns.—It is true policy, and alone true, which ſupports a reciprocal advantage; which rouſes, animates, and ſpreads abroad, a ſpirit of induſtry amongſt the poor;—let us be aſſured, that the happineſs of mankind is at once a liberal and a ſelfiſh principle.

It appears throughout the commercial ſupport given by Great Britain, for the amelioration of the ſtate of the labourers and manufacturers of Ireland, that there is a balance of nearly four millions annually, for the direct produce of the lands, and their labour. Great Britain invites forth, animates and remunerates Iriſh induſtry by 5,610,825 *l.* per annum; whereas the Britiſh peaſantry and manufacturers receive in return from Ireland but 2,087,672 *l.*

She holds out alſo to the induſtrious manufacturers of Ireland, all the improvements of genius and

and diſcoveries in the arts, to facilitate their ſkill, their ſucceſs, and opulence,—while ſhe prohibits this communication to other nations around her.

She even renders leſs detrimental to the poor of Ireland the luxuries of the rich, by ſupplying, at a cheaper rate than it could be procured elſewhere, that quantum of foreign productions which indulgence deems neceſſary.

She pays the manufacturers of Ireland 25 per cent more for their linens, than ſhe could purchaſe them for from others.

She has, by her wiſe and liberal protection, foſtered this great trade of Ireland, in ſo much, that ſhe has augmented induſtry amongſt its manufacturers ten fold.

She has thrown open her ports, free, for the produce of Ireland; while ſhe has prohibited the like articles from other countries.

She ſupplies the wants of Ireland, at a leſs revenue, than ſhe ſupplies the wants of her *own natives*. She imparts to her almoſt the neceſſaries for commercial exiſtence. She gives her the means of carrying on her manufactures, and of vending her manufactures; and ſhe ſends her the raw materials, theſe elements of her induſtry, while ſhe ſtrictly refuſes them to other nations.

She has thrown open to Ireland, the commerce of the world: And, as it is trade and commerce that have broken the iron yoke of bondage in other countries; ſo they will in Ireland exalt the humble, and bring down the high, to that point of civil morality, where BOTH will be happy.

But is this large cup of bleſſings which is preparing both for the poor and rich of Ireland, to be daſhed by the wickedneſs of cabal, or weakneſs of party? There is a ſtandard whereby we

can meaſure ſound policy, and it is an unequivocal one:—it is facts; againſt which all aſſertions are but an idle waſte of words. Then to theſe *facts* we appeal:—Are the *peaſants of Ireland* BADLY CLOTHED, ILL FED, and WORSE LODGED than the peaſants of *any part* of Europe? It is aſſerted by numbers that *they are*. And whence this? Is it owing to the *form* of Government? No—It is the *Britiſh form of Government*, and none can ſurpaſs it. Is it owing to the *climate?* No; none is more happy. Is it owing to the *ſoil?* No; none is more fertile. Is it owing to the *nature* of the individuals? No; for, by nature, none are more active, more zealous, or more ſtrong. To what, then, is it owing?—To *practical* defects in the political, commercial, and civil ſtate; which can never be remedied, but by an Union alone—and without which, all that is now good in the ſtate of Ireland, muſt be diminiſhed and gradually loſt; and all that is evil retained and gradually increaſed, until civil diſſolution follows.

It is a really a blind policy which has purſued ſeparate intereſts in the civil community of Ireland, but it is ſomething worſe which would now purſue them in the two great political communities of the Empire.

If this doctrine of ſeparate intereſts prevails, the merchants, artificers, landholders, farmers, and cultivators of Ireland muſt be ruined. However, before miſconception, or worſe ambition ſacrifice ſo many victims, let men pauſe! Let them conſider well before they refuſe to eſtabliſh as a right, that commerce which is now a courteſy. In reality, they are deſtroying every poſſibility of its continuance, even as a courteſy, when

when they may convert it into a laſting ſecurity.

But they aſſert, that the miniſter's object, in this meaſure, is taxation—That no taxes will or can bear upon the poor of Ireland, we have already * ſhown beyond the power of diſpute. And upon other claſſes, only a certain portion will be fixed; beyond which portion, no power of taxation can go, let the increaſe of the ſources of revenue be ever ſo great, without a total diſſolution of the compact of Union. Ireland, moſt certainly, will be rendered *rich* and *productive* by *commerce*, but *cannot*, under *the Union*, be rendered *poor* by taxation.

Beſide, the preſent commercial ſyſtem between the two countries cannot hold *without* an *Union*; it is altogether impoſſible. The Members of the Houſe of Commons, who are concerned with the great manufacturing places, urge loudly † that there is no reciprocity:—for, Engliſh manufactures are loaded with duties, while Iriſh manufactures are not only exempted from them, but are encouraged by Bounties, to the domeſtic coſt of the people of England, and to the detriment of their foreign trade. The revenue foregoes, as has been ſhewn, above 700,000*l.* per ann. in the duties which are *not* levied on Iriſh linen; and the ſubjects of Great Britain pay at leaſt a million more for their linens, than they might do if the importation of foreign linens was on an equal footing with thoſe of Ireland. Is it reaſonable, in policy or conſcience, to ſuppoſe that they will thus give their treaſure to Ireland, and for the purpoſe perhaps, of ſeparation, or for the benefit of an enemy, againſt whom

* See Union or Separation, p. 5.
† See Mr. Peel's Speech on the Union.

they protect Ireland even with their blood.—In ſome future moment of wanton pride and accumulated power, Ireland might conceive her exiſting connexion inſulting, and ſeparate.

Beſide thoſe arguments for Union on the part of Britain, ſurely on the part of Ireland, if ſhe wants induſtry, as has been urged, and wants capital, as is known—where can theſe be found, but in Union with Britain? Without the connexion of ſome other ſtate, Ireland CAN NOT exiſt—and unleſs that connexion be Britiſh *Union*, ſhe cannot exiſt as a commercial Nation: for, if Britain, impelled by the motives already ſtated, ſuppreſs a trade in thoſe commodities whereby ſhe can raiſe the value of her own; and if the exports from Ireland to Great Britain be diſcouraged, as the exports from England to Ireland: what muſt become of the Iriſh trade?—Can ſhe turn for a market to Ruſſia, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Holland, Poland, France, Spain? Where will ſhe find vent for her linens, cattle and corn? Can ſhe undertake an Eaſt India trade, and for thoſe articles? Can ſhe, in this abandoned and impoveriſhed ſtate drive a Weſt India trade, when ſhe cannot even * now?—Will ſhe look for encouragement to America?—Will ſhe turn for her loſt trade to Africa?——There is demonſtrably no ſecurity, no reſource, for the vent of her products and manufactures over the globe, but through Britain; becauſe, whether they be natural or artificial, the other nations of the earth can furniſh them cheaper. What then muſt follow if Ireland were ſeparated and independent? ſhe might

* Notwithſtanding the free trade of Ireland, ſhe has not faculty to carry it on. Britain ſupplies her with ſeven-eighths of her Weſt Indian conſumption.

ſink

ſink into her Brehon barbarity, or fall * back into that Gothic government, characterized by feuds, murders, and depredations.

We have before ſhewn † the abſurd and ſhort-ſighted fears of Dublin—Wherever commerce is accumulated, its influence muſt pervade the whole country, animating induſtry into life and action. It is certainly true that the trade of Dublin is now greater than that of any other commercial place in Ireland; but it by no means follows that it will not preſerve the ſame proportion in the increaſe, which it now holds in the preſent partition of commerce ‡. But if it did not, is the whole nation to be ſacrificed to a part? In fact, however, that part muſt be benefited by the whole; the capital is as the heart through which the blood muſt flow.

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* The *Brehon* Law was the ancient code of the Iriſh; whereby murder, treaſon and robbery were puniſhed with a *Fine*, which was called an *Ericke*.

† See *Union or Separation*.

‡ Preſent State of Trade, by a view of the tonnage 1797.

Belfaſt	4630 Tons.
Cork	4904
Youghal	6434
Galway	1353
Dublin	15092

While the total tonnage of Ireland (1797), which is but one third leſs than England, was 53,181
That of London alone was 449,017
That even of Newcaſtle 128,294
But while the tonnage of Ireland was, in 1797, but 53,181
That of the Empire was 1,565,651

By this we may eſtimate the capital that each brings into a joint commercial ſtock if they unite.

But

But unhappily throughout the courſe of public affairs in Ireland, the higheſt points of general intereſt have been ſacrificed to particular views. The principles have been partial, and the calculations founded upon the arithmetic of *ſelf*. It is ſurely ſufficient, however, if particular views be ſuffered to produce particular injuries; but what Machiavel will aſſert that a whole nation, and all its people,—that a whole empire, and all its ſubjects—that all Europe perhaps, nay the globe it elf, ſhould be delivered to deſtruction, for the ſake of individuals, whoſe deſigning ambition has duped ſome, or whoſe ill founded authority may have impoſed upon others. The exiſtence of the whole nation of Ireland, the blood, the ſubſiſtence of its people, their already indifferent food and worſe raiment, are about to be ſacrificed by ſuch ſuperabundant zeal. If theſe men be ſo ardent for *public* good, in God's name, why are the peaſantry and mechanics of Ireland ſo long ſuffered to remain in the ſame ſtate? Surely, where the complaints have been ſo long and ſo loud, on the condition of the lower claſſes in Ireland, ſome ſafe and radical remedy ſhould be adopted. And ſince thoſe complaints have come down, detailed to us by ſuch authority as that of Sir John Davies, from the time of Henry II.; as of Swift, from the time of the Revolution; and of Adam Smith, and Dean Tucker in our own times; and ſince, whether the complaints of the people of Ireland be true or falſe, they have been uniformly the paſſage to their paſſions, to make them pioneers of *Rebellion*; were it not wiſe, on the part of the high and powerful in Ireland, to cloſe this avenue for ever, by the conſequences

ſequences of Union? Were it not wiſe both for the exalted and the humble, to ſilence for ever ſuch complaints, as that "when Eſau came fainting "from the field, and at the point to die, he ſold "his birthright for a meſs of pottage."—Were it not wiſe to check too long continued emigrations,* by checking the cauſes, if real, and by checking the complaints, if artificial, and both by the conſequences of an Union?

The zeal of humble induſtry, and the ſplendor of exalted talents, have paſſed from Ireland into foreign lands, to eat even the bread of honeſt and independent poverty among an unoppreſſed people. We do not ſay however that the people of Ireland were oppreſſed by the Government. We proteſt againſt the aſſertion. The barbarous ſpirit of feudal times looked *down* upon the cottage, and looked *above* the throne; therefore the government was governed, and the ſubjects were vaſſals. But as commerce enriched, and knowledge enlightened mankind, the lordly yoke of feudal tyranny has been broken throughout Europe, kings freed from ſlavery, and people from oppreſſion. Thus, through *commerce*, will the barbarous ſpirit of feudal power finally depart from Ireland, and the old and corrupt body of civil defects find a ſepulchre in the Union.

With its preſent boaſted trade, however, the lower claſſes of Ireland are poor, as will hereafter be ſhewn on parliamentary authority, beyond human condition in other countries: it is evident, therefore, that the trade is not yet exten-

* The emigrations from Ireland have not ceaſed ſince Swift's time. In the year 1797, families to the amount of ſome hundreds paſſed over to America.

five

ſive enough to reach the poor. And as that boaſted trade may periſh at the nod of Britain, the queſtion is, Will the Iriſh reject at once, not only ſecurity for that trade, and the means of its unbounded extenſion through Engliſh capital, ſkill, and commerce; but all the *incalculable benefits* of an UNION upon the WHOLE BODY of the Iriſh nation?

It is this Union that will bring comforts to the people, and convert the bogs of Ireland into ſmiling corn fields and meadows; that will clothe her naked mountains with woods; dig her mines, and explore her treaſures; cut her canals to convey them to the ocean; pour forth abundance from her now half-cultivated fields; and, inſtead of herds of cattle, raiſe up numerous and induſtrious bodies of men. Thus, as remarked by the able and eloquent Biſhop of Landaff, *Ireland* will be *enriched*, and England *not impoveriſhed*, but the empire be increaſed in opulence and ſtrength. Sixty millions of acres, ſo fertile by nature, if improved by art, will maintain much more than thirty millions of men: out of theſe thirty millions, five millions may bear arms; and out of theſe five millions, one million may be always in arms without prejudice to agriculture or commerce, to protect the other twenty-nine millions in peace and induſtry. With ſuch a body of united Britons, with the commerce reſulting from this Union, with a navy thus ſupported, with riches and reſources thus ſecured, with ſuch ſtrength from Nature and from *Union*, we may bid defiance to the world. Then we may look down in calm and ſupreme dignity upon the little diſputes and wars of Continental Princes, wholly unintereſted in their artificial balance

lance of power. Our confederacy will be then at home—in Union: our balance of power will be then—the population, the riches, the reſources of Great and United Britain. God and Nature have befriended us much; and, unleſs we be *enemies* to *ourſelves*, we may be the happieſt and ſtrongeſt empire in the world—INVINCIBLE.

At a moment, then, when a deſolating fiend ſtalks over the earth, ravaging all ſtates and conditions, ſhould we not *unite* againſt this monſter? It has however been gravely advanced in Ireland, that connexion with Britain is an advantage, but Union deſtruction. This is ſurely a ſelf-contradiction. If Britiſh connexion be an advantage, Union, which is but cloſer and ſtronger connexion, muſt be cloſer and ſtronger advantage: unleſs Britain be conſidered as a phyſical body in flames, whoſe warmth is genial at a diſtance, but which burns by contact, and conſumes by Union. Is this however the caſe? Ireland is in truth, as was eloquently deſcribed by the able Prelate whom we have juſt quoted, a graff, which has grown up and flouriſhed on the Britiſh ſtock: ſeparate it, and it will neither ſtrike root downwards nor bear fruit upwards, but will wither under the ſhadow of the Britiſh oak, or be poiſoned by the peſtilential vapours of the tree of liberty.—Unite it then with Britain, and it will become a ſound and vigorous limb of the empire; unite it with France, and it will become a poor ſhrivelled excreſcence, which will be cut off as caprice or convenience points out.

CIVIL STATE.

This point of national Policy may be conſidered in two views: Firſt, with reſpect to civil, next with reſpect to moral economy. Civil economy comprehends the ſupport of individuals, and conſequently of a State: moral economy regards religion or the manners of a People.

Firſt: the ſyſtem of civil œconomy which regulates the ſupport of the great body of individuals in Ireland, is obvious as to its nature by its conſequences. A ſtatement was made to the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, and which was before cited, (p. 10 Union or Separation) that, "out of *three millions*, there are *two millions one hundred thouſand excuſed* on account of *poverty* from paying yearly *four-pence* each to *the State.*" Where there is ſuch perſonal poverty, the ſtate muſt ever be in danger, through diſſatisfaction within, and want of ſupport and power without.

Having clearly before us, at this awful period, the nature and conſequences of this ſyſtem, we have been led to conſider what is the remedy for this civil condition. Our ſolemn and deliberate opinion is, that there is no other remedy whatever, but an Incorporative Union.

As to Utopian cups with the waters of *forgetfulneſs*, preſcribed by ſome men, they muſt have certainly been emptied by themſelves. Such men reaſon upon topics without remembering theſe particular and important circumſtances, which totally change the nature of a caſe. And while ſome

reaſon

reaſon too generally, others reaſon too particularly; ſuch, for inſtance, are foreign and domeſtic Traders, who look not beyond local or perſonal concerns, and never enter into a combination for the general benefit of national commerce; and, next, Political Traders, who conſult only for themſelves, and not for the Public at large.

Hence the crude abſurdities and groſs miſrepreſentations, which have been diffuſed upon this occaſion. They are too numerous for any one man to undertake to expoſe them; and they are indeed too glaring to require it. The authors and abetters, however, of all manner of villainy could not have found more zealous dupes or more apt inſtruments for the projected ruin of mankind in a Nation.—But if it be true, as Swift ſaid, that "general calamities are allowed to be the great UNITERS of mankind," we have ſolid ground for hope. The individual and public condition in Ireland, and the general calamity which has deſolated Europe and menaced the globe, will upon this reaſoning cauſe the Empire to be united, conſolidated, and ſtrengthened. With reſpect to Ireland, is it not a glorious and honorable invigoration which reſults from private poverty being changed into public opulence, and individual abjection into National elevation? "The picture," ſaid Mr. Dundas, "which I draw of Ireland, is of a gloomy and *lamentable* aſpect; but, in proportion as it is ſo, it becomes the duty of every well-wiſher to both countries to deviſe ſome remedy by which he may deſtroy the hopes of the enemy, and give *new life* and *new vigor* to the Siſter Kingdom." For independent of *commercial* advantages thro' increaſed

increaſed capital and ſkill; independent of *civil* advantages through *improved agriculture* and *manners*; independent of *improved induſtry and condition*, and the termination of *civil feuds*; independent of all theſe advantages, the queſtion is, as Mr. Pitt ſtated it, *not what Ireland is to* GAIN, *but what ſhe is to* PRESERVE; not *merely how ſhe may beſt improve her ſituation*, but *how ſhe is to avert* a preſſing and *immediate danger.*" When the aſſaſſin lifts his knife, the firſt act is, Natural impulſe, for inſtant ſafety; the next is, ſound thought, for future ſecurity. Rob nature, however, of this impulſe againſt domeſtic traitors in Ireland; ſtrip the mind of this thought for ſecurity againſt a rapacious foe, who has declared war againſt Kings and enſlaves all Republics; remove all thoſe loud pleas on the preſent occaſion,—and excluſive of ſuch inevitable dangers, if the two countries do *not* unite, they *muſt* ſeparate: and ruin follows. Whereas let the two countries unite, and if reaſon, founded upon wiſe experience, have any claim on certainty, it may be maintained as a truth, that a termination of Civil miſery in Ireland will enſue from Union, and a rapid growth of individual opulence augment the ſtock of National happineſs, common power, and imperial ſtrength. Thus then ſhe may deſpiſe every foreign danger, and enjoy and purſue her domeſtic improvement.

According to the acknowledged * principles of Civil œconomy, it is agreed that, for the advantage of individuals, and conſequently of the State, for it is impoſſible to ſeparate them, each labourer ſhould be enabled to rear four children.

* Cantillon, Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, King, Davenant, Adam Smith, &c.

children.—Whatever therefore is the average weekly expenſe of ſupplying five individuals with comfortable dreſs, dwelling, and diet; ſhould be the earning of the father of a labouring family. If the weekly expenſe be valued at two ſhillings each, his labour ſhould procure ten; for, the mother's work is computed to be equal to her own ſupport. Theſe being the principles univerſally received in the ſyſtems of Civil œconomy for the good of the individual and of the State, it may fairly be aſked, do the fathers of labouring families in Ireland earn ten ſhillings each? For we believe no individual can have comfortable dreſs, dwelling, and diet, under two ſhillings on an average per week. This point we ſhall not puſh further. Without laying open the wound more deeply, we have no doubt but an Union will radically heal it.

The ſame ſtandard hold goods not only for all places, but all perſons concerned in industry and the arts; marking that due gradation, whereby remunerations and rewards rise with the rank of talents or employment.

With respect to Farmers, their portion is accurately aſcertained, which is to reward their ſkill or application. It is two-thirds of the price of the produce of the land: one belongs to thoſe who live by rent, or the proprietors: another third belongs to thoſe who live by wages, or is for general cultivation: and the other third is for thoſe who live by profit and ſtock, or the farmers. The two laſt thirds therefore are the farmer's portion, for himſelf, for his labourers, and for his expenſes. Such being the principles univerſally adopted as wiſe and juſt, after

ages

ages of experience, it may not be unfair to aſk, does this ſyſtem prevail in Ireland? Does the farmer who cultivates a conſiderable tract of land, or the cottager who tills a ſingle acre or a single rood of potatoes, does he receive two thirds of the value of the produce? If the potatoes of the cottager be worth three pounds, is the landlord ſatisfied with one pound for his rent? If not, he violates the firſt principles of Civil œconomy, he is unwiſe toward the ſtate and himſelf, and he is highly unjuſt toward the cottager his tenant. That this ſyſtem, however, will grow out of the conſequences of an union, there can be no doubt; and that it muſt be for the advantage not only of the lower but the upper orders of men we refer to demonſtration and experience in Britain and elſewhere.

The reaſon too is obvious. Liberal rewards invite induſtry: induſtry promotes population: and population and induſtry increaſe each other. For as the liberal wages and rewards of industry produce plenty, plenty gives ſubſiſtence and invites population; and increaſed population demands increaſed ſubſiſtence and forces induſtry. Thus it is that the wiſe and juſt returns of labour, giving plenty and ſtrength, promote induſtry and population; and, giving animation and a hope of bettering man's condition, rouſe the peaſant, the farmer, or the manufacturer, to exert his ſtrength, or ſtretch his talents to the utmoſt. And then the charge of indolence and indigence is heard no more.

However, where there is not much agriculture in a country, little ſtock for trade, and a tolerable population, the wages will, through competition, be low, and the people be partly idle, or emigrate. But it muſt be granted that

Ireland is not populous, though its tendency to population is extraordinary and unequalled in Europe. For, when Sir William Petty wrote his Political Arithmetic, he ſaid "England is *five* times better peopled than Ireland." Had therefore the progreſſion of population been *equal* in both countries ſince that period, ſince Ireland contains at this moment above four millions of people, and England is one third larger, the latter ſhould have at leaſt 27 millions: and as the population of England falls ſhort of this, in the ſame relative proportion has the population of Ireland gained upon that of England. Still, however, Ireland is not populous; becauſe a country is not populous in proportion to the actual numbers it may have, but to the numbers it can feed. And what a view might be given here of the natural capacities of Ireland in ſoil, now neglected; in fiſheries, ſomewhat known but little heeded; and in poſition on the globe, not to be ſurpaſſed for the great benefits of commerce. It is to draw all theſe wonderful reſources into action, that we anxiouſly ſupport an union: for that Nation poſſeſſes means of opulence, power, and conſequence, which have been too long and ſhamefully neglected. If men, however, be wiſe at this moment, the time is not far diſtant when internal induſtry and home trade will change the export of proviſions into that of manufactures. Inſtead of dreary ſolitudes for grazing will be ſeen ſmiling corn fields and joyous population; and the Iſland be transformed into a peaceful granary, or reſound with the animated din of manufactures and workſhops.

There is a great and important truth, which the Merchants, Manufacturers, and Landholders of Ireland ſhould hold conſtantly in view—the VALUE of the produce of *land* or *labour* can be increaſed *only* by *population* or *ſkill*. *Population* cannot increaſe without increaſed funds to ſupport it, which is *Capital*: *ſkill* cannot increaſe without increaſed funds to reward and apply its diſcoveries, which is alſo *Capital*. Ireland has not that Capital. But Union with Great Britain will give that Capital: —conſequently it will give an increaſed value to the produce of land and labour; it will give increaſed agriculture, increaſed manufactures, increaſed population, increaſed commerce.

Want of Capital may be one, amidſt other material reaſons, for the backward ſtate of agriculture in Ireland. But this reaſon cannot apply to great Proprietors. Experience, however, in all countries ſhews that *great Proprietors* are ſeldom *great improvers*. It has been alſo found in Ireland, as well as in that ancient ſtate of Europe, to which Ireland bears too much reſemblance at this day, that *leſs* improvement took place under thoſe who occupied the land *under* the *Proprietors*. But leaſt of all has improvement ever taken place, while *thoſe employed* were either really, or what is eventually the ſame thing, ſuppoſed themſelves to be ſlaves. A man, who is without all hope or expectation of acquiring property, will labour as little as poſſible, provided he can ſubſiſt. He has no intereſt beyond his maintenance, and ſo far only will he think of labour. Man is always the ſame creature under the ſame circumſtances, and the great caſt of Nature is uniform, however different the climate or the time. In antient Italy, the decline of agriculture remarked by Pliny, and in ancient Greece

Greece by Ariſtotle, and in the Weſt Indies the laſh of a ſlave-driver—prove that when *man* has *no intereſt* in his *exertions*, nor poſſibility of civil elevation, and bettering his condition, *he will do as little as he can.* Now we aſk, *Are* the People of Ireland *indolent?*

If ſo: indolence and indigence are unſure cements for a civil ſyſtem: whereas due rewards conferred upon labour animate induſtry, produce comfort, and give ſolid ſecurity to a ſtate. If the people be happy, they will be virtuous. He, who requires a proof of this, has only to contemplate the ſtate of Great Britain to-day,—of the reſt of Europe —of Ireland itſelf!!! But the whole civil condition of Ireland will be improved by the conſequences of Union with Great Britain, both with reſpect to the ſupport of individuals and the ſtate; and with reſpect to the preſent caſt of national manners, which forms the *ſecond* part to be conſidered.

An inquiry into the cauſes of the manners of Ireland might afford, if judiciouſly traced, one of the moſt novel pictures perhaps ever preſented to the human mind. Such a combination of Brehon* barbarity forced upon their moral habits during ages, by our ill-judging forefathers; ſuch a mixture of allodial authority exerciſed with tyranny, by the conquering proprietors of lands; ſuch a feudal bondage, without the formalities of

* The nature of this code of laws, and its effects upon civil ſociety, may be collected from the following hiſtorical fact:—When Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam told Maguire that he would ſend a Sheriff into Fermanagh—"Your Sheriff," ſaid Maguire, "ſhall be welcome to me, but let me know his *Ericke* or price of his head) before-hand, that if my people cut it off, I may cut the *Ericke* upon the country."

law, or feelings of Nature—ſunk, embittered, and depraved the human heart. After ages of ſuch horrid policy, England at length communicated its government and laws to Ireland. But as our anceſtors had eſtabliſhed themſelves by force, the Government of Ireland has ever ſince partaken of force. It was an error however, which, though the Government ſaw, conſtituted as it has been, it was unable to correct. Moſt unqueſtionably force was not a remedy for evils which grew out of the civil and religious differences of the country. The true remedy was another ſpecies of connexion—it was Union. And that remedy Molyneux, the great champion of Ireland's rights and liberty, ſaw, and ardently deſired; but deſpaired of the bleſſing. Unhappily this ſound and radical policy, which might have cloſed all the wounds of hatred and hoſtility, was neglected for a ſpecies of quackery, which, in political as well as phyſical diſorders, but makes bad worſe. Thus through ages the barbarous caſt of Iriſh manners was kept up by oppreſſion. In after-times it was aggravated by the addition of civil vices, and the loſs of ſavage virtues, which reſulted from hatred and intermixture with their conquerors. And in nearer periods, their whole mind and manners have been empoiſoned by the cunning cant of plauſible men, and inflamed by the dark doctrines of traitors, until maddened, brutalized, and made ferocious by the contagious barbarity of the day.

The ſtate of Ireland has been truly peculiar in many points. The Proteſtants, who were leaſt numerous, had the property and power; while the Catholics, who were moſt numerous, had neither power nor property. It was deemed neceſſary therefore to ſupport the Proteſtants, leſt the Catholics

tholics ſhould get the power, and conſequently the property: and hence a great oppreſſion had ariſen in former times. And though it be now removed, a deep-rooted jealouſy has paſt down to this day, and has embodied with it a legion of more corrupt paſſions to deſolate the hearts and affections of men. Such things cannot go on; there muſt be an end to theſe diſorders, or an end to civil ſociety. And againſt civil death in Ireland we know of no protection that the utmoſt ſtretch of human faculties can form, but an incorporative Union. This meaſure will give in ſubſtance what both parties deſire—namely, ſecurity to the Proteſtant for his preſent property and future power; and emancipation to the Catholic, or three millions of ſubjects, from the ſhackles of hideous diſtinction. Under an incorporative Union, all ſuſpicious fears of loſing eight-tenths of the property of the iſland muſt be removed for ever from the breaſt of the Proteſtant: and all well-grounded hopes of gaining legiſlative power and civil rights may, and will beyond doubt, be confirmed to the Catholic without dread, and with conſiderable advantage. Thus the gall of civil jealouſy will no longer embitter the minds and manners of men, nor the flame of religious animoſity kindle up the torch of fanatic barbarity. But rebellion, cruſhed amidſt its expiring crimes, will die after a reign of horrors, which is beyond the reach of record or deſcription. For the firſt effort of Iriſh hiſtory was a page of traditional rebellions, and it has never ceaſed ſince to dip its pen in human blood.

But if, notwithſtanding all the well-grounded expectations of reſcuing men and manners from a gulph of immorality, through the unqueſtionable

reſults of an Union on the civil ſtate of Ireland, it be aſked, who are the advocates, or what authority pleads for this meaſure? We proudly anſwer, that our ſupporters are ſome of the moſt wiſe, the moſt virtuous, and moſt revered characters, that have done honour to human nature in different ages and nations. And now we aſk, who are the oppoſers of Union?——One man indeed we ſee, whom we have been taught to reſpect, and therefore by his own words we judge him :—"When gentlemen argue on bad ground, even their own arguments often make againſt them."—(Woodfall's Report of Mr. Foſter's Speech, p. 106.) But are the oppoſers of this Union anxious on the ſcore of Iriſh independence? Molyneux, the advocate of Iriſh liberty, wiſely points to independence—for it exiſts ſolely—*in Union*. Are they deſirous to put down the mighty load of fundamental grievances in civilization, ignorance, ſuperſtition, manners, poverty? Let them then embrace commerce,—for to commerce, and all its conſequent civil bleſſings, Sir William Petty, Sir Joſiah Child, Decker, Munn, Adam Smith, Dean Tucker, and all other able political writers and œconomiſts, have pointed out the road—*through Union*.

If, beſide the authority of opinion, that of example can have weight in ſupport of an Union, we have the full benefit of experience before us in the Union after the Heptarchy, and in the Union of Wales, and Counties Palatine. We have alſo two other examples perhaps more ſtriking, becauſe more near to our own times and circumſtances. In the reign of Charles II. Carolina, like Ireland on the conqueſt, was given up to ſome Engliſhmen, both in *property* and juriſdiction. Locke, who was certainly a friend to popular liberty, though

though by no means a politician, perhaps becauſe a metaphyſical philoſopher, was employed to compoſe a body of laws for their government. But notwithſtanding the code of ſuch an advocate for the people, diſtinctions, parties, and inteſtine commotions aroſe under this *ſecondary* juriſdiction, as the viceroyal and legiſlative government of Ireland now is. In order, therefore, to prevent the laſt ruinous conſequences of theſe troubles, it was thought adviſable to place the country under *the immediate care and inſpection of the Crown:* and the like immediate care and inſpection is a direct conſequence of the preſent Legiſlative Union. The other example is that of Scotland, whoſe diſtractions, diviſions, and clanſhip ceaſed but with the amelioration of its government under Union, and whereby the induſtry of the inhabitants was awakened. So rapid and ſucceſsful has its progreſs been ſince, that Engliſh ability, which ſurpaſſed Scottiſh ability at the period before the Union as *twenty-eight* to *one*, now exceeds it only as *eight* to *one*.

Conſequently, therefore, if Ireland looks to *Political* power, to *Civil* happineſs, and *Commercial* opulence—her great charter for natural and individual independence, as well as diffuſed riches, is Incorporative Union.

We have ſeen the conſequences of Union in ſeveral inſtances with reſpect to the Britiſh Empire; let us now recur to a memorable inſtance of *Diſunion* in the Roman Empire.

Peculiar circumſtances of ſtate, and the concealed views of the Sovereign, cauſed Auguſtus to eſtabliſh a line of *diſunion* between the *great maſs* of the *Roman People*. But from this plan flowed the *miſeries of the ſtate*; and it finally occaſioned what may be

termed different ſovereignties in one empire under Diocleſian. This *diſunion* and diviſion produced civil wars, which did not ceaſe till all was again conſolidated into *one Union*, and *under one ſovereignty*. But *diſunion* again took place under Conſtantine, when he formed two capitals. "There ſeemed to be two empires, and *in effect there were two*," ſays the hiſtorian; "*for they had* SEPARATE INTERESTS, and were *therefore* no longer *parts* of ONE WHOLE." Thus the empire languiſhed by degrees, ſunk into nothing. and *died* of DISUNION. All things, continues the hiſtorian, had united for the grandeur of the Romans, and they re-united for its *fall: religious diſputes*, and *civil wars*, and *corruption of manners*, and a *loſs of the love* of *public good*, and the *defects of government*, and the *multitude of enemies*. Does not this picture of *diſunion* —this ſeparation of intereſts, theſe religious diſputes, theſe civil wars, theſe corrupt manners, the *practical* defects of Iriſh government, and the multitude of enemies, exiſt in our caſe? God grant that the like conſequences may not follow. We have indeed but one reſource, one ſure mode of preventing like effects; it is obviouſly—by diſſolving like cauſes of deſtruction.

On a review of the Political, Commercial, and Civil ſtate of Ireland, we perceive that the nature of its Imperial connexion is ſuch, that all the art and policy of mankind have not been able to correct its vices, but have introduced new miſchiefs and aggravated the old. The whole ſyſtem has been an attempt to *force nature* into a compliance with prejudice, by little artificial regulations, and to overturn the great principles of policy and truth by a ſyſtem of obvious, and now of experienced folly. Hence the horrid picture which the

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page of Iriſh hiſtory preſents, ſtained with blood, and blotted by rebellions. Yet ſome men were lulled into a momentary dream; others too were awake in the vigil of power; but all were in a ſtate of political ſubjection, and without independence. Had there been independence, and not a connected and commanding ſuperiority over them, one party had long ſince cruſhed to pieces the other—as would have lately been done even by the greatneſs of its own ruin. For though the object held out to inflame the paſſions of the middle claſſes, and the madneſs of the multitude, *was apparently* the overthrow of ariſtocracy—in reality the object was to eſtabliſh thoſe leaders of rebellion, into a *complete ariſtocracy:* which they would have done even under a republic. Both, however, are deſpotiſms.

It may not be amiſs to lay before uninformed perſons ſome ſhort inſtruction on this point of ariſtocracies and republics.—All ARISTOCRACIES are deſpotiſms, except in name: and are worſe than any ſingle deſpotiſm, becauſe *every individual* of an ariſtocracy is a *tyrant*. In a deſpotiſm there may be an horrible and blood-thirſty Nero to-day; but to-morrow there may be a Veſpaſian, whoſe "POWER is but an *opportunity* of doing *good*"—(Pliny). But in an ariſtocracy it is not *one* heart, nor *one* head—nor *one* blow that defeats the monſter: it is *many headed*; and one grows up as the other is cut off. Hence the people, in order to eſcape *numerous* calamities, uniformly caſt themſelves into the arms of a *ſingle* deſpot: it was the caſe in Denmark.

But in REPUBLICS it is even *worſe*; for there the monſter has ſtill *more* heads to devour the ſubjects. And the *people* under *Republican Governments*

ments are not *politically* but PERSONALLY enſlaved: it was the caſe in Poland. The PEOPLE are not only *enſlaved*, but enervated and *corrupted* by *debauchery*, to make them willing but *baſe ſacrifices* to TYRANNY: it was the caſe in Venice.

So likewiſe in *modern Republics*, the *people* are *held faſt*, and furniſhed with *ſenſuality*, as *pigs* in a *filthy ſtye*, who *wallow* before *ſlaughter*.

But if it be ſaid there MAY BE exceptions to this tyranny of Republics —we demand where are they, throughout the range of time and place ſince the creation, from the moſt diminutive to the greateſt—from that of Lucca or St. Marino in Italy, or from that one in Switzerland, which contained about 1500 ſubjects, to Rome herſelf, the bluſtering miſtreſs of the world. Men unfortunately take words for things. The word Republic excites and bears with it the idea of freedom; but examine the thing, and it is a compound of all the elements of tyranny. If example be proof, look to the proud boaſt and glory of Republics, to the models which all imitate, but none have equalled: and what did the refinement of a Grecian, or the ſolidity of a Roman Republic produce? A ſeries of tyranny and horror that diſgrace the character of human nature, and which no other ſpecies of deſpotiſm but republican deſpotiſm can parallel. It was a *Republic* that brought forth the *monſter* who wiſhed his *people* to have but *one neck*, that he might deſtroy them *all* at one blow. In *Republics* the PEOPLE have, in name, general political *freedom*, but in *reality* they have *no part* in it. And as to *thoſe* men, who are *already exalted* by *Nature*, to greatneſs, and the rare *rank* of *talents*, what do they ſeek in *Republics*, but dangers proportionate to their ſucceſs? Let the Roman Agricola, counſel them

them if they be virtuous; let the Chiefs of the French Republic who have fallen by the dagger and the axe; let Condorcet, the miſerable victim of hunger and poiſon, warn them if they be otherwiſe.

What man then ſo weak, or politician ſo wicked toward human nature, as to ſtand up for ARISTOCRACY or REPUBLICANISM, which are *governments* calculated but to *curſe mankind*. Bondage and oppreſſion, ſlave and tyrant, can alone be counteracted in a monarchy, where there is eagle againſt eagle, *and lion againſt lion*. By vigilance againſt vigilance, and power *againſt* power, there ariſes a wiſe mixture of modes, which corrects and balances their authority; they cannot be ſeparately exerted for evil, but may jointly for good. But that they ſhould be jointly exerted for evil is a confederacy hardly poſſible: for it were a joint madneſs for ſeparate ſuicide.—It were a triumph for mourning.

There may, however, be a Bedlam of a ſyſtem: for ſuch is that of Ireland, not only politically conſidered, but commercially and civilly. With reſpect to the civil ſtate, a remedy has been propoſed, by forming eſtabliſhments for the education of the lower orders. This, we fear, is erroneous, and hope it may not prove dangerous. Ameliorate the condition of the people, and inſtruction will follow: whereas if their condition be not ameliorated, and their minds be enlightened, what enſues? They will then ſtudy thoſe inflammatory papers which they have been deſired by the United Iriſhmen to hang up in their cabins; and will reflect on, and be roused by ſuch aggravated deſcriptions of oppreſſion, as might make a wiſe man mad. Whereas, let Union open to them the ſources of *national wealth*,

wealth, and *individual happineſs* will follow. Riches alſo promote public virtue, which promote private happineſs; but riches, which oppoſe the public happineſs of a people, oppoſe private virtue.

The ſource of riches inſtrumental to national virtue is agriculture and the arts. The quantity neceſſary to individual happineſs, is that ſufficiency ariſing from the daily application of eight or ten hours to procure comfortable dwellings, warm clothing, and wholeſome food for themſelves and families: and where the quantity of circulating caſh is not, through deficiency or exceſs, contrary to the enjoyment and preſervation of their ſtate of proſperity.

Riches oppoſe the private virtue of a people, where there is exceſs of opulence and exceſs of miſery; for it condemns one part of a nation to idleneſs, another to indigence, and both to misfortunes and vice. The people thus loſe all energy, their minds become depraved through their civil ſtate, and are brutalized by ignorance. Ignorance prepares them as victims for error, and error darkens and confuſes whatever is good or evil for them. Ignorance firſt renders them inſenſible to advantages propoſed, error next makes them abhor them, and perpetuates their misfortunes. But begin to remedy thoſe misfortunes by changing their ſtate, and the people will no longer through ignorance or error be inſtruments of civil death; but their force become a ſource of inexhauſtible happineſs, if *then* directed by reaſon.

Whereas to begin inſtruction before civil abjection be removed, is, if not dangerous, we conceive erroneous. Render the people happy, and that inſtruction which ſuits their ſtation and capacities, will naturally follow. The man muſt be wholly

ignorant

ignorant of the progreſs of the human mind, who knows not the relations between public inſtruction and public opulence. Writers will inform him, that where the hiſtory of knowledge and ſcience began, there aroſe the monuments of this truth. The firſt germs of ſcience, natural, moral and political, developed themſelves in the rich Monarchies of Egypt and Aſſyria. In the hiſtory of the Phœnicians, we find that this commercial people became the depoſitaries of the knowledge of the Eaſt, after having been the depoſitary of its productions. The hiſtory of Greece, and the Grecian Colonies in Italy, ſhews that they were the ſeats of commerce when they became the ſeats of learning. And if we paſs to Rome, we ſhall find that the country of Fabricius had riſen from its ancient poverty to hold up the great examples of a Cicero, an Horace, and a Virgil. If we return to the Eaſt, during a period nearer to our own times, we ſhall find that the rapid progreſs of knowledge under the Caliphs was in the moment that its commerce ſecured it a great portion of the riches of Aſia, Europe, and Africa. To the Arabs we owe chymiſtry and medicine, and theſe remedies more ſalutary and mild than thoſe tranſmitted to us by Hippocrates or Galen. To them we owe too algebra, and the immortality of Newton: who, inſpired by their firſt geometric meaſurement of the Earth, ſcaled the Heavens, lived amidſt its ſtars, and ſent down to us the laws of their revolutions, and his own immortality.

Since the beginning of time KNOWLEDGE has kept pace with wealth, extended with induſtry, and flouriſhed with commerce. Such has been its progreſs ſince creation over the globe: it has thus pervaded Europe; always abandoning the

poor

poor or impoveriſhed, and uniformly abiding and flouriſhing with the nations which are rich.

This is the evidence of hiſtory and example: what ſays reaſon?

The cultivation of the mind ſuppoſes a moral elevation, but there can be no ſuch elevation where there is moral abjection; or, in other words, there can be *no* general improvement of mind or manners where there is not *happineſs* and *civil independence*. Where there is poverty there will be ignorance; where there is ignorance there will be error; and where there are poverty, ignorance, and error, there will eternally be misfortunes and vice. Make the people happy, and it is eaſy to make them virtuous and wiſe; let the great be virtuous, and they will be both wiſe and happy.

But what is the picture preſented to us in Mr. Johnſon's admirable Letter on the propoſed Union —(p. 5, London edition)—"The hiſtory of this country, as long as its annals can be traced, furniſhes no other ſpectacle than ſuch as humanity muſt deplore, and philoſophy regret."—He then draws, with a vigorous pen, a view of the different claſſes in Ireland: and adds—"All the national evils, which might be ſuppoſed to flow from *ſuch conditions*, overſpread a ſeemingly devoted land."————Let us now caſt our eye on a ſimilar ſtate of Scotland before the Union. "I think I ſee," ſaid Lord Belhaven on the Union, in the true ſpirit of oppreſſion, "the Peerage of Scotland *diveſted* of their followers and *vaſſalages*, and put on an equal footing with their own *very vaſſals*." But, remarked Mr. Dundas * on this paſſage with a wiſdom at once honourable

* See Speech on the Union.

to

to his head and heart—" if the *Union* has *broken aſunder* the BONDS of *feudal* vaſſalage, wiſe and virtuous men will not be diſpoſed to conſider this as an *evil conſequence.*" And on another prophecy of his Lordſhip's, Mr. Dundas obſerves, with a ſentiment of ſound policy—" Now I DO ſee the mere *ploughman* enjoying TREBLE WAGES and TREBLE COMFORTS, while the *farmer* reaps ſuch *profits* as enable him to live almoſt upon an equal footing, in every point of *ſocial enjoyment*, with even the hereditary landed gentleman, the poſſeſſor of the ſoil itſelf."

" If it be true," ſays Mr. Dundas in another paſſage) " as generally acknowledged, that the POOR of Ireland experience all the *miſeries* concomitant to a ſtate of *wretchedneſs*—that *Liberty* which *awakened* the *commercial* enterprize of Scotland—that *Liberty* which expanded its *genius* in the moſt *honourable* purſuits—that *Liberty* which confirmed every ſentiment which can *dignify* human nature, will, I am ſure, have the *ſame happy influence* on the *people* of Ireland, connected with us by the deareſt reciprocal obligations."

" If it be true," (ſays Mr. Pitt alſo) " that this meaſure has an inevitable tendency to admit the introduction of that Britiſh capital which is moſt likely to give life to all the operations of COMMERCE, and to all the improvements of AGRICULTURE; if it be that which *above all other* conſiderations *is moſt* likely to give SECURITY, QUIET, and internal REPOSE to Ireland: if it is likely to *remove* the *chief bar* to the internal advancement of WEALTH and CIVILIZATION, by a more intimate intercourſe with England; if it is more likely to communicate from hence thoſe habits which diſtinguiſh this Country, and which, by a *continued gradation*

gradation unite the HIGHEST and the LOWEST orders of the community WITHOUT a CHASM in any part of the ſyſtem; if it is not only likely to invite (as I have already ſaid) *Engliſh capital* to ſet COMMERCE in MOTION, but to offer it the uſe of NEW MARKETS, to open *freſh reſources* of WEALTH and INDUSTRY; can *wealth*, can *induſtry*, can *civilization* increaſe among the whole bulk of the people, without *much more* than counterbalancing the *partial* effect of a *removal* of the *few individuals*, who for a *ſmall part* of the year would follow the ſeat of Legiſlation. If, notwithſtanding the abſence of Parliament from Dublin, it would ſtill remain the *centre* of *education*, and of the *internal commerce* of a country *increaſing in improvement*; if it would ſtill remain the *ſeat* of *legal* diſcuſſion, which muſt always *increaſe* with an increaſe of *property* and occupation; will it be ſuppoſed, with a view even to the *intereſts of thoſe* whoſe partial intereſts have been moſt ſucceſsfully appealed to; with a view either to the reſpectable *Body of the Bar*, to the *Merchant*, or *Shopkeeper* of *Dublin*, that *they* would not find their *proportionate* ſhare of advantage in the general advantage of the State? Let it be remembered alſo, that if the transfer of the ſeat of Legiſlature may call from Ireland to England the MEMBERS of the United Parliament; yet, after the Union, *property*, influence, and *conſideration* in Ireland will lead, as *much* as in Great Britain, to *all the objects* of imperial ambition: and there muſt conſequently exiſt a NEW INCITEMENT to perſons, to acquire *property in that Country*, and to thoſe who poſſeſs it, to *reſide* there, and to cultivate the good opinion of thoſe with whom they live, and to extend and improve their influence and connexions."

" But

" But we can on this queſtion refer to experience. Look at the metropolis of Scotland: the population of Edinburgh has been more than doubled ſince the Union: and a new city added to the old. The population of Glaſgow, ſince the Union, has increaſed in the proportion of between five and ſix to one: look at its progreſs in manufactures; look at its great advantages, and tell me what ground there is, judging by *experience*, *in aid* of theory, for theſe *gloomy apprehenſions* which have been ſo *induſtriouſly* excited."

With reſpect " to the commercial privileges *now* enjoyed by Ireland, and to which it owes ſo much of its proſperity, that they would be *leſs ſecure* than at preſent, I have given an anſwer to already, by ſtating, that they are *falſely* imputed to the *independence* of the Iriſh Parliament, for they are, in *fact*, owing to the exerciſe of the *voluntary diſcretion* of the *Britiſh Parliament*, UNBOUND by COMPACT, prompted only by its natural diſpoſition, to conſider the intereſts of Ireland as its own."

" I have ſeen it under the *ſame* authority (that of Mr. Foſter, the Speaker of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons), to which I am ſorry ſo often to advert, that the linen trade would be injured, and that there will be *no ſecurity* for its retaining its *preſent* advantages. I have already ſtated, and with *that very* authority (Mr. Foſter) IN MY FAVOUR, that thoſe advantages are *at preſent* PRECARIOUS, and that their *ſecurity* can *only* ariſe from *compact* with Great Britain. *Such* a *compact*, *this meaſure* would eſtabliſh in the moſt SOLEMN manner: but beſides this, the *natural policy* of this country, not merely its *experienced* liberality, but the IDENTITY of INTERESTS after an Union, would offer a *ſecurity* worth a thouſand *compacts*.

I wiſh for the maintenance of connexion between the two countries, with a peculiar regard to the *local intereſts* of Ireland, with a regard to *every thing* that can give to Ireland its DUE *weight* and *importance*, as a great member of the Empire. I wiſh for it, with a view of giving to that country the *means* of improving *all its great* natural reſources, and of giving it a *full participation* of *all* thoſe bleſſings, which this Country ſo eminently enjoys."

" God grant that in this inſtance the ſame favour of Divine Providence, which has in ſo many inſtances protected this Empire, may again interpoſe in our favour; and that the attempts of the enemy to *ſeparate* the two countries, may tend ultimately to knit them more cloſely together, to ſtrengthen a connexion, the *beſt* pledge for the *happineſs* of *both*, and ſo add to *that power* which forms the chief *barrier* of the *civilized world*, againſt the *deſtructive* principle, the *dangerous* projects, and the UNEXAMPLED USURPATION of *France*."

" This connexion has been attacked not only by the *avowed* enemies of *both* countries, but by *internal* treaſon, acting in concert with the deſigns of the enemy: internal treaſon, which engrafted Jacobiniſm on *thoſe diſeaſes*, which *neceſſarily* grew out of the *ſtate* and *condition* of Ireland."

" We ſee the point, in which that enemy thinks us the moſt aſſailable—Are we not then bound in policy and prudence to *ſtrengthen* that vulnerable point, involved as we are in a conteſt of LIBERTY againſt DESPOTISM—of PROPERTY againſt PLUNDER and RAPINE—of RELIGION and ORDER againſt IMPIETY and ANARCHY? There *was* a time, when this would have been termed declamation, but thoſe calamities are *atteſted* by the WOUNDS of a *bleeding world*."

" A meaſure

" A meaſure then, which muſt communicate to ſuch a mighty limb of the empire as Ireland, *all the commercial* advantages which Great Britain poſſeſſes, which will open the markets of the one country to the other, which will give them both the *common uſe of capital*, MUST, by diffuſing a *large* portion of *wealth* into Ireland, conſiderably increaſe the *reſources*, and conſequently the *ſtrength* of the whole empire."

" But it is not merely in this *general* view that I think the queſtion ought to be conſidered. We ought to look to it with a view *peculiarly* to the *permanent* intereſt and ſecurity of Ireland. When that country was threatened with the double danger of hoſtile attacks by *enemies without*, and of *treaſon* within, from what quarter did ſhe derive the *means* of her *deliverance*?—from the *naval* force of Great Britain from the *voluntary* exertions of her *military* of every deſcription—not called for by law—and from her *pecuniary* reſources, added to the *loyalty* and *energy* of the inhabitants of Ireland itſelf: Of which it is impoſſible to ſpeak with *too much* praiſe, and which ſhews how well they deſerve to be called the BRETHREN of BRITONS."

What, then, are the advantages derivable from this meaſure to Ireland?--They are, ſays Mr. Pitt, the *protection* which ſhe will *ſecure* herſelf in the HOUR of DANGER—the moſt *effectual* means of *increaſing* her COMMERCE, and *improving* her AGRICULTURE; the *command* of ENGLISH CAPITAL; the *infuſion* of ENGLISH MANNERS and ENGLISH INDUSRTRY, neceſſarily tending to *ameliorate* her CONDITION, to *accelerate* the progreſs of *internal* CIVILIZATION, and to *terminate* thoſe FEUDS and DISSENTIONS, which now *diſtract* the country, and which ſhe does

not poſſeſs within herſelf the POWER to extinguiſh. She would ſee the avenue to HONORS, to DISTINCTIONS, and EXALTED SITUATIONS, in the *general ſeat of Empire*, opened to ALL thoſe, whoſe ABILITIES, and TALENTS enable them to indulge an *honourable* and *laudable* ambition."

With an anxious wiſh, therefore, for the exaltation of Ireland, in *Independency*, *Commerce*, and its *Civil* ſtate, we conclude by giving it as our deliberate opinion, on the grounds before ſtated, that if an *Union does not take place*, the nation will be reduced to a moſt wretched condition. Their only manufacture of linen will be inevitably loſt; their corn trade will be at an end; and the gentlemen of eſtates will conſequently turn off their tenants, becauſe they will not be able to pay their rents. They will then become *farmers* themſelves to feed their own ſheep and cattle; there will then be left but a few miſerable cottagers to watch thoſe cattle, and *Ireland* will ſoon *become* a *country* like that *of the ſavage Tartars*. The farmer muſt rob, beg, or leave the country; the merchant muſt become poor and bankrupt, and the ſhopkeeper muſt break and ſtarve. Therefore, may our fellow ſubjects in Ireland *be wiſe*, and ſtand to this meaſure of an Union one and all—Proteſtants and Catholics, it is the *great Charter* of your *political ſalvation* —you are bound to it by the love which you owe your country, your religion, and yourſelves: you are bound to it by the laws of God and Nature, and by ALL your DUTIES as men. The ſtaunch and approved friends of *Iriſh Liberty*, ſuch as *Molyneux* was, have been friends of this meaſure. The majority of the moſt WISE and

and VIRTUOUS men of *paſt* ages and the *preſent* day, and the well-known friends of the *Poor* of Ireland, have been and are the adviſers of this Union. Thoſe alſo, who have the greateſt intereſts at ſtake in the welfare of Ireland, and thoſe who have the greateſt property in land, are decidedly the ſupporters of it. The great majority of the Peers, and nearly an equality of the Commons, except about half a dozen, may well be called the *majority* of the *property* and of the *Parliament* of Ireland: and theſe, together with His GRACIOUS MAJESTY, the FATHER and the FRIEND of his PEOPLE, are the *friends* and *adviſers* of this Union. With ſuch authority and ſupport as this, and with all the proofs which we have brought forward upon this queſtion, we caution you that your *farmers* may not be forced to *beg*, *rob*, or *leave the country*; that your *manufacturers* may not *periſh*; that your *merchants* may not become *bankrupt*; that your *ſhopkeepers* may not *break* and *ſtarve*—we *caution* you as you love your religion and your country, and as your wives and children are dear to you, to *beware* of being made *tools* by ſuch men *againſt an Union*, as would for their *own purpoſes* dupe and deceive you into *ruin*. We *caution* alſo the Cabinet of Great Britain, as they value the fate of Ireland, not to be deceived by the clamours or complaints of thoſe men.

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APPENDIX.

TABLE A.

ESTIMATE OF THE LOSSES SUSTAINED BY EUROPE THROUGH THE MEANS OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

[*The Losses of Men and the Expenses of War are not included here; as England alone has spent many Million Pounds Sterling.*]

	Livres.	£. Sterling.
Total amount of requisitions and contributions, as specified — —	3,582,267,681	143,290,707
Loss of the Dutch by the bankruptcies of the Great Nation — —	1,920,000,000	76,800,000
Unvalued property; as plate of the churches, maintenance of the armies, palaces, houses, national domains, property of the emigrants in the conquered countries, fortifications, ceded territories, their regular revenues, &c. &c. —	20,000,000,000	800,000,000
Enormous amount of assignats, mandats, &c. poured out amongst mankind, whereby millions of credulous people were deceived.—Fifty milliards of assignats; whereof (including what was lost by foreigners in the public funds) one-third may be taken in calculation —	16,666,666,666	666,666,667
A great number of large and small American vessels, taken without a declaration of war, by piracy, which amount in number to more than one thousand; and valuing each with its cargo at only one thousand pounds, the amount is —	25,000,000	1,000,000
A number of vessels taken from the other neutral powers together —	100,000,000	4,000,000
N. B. We do not reckon the losses of Great Britain and Ireland in commercial vessels, as the French have lost more than their amount in ships of war.		
Total loss of Europe in money, goods, and territory * — —	42,293,934,347	1,691,757,374

* Rome, October 8, 1798.—A *New Forced Loan* of 600 000 Piastres was levied by the *New Government*: which is about three millions of Livres, or 125,000l. sterling.

Should any one find this calculation over-rated, he will please to consider, that all the countries conquered by the French Nation were the most rich, populous, industrious, and fruitful parts of the Continent, and that this turbulent Republic has at present nearly a third part of Europe under her command. She has so rounded and fortified herself, that she is enabled to keep all nations in a state of perpetual agitation.

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TABLE B.

General Trade of Scotland.

Year.	Imports. £.	s.	d.	Exports. £.	s.	d.
1697	91,302	16	10	73,203	6	0
1699	86,309	19	1	66,303	15	8
1701	73,988	18	11	56,802	2	2
1702	71,428	18	11	58,688	2	2
1703	76,448	8	3	57,338	15	5
1704	54,379	16	8	87,536	9	8
1705	57,902	12	0	50,035	13	2
1706	50,309	0	10	60,313	3	7
1707	6,733	1	8	47,779	0	1

Thus then ſtands the account of the laſt memorable year:

	£.	s.	d.
Imports, - -	6,733	1	8
Exports, - -	47,779	0	1
	£. 54,512	1	9

Whereas now the ſingle town of Paiſley, ſends to Leipſic fair, about nearly eight times that amount; and the trade of Scotland, as before ſtated, produced in 1796, above fifty times that amount. Such is Union! But let men examine alſo, whereto is the trade of Ireland; is it not almoſt ſolely to Great Britain? And whereto is the trade of Scotland, at this moment?——To all the univerſe. Union has preſented her with the key of Britiſh Commerce, and opened for her the harbours of the globe. So will union of intereſts, capital, and ſkill, operate in favour of Ireland.

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TABLE C.

An account of the Commerce with thoſe places whereto Scotland has traded, during one year, at various periods, ſince the Union.

Places.	*Year.*	*Imports.*	*Exports.*	*Total.*
Denmark & Norway	1765	£ 34,204	£ 47,502	£ 81,706
Sweden	1792	49,063	5,261	54,324
Ruſſia	1796	465,243	43,611	508,854
Poland	1784	57,739	2,294	60,033
Pruſſia	1795	69,617	3,808	73,425
Germany	1796	89,703	80,225	169,928
Holland	1744	110,015	421,617	531,632
Flanders	1782	92,300	65,559	157,859
France	1772	3,313	472,175	475,488
Portugal	1796	59,934	5,507	65,441
Madeira	1791	2,875	14,474	17,349
Spain	1774	10,785	67,478	78,263
Canaries	1766	2,620	437	3,057
Minorca	1770	—	2,059	12,707
Majorca	1778	648	—	
Gibraltar	1795	43	5,398	5,381
Italy	1791	19,777	15,095	34,772
Ireland	1790	370,449	328,230	698,689
Iſle of Man	1795	1,044	6,228	7,332
Alderney	1772	—	—	20
Jerſey	1782	1,230	—	1,230
Greenland	1787	—	—	34,520
New England	1765	29,754	17,404	47,158
New York	1796	21,059	171,502	192,561
Penſylvania	1771	20,048	18,725	38,773

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Places.	*Year.*	*Imports.*	*Exports.*	*Total.*
Maryland & Virginia	1771	548,528	303,400	851,928
North & S. Carolina	1789	43,071	41,667	84,738
Georgia	1780	—	28,092	—
Newfoundland	1793	1,352	23,262	24,614
Canada	1794	2,240	35,493	37,733
Nova Scotia	1797	1,457	126,136	127,593
Iſland, St. John's	1770	1,208	562	1,770
Bermudahs	1783	3,861	9,089	12,950
Bahamas	1795	20,005	16,959	36,964
Turk's Iſland	1769	812	—	—
Florida	1779	—	104,219	
Honduras Bay	1774	29,444	108	29,552
Antigua	1770	65,660	8,141	73,801
Barbadoes	1791	64,434	22,015	86,449
Dominica	1793	3,817	6,112	9,929
Grenada	1792	111,518	120,372	234,890
Jamaica	1794	86,034	304,283	390,317
Montſerrat	1764	8,344	1,800	10,144
Nevis	1793	17,610	—	—
St. Kitt's	1780	45,049	99,030	144,079
St. Vincent	1792	38,206	5,989	44,195
Tortola	1782	32,097	24,098	56,195
Tobago	1796	35,211	7,895	43,106
St. Lucia	1782	16,606	54,778	71,384
St. Cruze	1775	19,847	—	—
Guadaloupe	1763	9,924	3,190	13,114
Cuba	1779	25,896	—	—
St. Euſtatia	1781	22,221	—	—
Martinico	1794	18,039	87,45	26,784
Hiſpaniola	1779	7,448	—	—
St. Martin	1790	1,315	—	—

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Places.	*Year.*	*Imports.*	*Exports.*	*Total.*
St. Thomas	1792	17,651	—	—
Curoſſoa & Demerara	1792	10,318	—	—
America, in general	1760	475,704	340,540	816,244
Africa	1766	—	4,088	—
Trinidada	1796	17,259	8,685	25,944

Let Ireland examine well this detail of Commercial intercourſe. Let the aggregate amount of this Commerce, during one year at each place, be duly conſidered. Theſe are proofs which bring home conviction upon facts, and diſplay through the incontrovertible evidence of figures, what have been the reſults of Union to Scotland. Since, therefore, ſuch are the conſequences to a country, without thoſe natural capabilities from local advantages, or from animal, mineral, and vegetable reſources; what has not Ireland ſolid reaſon to expect, being ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed with ſuch extraordinary ſuperiorities, if once enjoying an equality of civil and political capacities? Madneſs, indeed, and not ſimple prejudice muſt rule the hour—did not ſome mental contagion prevail, of which the great philoſopher Bacon ſpeaks, men could not pauſe a moment upon the meaſure of an Union. In our conſcience, we think that thoſe who oppoſe it, are downright enemies to Ireland; they are enemies to its ſuffering cottagers, its ſtarving poor, its miſerable manufacturers: they are enemies to the landholder and the merchant: they are enemies to their torn and bleeding country, and to themſelves, —though not intentionally to any of theſe. But we do believe them to be eventually, and radically, overthrowing the throne and the altars of their country.

Comparative View of Scotland before and ſince the Union, on Shipping, Trade, Revenues, and Populations

(Taken from Mr. Dundas's Speech, page 20.)

SHIPPING.	In 1692	8,618	Tons
	1792	162,274	
In Leith	1692	1,702	
do.	1796	18,468	

LINEN TRADE.	1700	1,000,000	Yards
	1796	23,000,000	

REVENUES.	Cuſtoms at the Union	£ 34,000
	In 1798	284,577
	Exciſe at the Union	33,500
	In 1798	851,775

POPULATION.	In 1755	1,265,000	
	1795	15,34,000	
In Glaſgow, from the years,	1701	to 1710	14,790
		In 1798	77,042

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TABLE D.

Progreſſion of the Commerce of Ireland with Great Britain, during a Century.

TOTAL AMOUNT.

	Years.	£.	*s.*	*d.*	
1697	-	475,175	12	2	Before Independance, or free Trade
1730	-	826,855	3	9	
1763	-	2,706,352	8	6	
1777	-	3,854,775	5	2	
1782	-	3,415,472	7	6	After do.
1784	-	3,412,553	7	6	
1789	-	4,719,500	9	8	Since the preſent Adminiſtration
1792	-	4,999,599	19	11	
1794	-	5,230,376	11	1	
1796	-	5,661,949	16	8	

The trade of Ireland has increaſed, in one century, about fifteen fold. From 1777, which was Two years before the date of Iriſh Independence, to 1784, being a term of ſeven years, and which comes down *lower* than the date of her Independence and Free-Trade, her commerce did *not* increaſe. But, its rapid augmentation *ſince* 1784 has ariſen from another cauſe, totally diſtinct from her Independence or Free Trade, and which the latter would have never procured, more than the former. That cauſe was the wonderful growing commerce of Britain, ſince 1784, which we ſhall ſhew hereafter. Ireland has proſpered with the proſperity of Great Britain, and appears bright by a reflected light—but which ſo dazzles the weak-ſighted, that they miſtake its original and true ſource. It is not Iriſh Independence, however: it is not her Free Trade—make her as free as ſhe came out of chaos, cut aſunder every filament of connexion—Where will then

then be her millions of Trade? What will ſhe then find in her theoretic independence or practical freedom? Short ſighted, indeed, are thoſe men, who do not diſtinguiſh the true ſource of Ireland's aggrandiſement—It is Britiſh connexion—it is Britiſh proſperity, under whoſe beams Ireland has thriven. We may view further proofs of her proſperity under a connexion, which no other nation on the Globe could afford her, by the progreſſive increaſe of her Shipping, during the laſt century.

In 1698	-	120,728 tons
—1745	-	181,805 Do. the middle ſpace.
—1793	-	678,530 Do.

Thus we ſee that the increaſe in the firſt half is about Sixty-thouſand Tons; whereas, in the last half, t is about 500,000 tons. And here we ſhould obierve alſo, that this extraordinary increaſe dates itſelf, from the increaſe of Britiſh Trade ſince 1784.

f It appears above, that the Tonnage was

In 1698	-	120,728 tons.
— 1783	-	413,827 ——
— 1793	-	678,530 ——

Conſequently the increaſe ſince 1783, approaches nearly, during the laſt ten years, to the increaſe, during the whole preceding period of the century. And that this did by no means whatever ariſe from Independence, or the Free Trade of Ireland, we have incontrovertibly ſhewn before, by proofs drawn from the Linen trade of Great Britain with Ireland and other countries, and to which we refer.

It appears alſo, from the univerſal trade of Britain, that Ireland has, ſince her Free Trade, kept but a *general* pace of increaſe with other countries, and therefore, that ſhe has no *particular* cauſe in herſelf for that increaſe; but that it exiſts ſolely and altogether, in the unparallelled augmentation of *Britiſh* commerce ſince that period. We ſhall refer, for further proof to the ſcale of Britiſh commerce, whereby Ireland will perceive, that the barometer of Iriſh proſperity is Britiſh proſperity.

TABLE E.

Comparative Sketch of the Commerce and of Great Britain, during a Century.

In the year 1697.

	£.	s.	d.
Imports,	3,482,586	10	5
Exports,	3,525,906	8	11
Total	7,008,492	19	4

In the year 1783.

	£.	s.	d.
Imports,	13,122,235		
Exports,	14,681,494		
Total	27,803,729		

Thus it appears, that the *increaſe* of Commerce, from before the cloſe of the laſt century, to the year of the commencement of the preſent adminiſtration, amounted to about, we may ſay, *twenty millions* and an half. Now let us ſee, what is the Commerce at this day.

In the year 1798.

	£.
Imports,	25,654,000
Exports,	33,800,000
Total £.	59,454,000

Hence, therefore, it is manifeſt, beyond the poſſibility of doubt or contradiction, that the Commerce of Great Britain has increaſed, ſince the year 1783, to the amount of above Twenty-one millions and an half: that is, ſince the commencement of the preſent adminiſtration, Engliſh commerce has INCREASED

a *million more* than in the whole *preceding* period of the century.

The amount of the Commerce of 1798, is ſtated above according to the *official* value; but the REAL value as *given in* and *paid for*, on account of convoy, by the Merchants, is as follows:

Imports 46,963,230 *l.*
Exports 48,000,056 *l.*

Commerce of 1798, £. 94,963,

☞ The benefit of this unparallelled Commerce, and a participation of all its happy effects upon National Opulence, Agriculture, and Manufactures, are now open to Ireland by Union.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page 21 *Line* 17 after *extended*, read—(See Tables *D* and *E*.)

— 55 — 17 after *industry*, read—(See Tables *B* and *C*.)

— 55 — 25 for *natural*, read *national*.

Houses of the Oireachtas