SUBSTANCE

OF

Lord Auckland's Speech,

&c. &c.

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No. 15

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OF THE

SPEECH

OF

LORD AUCKLAND,

IN THE HOUSE OF PEERS,

APRIL 11, 1799,

ON THE PROPOSED

ADDRESS TO HIS MAJESTY,

RESPECTING THE

RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY

THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT,

AS THE

BASIS OF AN UNION

BETWEEN

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

LONDON:

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LORD GRENVILLE having moved the following Addreſs to HIS MAJESTY, *viz.*

" WE, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects,
" the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament
" aſſembled, humbly beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty,
" that We have proceeded with the utmoſt attention to
" the conſideration of the important objects recom-
" mended to Us in your Majeſty's Meſſage, reſpecting
" the connection between this Country and Ireland.

" We entertain a firm perſuaſion that a complete and
" entire Union between Great Britain and Ireland,
" founded on equal and liberal principles, on the
" ſimilarity of Laws, Conſtitution, and Government,
" and on a ſenſe of mutual intereſts and affections,
" by promoting the ſecurity, wealth, and commerce,

Houses of the Oireachtas

" of the reſpective Kingdoms, and by allaying the " diſtractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ire- " land, muſt afford freſh means of oppoſing at all times " an effectual reſiſtance to the deſtructive projects of " our foreign and domeſtic enemies, and muſt tend to " confirm and augment the ſtability, power, and re- " ſources of the Empire.

" Impreſſed with theſe conſiderations, We feel it our " duty humbly to lay before your Majeſty ſuch Propo- " ſitions as appear to Us beſt calculated to form the " baſis of ſuch a ſettlement, leaving it to your Ma- " jeſty's wiſdom, at ſuch time and in ſuch manner as " your Majeſty, in your parental ſolicitude for the " happineſs of your People, ſhall judge fit, to commu- " nicate theſe propoſitions to your Parliament of Ire- " land, with whom we ſhall be at all times ready to " concur in all ſuch meaſures as may be found moſt " conducive to the accompliſhment of this great and " ſalutary work. And We truſt that, after full and " mature conſideration, ſuch a ſettlement may be " framed and eſtabliſhed by the deliberative conſent " of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, as may be " conformable to the ſentiments, wiſhes, and real in- " tereſts of your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Great " Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inſeparably " in the full enjoyment of the bleſſings of our free and " invaluable Conſtitution, in the ſupport of the honour " and dignity of your Majeſty's Crown, and in the " preſervation and advancement of the welfare and " proſperity of the whole Britiſh Empire :"—

LORD AUCKLAND *roſe and ſpoke as follows :*

My Lords,

I riſe with earneſtneſs, and with peculiar ſatisfaction, to give my ſupport to an Addreſs to the revered Sovereign of the two Kingdoms, for the purpoſe of communicating our reſolutions to the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

This meaſure will hold out to the Iriſh Nation a moſt ſolemn pledge of the liberality, affection, and wiſdom, of the Britiſh Parliament; and will explicitly record the motives and principles by which we are guided in our endeavour to conſolidate the Legiſlatures and unite the intereſts of Great Britain and of Ireland.

I feel no regret, my Lords, that I have waited in ſilence to the cloſe of our proceeding. I willingly repoſed myſelf on the ſuperior abilities of others, for the diſcuſſion and explanation of the leading and general topics. It may ſtill, however, be poſſible to throw new lights upon a queſtion which involves the future government and well-being of the greateſt empire now exiſting. Such a ſubject is inexhauſt-

Houses of the Oireachtas

ible. The portion of it which I now propoſe to offer to your attention, is dry and of much detail. I undertake it only from a ſenſe of duty; and it is an encouragement to me to think that our debates are contributing to the removal of many ill-founded notions and miſrepreſentations, which were prevalent in the Siſter Kingdom.

Few indeed are thoſe who now deny the neceſſity of ſome great change being made in the ſyſtem of Iriſh Government; and I do not believe that any Noble Lord will maintain, as an unqualified propoſition, that the Union of the two Kingdoms, accompliſhed on grounds ſatisfactory to each, would not promote the tranquillity, civilization, and proſperity, of Ireland, and eventually the ſtrength and ſecurity of Great Britain, and of the Britiſh Empire.

I aſſume accordingly, that an Union is deſirable, if it can be reconciled to the opinions and goodwill of both the contracting parties.

The time was, my Lords, when the objections would have originated in this Kingdom;

and we cannot wonder that our anceſtors ſeemed * to wiſh to avoid a meaſure, the immediate and moſt obvious benefits of which were always in favour of Ireland. It is now, however, well underſtood, that national wealth may be ſhared and extended, without leſſening the proſperity of the country which gives the participation; and the good ſenſe and enlightened liberality of our countrymen would at preſent induce them to rely cheerfully and confidently on their Parliament, both for the expediency of an Union and for the adjuſtment of the conditions.

But the conſent and co-operation of Ireland are ſtill wanting. Ireland, my Lords, muſt form her own deciſion; ſhe muſt decide for herſelf, through the medium of the deliberate wiſdom of her Parliament.

I am aware, and I admit, that the propoſition, at its firſt opening, has not had the apparent aſſent of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. A ſmall majority of the members who were pre-

* See the Appendix, No. 1.

ſent declined the conſideration of the meaſure, and ſome individuals refuſed even to know what it was. I will not attribute ſuch a conduct to intereſted views, to falſe alarms, to fabricated clamour, to unthinking precipitancy, or to a falſe punctilio and a miſtaken ſenſe of national pride.—I wiſh to avoid, and I diſclaim, every ſentiment and every expreſſion that may be harſh or invidious: but I muſt be permitted to ſay, and I ſay it with ſatisfaction, that I know enough of the theatre of action, and of the principal actors upon that theatre, to do them the juſtice to believe, that their reſiſtance will give way to the commanding voice of reaſon and of truth. Let it be ſhewn by our diſpaſſionate deliberations, that the Union of the two Countries will be attended with many benefits to Ireland; let it be recorded that we are diſpoſed to confer thoſe benefits to the utmoſt extent compatible with our own eſſential intereſts. Let this be done:—The calm hour of reflection will convince Ireland that the objections ſo haſtily urged on her part are unſound and fallacious.

I do not think it neceſſary, my Lords, to attempt the examination of thoſe objections. They have been amply confuted both in this Country and in Ireland. The unconſtitutional doctrine which denies the competency of Parliament to effect an Union, and to operate what (by an inference falſely conceived and idly expreſſed) is called " its own extinction," was exploded even in the beginning of this century. It has been revived in the ſchools of modern democracy by the admirers of the ſovereignty of the people, and accordingly has the ſtrongeſt claims to contempt and rejection.

I propoſe, however, before I proceed to the commercial conſiderations, to examine the nature of that independence, which, as ſome adviſers of the people of Dublin aſſert, will be ſubverted and deſtroyed by the conſolidation of the two Legiſlatures. I think it important to aſcertain the value of what Ireland is told ſhe will loſe, before I proceed to appreciate what it is that ſhe will gain.

House of the Oireachtas

I recognize that independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature, abſtractedly conſidered, as ſecured by the arrangement of 1782; but however perfect the independence may be in principle, it muſt at all times and in the nature of things be mutilated, and moſt imperfect in practice. We cannot ſhut our eyes againſt the truths preſented by the map of Europe, and by the notoriety of the relative, ſituation, ſize, and population, of the two Iſlands.

What then in point of fact is the independence of a country which has no means of defence, or ſecurity, or ſelf-preſervation, but through the aid and protection of its more powerful neighbour?

If two countries ſo circumſtanced take adverſe lines of conduct, a ſtruggle muſt enſue, and either the weaker of the two muſt be overruled, or confuſion and all the evils of war muſt follow. If, on the other hand, there ſhould prevail between the two an uniform ſyſtem and uniform principles of conduct, in leading points

of common concern, the weaker muſt be preſumed to have thus far ſacrificed, virtually and habitually, its exerciſe of independent power.

Let us, my Lords, apply this dilemma to the known and principal objects of national independence!

Has Ireland, or can ſhe have, the power of negociating, controuling, or even of rejecting treaties, notwithſtanding that thoſe treaties may involve the moſt eſſential intereſts of the Britiſh empire, of which ſhe forms a part? Has ſhe the means of protecting her own commerce, or of eſtabliſhing colonies, or of making and holding conqueſts? Has ſhe any property, or direct concern in the acquiſitions made by the fleets and armies of the Sovereign? Has ſhe, or can ſhe have, any naval force? And is not the direction of her military force neceſſarily conformable to the opinion of Britiſh Miniſters reſponſible only to the Britiſh Parliament? Has ſhe, in ſhort, or can ſhe have, any controul whatever, or any interference, or even any concern, otherwiſe than in a viſionary and abſtract claim, re-

ſpecting the imperial tranſactions of peace and war, alliances and confederacies? Has ſhe, even in the exerciſe of legiſlation, any acceſs to the Royal ſanction, otherwiſe than through Britiſh Miniſters not amenable to her Parliament, and under the Great Seal of the Britiſh Chancellor.

But I wave all theſe conſiderations; though they ought to be ſtrong inducements to Ireland not merely to accede to the propoſed Union, but to ſeek and ſolicit it. I wave them all, and will ſuppoſe Ireland to have every advantage poſſeſſed by Great Britain, and in an equal degree. I will ſuppoſe the two Iſlands to be ſimilar, in ſize and population; in wealth, cultivation, and commerce; in conqueſts and in colonies; and to be placed upon the globe within a few leagues of each other. Still however with one executive power; and with ſeparate and independent legiſlatures.

Will any individual of ſound mind aſſert, that the entire Union of two countries ſuch as I have deſcribed would be degrading or detrimental to either?

And by what line of reaſoning ſhall a different inference be drawn when the two countries, thus nearly adjoining, happen to be utterly unequal in ſize and in force? I contend that the inferior of the two, ſo ſituated, never can retain its connection and at the ſame time poſſeſs either real independence or an uncontrouled and ſafe proſperity, otherwiſe than by uniting with its more powerful neighbour; and that its wiſh for Union ought to increaſe in proportion to its inferiority in force.

I might reſt this aſſertion on the experience of Ireland herſelf. For is it not true, that whilſt Great Britain has gradually advanced in civilization of manners, and in every art, ſcience, and improvement, which can give happineſs, honour, and ſecurity, to nations and to individuals; Ireland poſſeſſing the ſame climate, a fruitful ſoil, and excellent ports, and a numerous people, to whom the Common Parent of all gave great acuteneſs and ingenuity, has nevertheleſs been at all times involved in comparative diſorder, poverty, turbulence, and wretchedneſs? I might add, without exaggeration, that in the

600 years ſince the reign of Henry II. there has been more unhappineſs in Ireland, than in any other civilized nation, not actually under the viſitation of peſtilence, or of internal war. And all theſe evils may be traced to the disjointed and jarring action of two unequal powers, cloſely adjacent to each other, poſſeſſing the ſame intereſts and ſubject to the ſame Crown, but with ſeparate legiſlatures.

But why ſhould I confine myſelf to times in which a perſecuting policy was avowedly exerciſed againſt Ireland, upon principles of commercial jealouſy? Let us now look to a period within the memory of moſt of us; the period immediately previous to the attainment of what Ireland was pleaſed to call a free trade and a free conſtitution.

Many of your Lordſhips were Members of this Houſe, whilſt the Britiſh Parliament ſtill continued to aſſert and to exerciſe the claim to make laws for Ireland, as "being ſubject to "the imperial Crown of Great Britain." Ireland at that time held the functions of legiſlation

more in ceremony than in ſubſtance. Her laws originated in the Privy Councils of the two kingdoms, and were prepared and approved by the Engliſh Attorney-General. And even when a law had paſſed through the Iriſh Parliament, it was ſtill liable to be corrected, changed, or ſuppreſſed, by the Britiſh Cabinet.

Ireland was then alſo as ſubordinate in judicature as in legiſlation. We made her laws, and we interpreted them. Appeals from the deciſions of her judges were to the Courts of Weſtminſter and to this Houſe. It may alſo be recollected, that at the time to which I refer, the hereditary revenue of Ireland was almoſt ſufficient for the ſupport of Government; and the Iriſh army was eſtabliſhed under the Britiſh Mutiny-Bill; and afterwards under a Mutiny-Bill paſſed in Ireland, but made perpetual.

I was not ſorry that ſuch a ſyſtem ſhould ceaſe. It certainly did not allow to Ireland more than the name of the Britiſh Conſtitution, or more than the ſemblance and mockery of a free government.

But, my Lords, I was not ſo ſhort-ſighted as to perſuade myſelf that, becauſe the Iriſh freedom, as it was called, took place, Iriſh proſperity would be the conſequence, unleſs much more could be done.

The law of Poynings, degrading and galling as it might be, nevertheleſs, united the Laws and Conſtitution of the two kingdoms. And the appellant juriſdiction of this Houſe, juſtly and greatly reſpected by the Iriſh themſelves, aſſimilated their juriſprudence to ours. When thoſe links of connection were broken, it was evident that Ireland muſt ſoon ſuffer diſadvantages much greater than thoſe which had ſo long depreſſed her. Neither proſperity, nor tranquillity, nor ſafety were to be expected from a government founded in the pretenſions of a ſmall part of the community to monopolize the repreſentation, patronage, and reſources of the whole. The inſufficiency of ſuch a ſyſtem had been felt and lamented for a century, even whilſt it was controuled, directed, and ſupported by the Proteſtant Parliament of this Proteſtant kingdom. Now that it was ceaſing to be connected with that

Parliament, it became more than ever unſatisfactory to the bulk of the Iriſh nation, and utterly incompetent and unſafe with reſpect to the general intereſts of the Britiſh empire.

And here, my Lords, it may add ſome little weight to my reaſonings, if I may be permitted to explain that I have at all times endeavoured to promote the commercial proſperity and conſtitutional freedom of Ireland; and that what I am now going to ſtate is the reſult, not of new motives, but of long meditation, and of opinions repeatedly avowed. In doing this, I muſt neceſſarily make a ſhort reference to paſt tranſactions; but that reference will be found connected, in all its parts, with the buſineſs now before us.

So early as in 1779, I ſtated and publiſhed * the expediency of that enlarged ſyſtem of commerce which was then demanded by Ireland, and which was granted by us a few months afterwards. In 1780, I went to Ireland as Chief Secretary in a Vice-Royalty, which at its cloſe

* Fourth Letter to the Earl of Carliſle.

(in 1782) received, from the Iriſh Parliament, ſtrong aſſurances * of national gratitude and reſpect. In the ſeſſion of 1781, I was ſpecially named, with the Recorder of Dublin, to be of the Committee for the Bill which extended to Ireland the writ of Habeas Corpus by an Iriſh law. In the ſame ſeſſion, I promoted the Bill for making the Iriſh Judges independent. I then, alſo, framed the whole inſtitution of the Bank of Ireland, and introduced the Act which eſtabliſhed it.

In 1782, I was the firſt to propoſe, in the Britiſh Parliament, the repeal of the Statute, 6 Geo. I. which aſſerted the right to bind Ireland by Britiſh laws. When I made the propoſition, it was treated, by ſome perſons who now hear me, as violent and precipitate, and as dictated by a party animoſity and peeviſhneſs, which in truth I never felt. That incident is become matter of hiſtory; and I may now ſay, without ſcruple, that my conduct was governed by what I conceived to be a juſt ſenſe of miniſ-

* See Appendix, No. 2.

terial and perſonal engagements. The repeal of our declaratory ſtatute had long been thought deſirable by the Government and Vice-Royalty under which I was ſerving, and my endeavour to procure that repeal had been the only ſtipulation made with me, by ſome leading perſons, as the honourable price of their ſupport. I allude to individuals who now hold very high ſituations in Ireland, and with whom I have ever ſince lived in full confidence and cordial friendſhip.

It is, my Lords, in moſt caſes, objectionable, to refer to the printed ſtatements of Parliamentary debates. Whatever ability or fairneſs may be employed by the reporter, we know that ſuch ſtatements are generally erroneous;—ſtill, however, it may happen that the ſubſtance and accuracy of particular paſſages may be verified (as far as human evidence can go) by the context and by other circumſtances. Subject to this caution, I ſolicit your Lordſhips' attention to the ſentiments attributed to me at the epoch to which I am alluding. It was in January, 1783. A noble Viſcount, then in the

Houſe of Commons, propoſed * a Bill " for re-
" moving all doubts concerning the excluſive
" rights in the Parliament and Courts of Ire-
" land in matters of legiſlation and judicature."

" Mr. Eden ſtated and avowed his opinion,
" that it was for the intereſt of an empire that
" a ſupremacy of legiſlation, over all its conſti-
" tuent parts, ſhould reſide within the metropolis
" of the empire." — " He reminded Mr. Fox,
" that he (Mr. Eden) had conſented to the abo-
" lition of the appellant juriſdiction, and to the
" alteration of Poyning's law, in the confidence
" only of meaſures being taken, purſuant to the
" reſolutions and addreſs, to eſtabliſh the con-
" nection of the two Kingdoms on a firm and
" permanent baſis." — " He had relied on a
" treaty being opened, between the two Parlia-
" ments, for the purpoſes of arranging not only
" commercial points, but all the great queſtions
" involved in the future events of peace and
" war, foreign alliances, commercial treaties,
" limitation of armies, building and ſupport of

* Debrett's Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. ix. p. 142, 143, 153.

" navies, proportionable ſupplies, with the whole
" immenſe detail under each of thoſe heads.
" He ſhould then, and not till then, think that
" the connection was eſtabliſhed. And when
" the two Kingdoms had thus realized *one con-*
" *ſtitution*, one commerce, one king, one enemy,
" and one fate, it would become impoſſible for
" any man to wiſh the proſperity of the one
" country more ardently and more earneſtly
" than the proſperity of the other."

My Lords, the import of thoſe expreſſions certainly went to the full extent of Union. — I may appeal to what paſſed, two years afterwards, on the occaſion of the Iriſh Propoſitions. It happened to me to take a conſiderable ſhare in the debates of that ſeſſion, and to inſiſt that one of two lines, reſpecting our commerce with Ireland, was proper to be adopted — either, that arrangements between the two countries ſhould be ſettled by negotiation and treaty, as between two independent nations, giving equivalents for advantages interchanged; or, that an union of commerce, policy, and legiſlation, ſhould take place. Many reſpectable and moſt intelligent

manufacturers concurred in thoſe opinions, which were ſtrongly urged in their addreſſes to Parliament. — "We are fully convinced (ſaid "the Mancheſter Petition) that no ſyſtem but "what preſcribes a participation of burdens as "well as of advantages can be fair, equitable, "or permanent; and, therefore, that a com-"plete Union is the beſt means of eſtabliſhing "harmony and good will between the two "nations."

The General Chamber of Britiſh Manufacturers, publiſhed on the 18th May, 1785, ſome objections to the amended Iriſh Reſolutions; when, after ſtating the expediency of "becom-"ing one people under one parliament," they added, that "a real Union with Ireland, under "one legiſlature, would take away every diffi-"culty."

Theſe ſuggeſtions were the reſult of plain ſenſe, and ſtrongly applicable to the queſtions then under diſcuſſion. I think them equally applicable to the actual predicament of the two countries.

It became a general opinion that uniformity of law muſt accompany the communication of permanent advantages; and thoſe who had introduced the Commercial Propoſitions, admitted the doctrine, with the wiſdom and liberality which has ſo long diſtinguiſhed their conduct. The fourth article was accordingly introduced as an amendment, expreſſly ſtating, that "the "laws for trade and navigation ſhould be the "ſame in Great Britain and in Ireland." The Iriſh Parliament in 1780, on being admitted to a direct trade with our Colonies, had already recognized the ſame principle, and ſtill act under it; but in 1785, ſuch a condition was not reconcileable to the new notions of liberty. The preſent Speaker of Ireland combated thoſe new notions with much eloquence, ingenuity, and force, in a ſpeech which would derive great credit from the known ability and accuracy of the reporter, even if the report had not always been underſtood in this inſtance to be faithful and authentic.* Some of Mr. Grattan's expreſſions on that occaſion deſerve to be recollected. He oppoſed the

* Sketch of the Debate of Auguſt 12, 1785, by W. Woodfall, p. 105 to p. 112.

Propoſitions:—" We are told (ſaid he) that the " laws reſpecting commerce and navigation " ſhould be ſimilar; and it is *inferred*, that Ire- " land ſhould ſubſcribe the laws of England on " thoſe ſubjects."—" It is an Union, an inci- " pient and a creeping Union; a virtual Union, " eſtabliſhing one will in the general concerns " of commerce and navigation, and repoſing " that will in the Parliament of Great Britain; " an Union, where our Parliament preſerves its " exiſtence after it has loſt its authority." " I " conſider myſelf as oppoſing an Union *in* " *limine*, and that argument for Union which " makes ſimilarity of law and community of " intereſt a pretence for extinction of conſtitu- " tion."*—In this inſtance I can agree with Mr. Grattan, and the opinion is well and ably expreſſed. A commercial ſyſtem ſo ſettled would certainly imply an equality of commerce purchaſed by an inequality of conſtitution. Similarity of law in the two countries can only be ſecured, either by virtual Union, in which the Legiſlature of the one country muſt be under-

* Sketch of the Debate of Auguſt 12, 1785, by W. Woodfall, p. 31.

ſtood to controul and ſupercede the Legiſlature of the other; or by the incorporating Union and blending of the two Legiſlatures, ſo as to place on an equal baſis the liberties of both countries. And yet this ſimilarity of law is indiſpenſible in communicating to Ireland a full and permanent commerce, which alone can give to her people, employment, capital, opulence, and induſtry.

Such, my Lords, were the impreſſions and reaſonings which determined me to call for the accounts now under our view. And having fully conſidered them, I venture to repeat, what I ſaid in moving for them, that the commercial intereſts exhibited and proved in theſe papers will have more effect, than any other conſideration, in finally accompliſhing the Union of the two kingdoms.

It would, my Lords, be grating to the feelings of us all, to ſtate to Ireland, that ſhe is chained down, though by her own prejudices, to a weak and inefficient independence, ſubject to inceſſant colliſions, and inſeparable from mis-

fortune and humiliation:—I ſhould think it ungenerous to make ſuch a ſtatement, if it were not in my power to preſent to her at the ſame time a real and permanent independence, accompanied by a full participation of Britiſh opulence, Britiſh greatneſs, and Britiſh freedom, with its beſt companion, Britiſh ſecurity.

A nation with plain and undiſguiſed truths of this magnitude before her eyes, cannot long be influenced by miſrepreſentations, or by the partial intereſts of a few, who may ſtruggle to retain an aſcendency incompetent and irreconcileable to the happineſs of the whole.

I ſhall not advert more particularly to the Iriſh metropolis, though it would be eaſy to ſhew that Dublin will be greatly advanced in employment, population, rents, and wealth, by the effect of the propoſed meaſure. The produce of the Income-Tax will aſcertain, that the opulence of our own metropolis depends in a ſmall proportion on the occaſional reſidence of the members of the Legiſlature; that opulence is chiefly derived from the activity and energy of

our commercial credit and capitals, which can never be communicated to the Sifter Kingdom otherwiſe than by a Legiſlative Union. But I wiſh to ſpeak of Ireland in general. The intereſts of her merchants and manufacturers, and of the owners and occupiers of land, will beſt be underſtood by a ſhort analyſis of the printed accounts to which I now ſolicit your Lordſhips particular attention.

It is impoſſible, my Lords, to open and contemplate theſe papers without exultation of mind, at ſo brilliant an exhibition of the increaſing proſperity of Great Britain, and of her unexampled pre-eminence among nations. We ſee her, miſtreſs of the trade of the world, and poſſeſſing a navy amply adequate to the protection of ſuch a trade. We ſaw without ſurprize the late avowal of our enemy, that ſhe has not one merchant veſſel upon the ſea.

Theſe papers will give to your Lordſhips, what has never before been attempted, the true valuation of our whole commerce according to current prices and to other documents, the ac-

curacy of which is inconteſtable. It has been a taſk of great labour and difficulty, and could not have been completed but by the intelligent exertions and well tried accuracy and ability of the preſent Inſpector-General.

It appears, accordingly, that the total value of our imports and exports in the year 1798 * was ninety-five millions ſterling ;—above twenty-two millions higher than the average value of the four laſt years of peace.

This aſtoniſhing amount will be placed beyond all ſuſpicion of exaggeration, when I remark, that the true value of the imports, amounting to 46,963,000l. has been obtained from a ſtrict enquiry into the prices current, as well as from the duties payable at a ſpecific rate, in proportion to the true value of each article, which value has been adjuſted by the officer with the importers and dealers. The valuation of the exports, amounting to above forty-eight millions, has been aſcertained in a manner nearly

* See Appendix, No. 3.

ſimilar; and it is not to be preſumed, that however undoubted the integrity of the merchants may be, they have paid *ad valorem* duties beyond the true eſtimate; and certainly the total, which already much exceeds all our prior calculations, might fairly be carried to above one hundred millions ſterling.

If it ſhould occur to any Noble Lord, that the apparent balance of our trade, being only one million, is leſs than might be ſuppoſed, I beg leave to remark, that in order to arrive at the true balance, we muſt recollect, that for a great part of the imports from our Eaſt and Weſt India ſettlements, and alſo from the fiſheries, no price whatever is remitted beyond what is neceſſary to carry forwards and to maintain the cultivation and ſupply of thoſe ſettlements and fiſheries. A great addition muſt therefore be made to the favourable balance, which, probably, is little ſhort of eight or ten millions. Some reſpectable calculations go much higher. It is, however, ſufficient to know and to be convinced, that the balance, whether

more or leſs, is as high as the real and permanent intereſts of our commerce will bear.

The Britiſh manufactures exported in 1798, and which make a part of the great total of ninety-five millions, amounted to no leſs a ſum than 33,600,000l.;* being 6,477,000l. higher than the average export of our manufactures in the four laſt years of peace.

It may not be immaterial to keep in view theſe general outlines of that commerce, the unqualified participation of which we are offering to Ireland. I will now proceed to the more confined diſcuſſion of the trade between the two countries.

The annual average import into Great Britain from Ireland, during the laſt four years of peace, was about 4,900,000l.; and for the three years ending the 5th of January, 1799, it was above 5,500,000l.; being an increaſe of about 600,000l.

* See Appendix, No. 3.

Upon our intire trade with Ireland, the annual balance in her favour is above two millions; and upon the interchange of the products and manufactures of the two countries, the balance in favour of Ireland is above 3,400,000l.*

And here, my Lords, allow me to ſpecify the principal articles of our commerce with Ireland, and to examine the cauſes which give, to her, apparent advantages of great extent, and at the ſame time, under her preſent circumſtances, of little avail.

The printed ſtatements ſhew, that two-fifths of the average exports from Great Britain to Ireland, for the laſt three years, conſiſted of Eaſt Indian, Colonial, and Foreign articles. We ſent them to the amount of 1,468,000l.: we gave an intire drawback of the duties; and the revenue annually received by Ireland on this branch of our trade was about 345,000l. Britiſh money.†

* See Appendix, No. 4 and 5.

† See Appendix, No. 6.

The remaining three-fifths of the Britiſh exports to Ireland may be claſſed under the heads of Britiſh manufactures and products. The total average value of the manufactures exported to Ireland, when diſtinguiſhed from what comes under the deſcription of products, was 1,640,000l.; being about one-twentieth of our whole export of manufactures. The principal article is that of woollens, in value 686,000l.; about one-twelfth of our woollens exported. The other articles ſeparately taken are of ſmall amount, and conſiſt of cottons, cotton-yarn, wrought-iron, leather, glaſs, earthen-ware, &c.

The articles of Britiſh products exported to Ireland are eſſential to the Iriſh manufactures, ſuch as oak-bark, coals, bar-iron, hops, lead, and ſalt. The moſt important article is that of coals. Your Lordſhips ſee, that we annually ſend to Ireland above 300,000 chaldrons, ſubject to a duty of only 1s. 2d. per chaldron; at the ſame time that our coaſting trade pays 5s. 9d.; and that the duties paid in the metropolis of England amount to 9s. 3d. A revenue of 600,000l. is raiſed in this kingdom

on coals: Ireland, however, pays no more than 17,900l. for the duties on all that we ſupply to her: and an Iriſh duty is levied in Dublin of 1s. 9d. per ton, with the exemption only of ſuch coals as may be uſed to promote againſt us the rival manufactures of glaſs and refined ſugar.

Other products, ſuch as allum, bark, bar-iron, hops, lead, and ſalt, are ſubject to ſimilar remarks; they go free from this country, and pay conſiderable duties in Ireland.

The average revenue raiſed in Ireland on Britiſh products and manufactures is 194,000l.—The revenue raiſed in Great Britain on Iriſh products and manufactures is 10,850l.

I ſhall now, my Lords, proceed to examine how far the ſame liberal ſyſtem prevails reſpecting the exports from Ireland to Great Britain, and to the Britiſh ſettlements.

I admit, that on ſome articles of manufacture our protecting duties are nearly prohibitory. But I venture to aſſert, that the intire abolition

of all thoſe duties would, in the preſent relative circumſtances of Ireland, have no effect whatever. If, indeed, the two kingdoms were blended in their legiſlatures and intereſts, ſo as to eſtabliſh, between the oppoſite ſides of St. George's Channel, the ſame ſort of connection, intereſt, and intercourſe, which now ſubſiſts between the oppoſite banks of the Humber or the Thames, I willingly believe, that the gradual extenſion of Engliſh capital, and the gradual interchange of workmen, would transfer to Ireland a full participation not only in the woollen and cotton manufactures, but in many other branches of employment. The credit and capital, which are now pent up within Great Britain, would then deſcend like water to a level, and diffuſe themſelves equally over both kingdoms. There is nothing in ſuch an operation, when maturely arranged and prepared, which ought not to ſatisfy thoſe, on the one hand, who dread the removal of their wealth to a country where taxes are comparatively low; or thoſe, on the other hand, who affect to dread an increaſed taxation. The virtual and gradual equalizing of burdens, as well as of benefits,

is implied in all theſe ſtatements, and would be accompliſhed by an united, wiſe, and provident legiſlature, without any ſhock to the intereſts of either contracting party.

In the mean time, it cannot have eſcaped your Lordſhips obſervation, that the duties alluded to are on articles which we are exporting in conſiderable quantities to Ireland, ſuch as woollens, cottons, and leather manufactured. Let it alſo be remarked, that our woollens are ſubject in Ireland, on a fair average value of the whole export, to about 5½ per cent. *ad valorem*; and yet the Iriſh market takes our woollens to the amount of 686,000l. a-year.

Our cotton goods pay a duty in the Iriſh ports of 9l. 18s. 5d. per cent. *ad valorem;* and yet the value of our cottons imported into Ireland is about 70,000l, a-year.

But the inſtance of leather manufactured and tanned is ſtill more remarkable. We bring the chief raw material from Ireland, charged there with an export duty, and we prepare it and

ſend it back to Ireland, to the annual amount of 152,000l. It is ſubject to an import duty, paid there, of nearly 10 per cent. *ad valorem*. We are, nevertheleſs, able to enter into competition with Ireland even in her own market, though ſhe poſſeſſes the raw material, and though we ſupply her with tanner's bark free of all duty.

I will not detain your Lordſhips farther in the diſcuſſion of articles which, it is evident, would not be ſent to us even if all the duties were removed. I think it ſufficient to have ſhewn, that the exiſtence of thoſe duties is in effect no exception to the liberality of our general ſyſtem.

There are, however, ſome products and manufactures which Ireland is able to ſupply to a conſiderable extent.

The cattle and proviſions, furniſhed annually by Ireland to Great Britain, amount to no leſs a ſum than two millions ſterling annually. A duty too, producing about 30,000l. is charged in

Ireland on that whole export: and yet, we prohibit in time of peace the admiſſion of proviſions from other countries, and do not even permit the United States of America to ſend proviſions to our iſlands and fiſheries. I do not wiſh, at preſent, to examine the policy of theſe excluſive encouragements, nor whether it may be a detriment to our own agriculture to import Iriſh proviſions duty free. The quantity purchaſed by us is apparently large, and ſuch as at firſt ſight might ſeem difficult to be replaced, if ever the channel of ſupply ſhould be ſuddenly checked. But when it is conſidered in the ſcale of our general conſumption, its importance is much diminiſhed. I find, for inſtance, that all the beef which we take from Ireland, including what is furniſhed for our fleets, is leſs than one-third of what is annually ſold in Smithfield.*

The only other article of Iriſh products, imported by us to any conſiderable amount, is that of oats, which may be ſtated at 200,000l. ſterling.

* See Appendix, No. 7.

I now come, my Lords, to the exported manufactures of Ireland, which are nearly comprized in the ſingle article of linen. I am content to take the valuation as it is given in the papers before us (1s. 5d. per yard), though I believe it to be below the true average price. It appears, then, by the accounts on your table, that, in the laſt three years, the annual import of Iriſh linens (being thirty-ſeven millions of yards) amounted to 2,600,000l. to which may be added linen-yarn, the valuation of which was 243,000l.

If any of your Lordſhips happen to be in poſſeſſion of the accounts of the Iriſh Cuſtom-houſe, you will find that the annual export of Iriſh linens, to all the world, is there ſtated at about forty millions of yards, and that ſeven-eighths of the whole, or thirty-five millions, are taken by Great Britain and her colonies.*— Such is the quantity and proportion imported for Britiſh conſumption, free of duty, and under favour of a protecting duty equal to 25 per cent. impoſed on the linen of all other countries!—

* See Appendix, No. 8.

and whatever part of that quantity is not conſumed in England, is exported to other countries by the aid of Britiſh credit and of a Britiſh bounty.

How far this ſyſtem may be beneficial to England; whether the duties on linens from the continent, with a total exemption in favour of Ireland, have tended to increaſe the reſtraints in foreign countries upon our manufactures; and whether, if the Ruſſian and German linens were leſs diſcouraged by us, a larger demand for our woollens and cottons would not take place in return; are queſtions of great moment, which I am not now ſolicitous to diſcuſs. The beneficial effects of ſuch a ſyſtem, with reſpect to Ireland at leaſt, are not equivocal, and may be traced in the printed Report of the late Board of Trade in 1780. It appears, in that Report, that the linen manufactures of Ireland have been gradually raiſed to their preſent flouriſhing ſtate, and are ſtill riſing in proſperity, ſolely by the operation and effect of Britiſh care and encouragement. The import into Great Britain, in 1743, when the preſent ſyſtem commenced,

was 6,418,000 yards; in 1773, it was 17,876,000 yards; in 1783, 21,000,000 yards; and in 1798, 37,000,000 yards.

The export, with bounty, in 1743, was 40,900 yards; in 1773, 2,332,000 yards; and in 1798, 6,400,000 yards.

The foreign linens, in 1743, were three-fourths of our whole import; at preſent, they are only one-fourth.

But here, my Lords, I think it juſt and neceſſary to remark, that by our actual ſyſtem we are ſubjecting ourſelves to one of two diſadvantages; either to an increaſe of price equal to about 25 per cent. on the value, which falls on the conſumer; or, to a proportionate loſs of revenue: — and that the amount (being 25 per cent. on 2,600,000l.) is in either caſe 650,000l.

For, a moment's reflection will ſhew, that if the foreign linens, charged as they are with a duty of 25 per cent. can come into competition with the Iriſh, which are duty free, thoſe

ſame foreign manufactures would ſoon be able to ſupply all our demand, and might be conſumed at 25 per cent. below the preſent price, if they were relieved from duty as the Iriſh are. On the other hand, the Iriſh linens, if ſubjected to the foreign duties, muſt either be furniſhed by Ireland at 25 per cent. below their preſent price, or be driven out of the market. In this latter caſe, too, an addition of 650,000l. would be made to our revenue; unleſs, indeed, the encouragement which ſuch a change might give to our home-made linens ſhould occaſion a decreaſe in the general import.

Such are the effects of our liberality towards Ireland in this important manufacture, which conſtitutes in value nearly one-half of the Iriſh exports to all the world. And there now lies on that table a Bill, which we are paſſing, to continue our bounties on Iriſh linens. And yet, a few weeks ago, the following phraſes were gravely addreſſed, by an eminent perſon, to the county of Louth.

" In truth, I ſee much danger, and a pro-
" bable decreaſe of our trade and manufactures,
" from the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union, and
" I cannot conceive any advantage to them
" from it."

" If the linen manufacture reſts at all on
" any compact, that compact was made with
" the Iriſh Parliament, the extinction of which
" takes away a ſecurity we had found adequate,
" and leaves it without the protection of its
" natural guardians, who, by *their* vigilance,
" *their* regulations, and *their* bounties, have
" more than doubled its exports within a few
" years. As an Iriſhman, then, I ſhould op-
" poſe the meaſure."

I know nothing of the compact here alluded to; and I am unable to annex any ſenſe to the word " extinction," as applied to the projected Union of the two legiſlatures. But I perfectly underſtand, and know, that the annual importation of Iriſh linens, to the amount of nearly three millions ſterling, is a ſort of monopoly given to Ireland in the Britiſh market; and that

the exiſtence and continuance of that monopoly do not depend on the vigilance, regulations, and bounties, of the Iriſh Parliament, but on *our* liberality, *our* regulations, and *our* bounties, and are intirely ſubject to the gratuitous favour, good will, and diſpenſations, of the Britiſh Parliament.

It will alſo be obvious, to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver, that if Ireland has obtained and enjoyed theſe advantages, through the indulgence of the Britiſh ſeparate legiſlature, in deſpite of any ſpirit of rivalſhip or jealouſy, ſhe will be more likely to increaſe than to forfeit them, when ſhe ſhall be incorporated as a part of the ſame kingdom, and when Iriſh repreſentatives ſhall form a proportion of the united Parliament.

In addition to the indulgences which I have deſcribed, we have given to Ireland many privileges for the encouragement of her fiſheries. We have alſo relaxed the whole ſyſtem of our navigation laws, and permit the produce of our colonies to be imported to us through the Iriſh

ports. I do not lay much ſtreſs on the probable benefits of theſe conceſſions. They were, indeed, ſolicited as of great importance. But Ireland, nevertheleſs, continues to be ſupplied through Great Britain not only with fiſh, to the amount of 113,000l. annually; ſhe alſo receives rum, ſugars, indigo, and tobacco, circuitouſly, (and with all the expence of landing, warehouſing, re-ſhipping, commiſſion, &c.) to the annual amount of more than 500,000l. at the ſame time that her direct importation of theſe articles is valued at not more than 140,000l. a year. Nor will ſhe ever be able to avail herſelf of our conceſſions, without the aid of Britiſh capital and confidence, which can only be obtained by Union. Hitherto there hardly exiſts an inſtance of any conſiderable Britiſh houſe engaged in Ireland in Iriſh partnerſhip.

The general reſults are, that of the whole amount of Iriſh exports to all the world, about eight-ninths are ſent to Great Britain and to

Britiſh dependencies;* that of the exports from Ireland to Great Britain amounting in value to 5,600,000l. nearly the whole is received in our ports free of duty, but is ſubject to export duties in Ireland, and contributes there to her local revenue as a charge impoſed on our conſumption. On the other hand, that what we ſend to Ireland is about a tenth only of our whole export; that about two-fifths of what is ſo ſent to Ireland, conſiſt of foreign articles exported free of duty. That though the intire trade of Ireland with this country is about one-ninth of our whole commerce, the revenue received upon it, inſtead of being one-ninth of our cuſtoms, is leſs than the 140th part. For example,† that Ireland pays only 47,500l. in duties of cuſtoms upon the whole of her trade with us, at the ſame time that we are receiving from other nations in cuſtoms 6,850,000l. and even from that ſmall amount of 47,500l. we pay on the average about 35,000l. a-year in bounties on Iriſh linens.

* See Appendix, No. 9. † See Appendix, No. 3.

But it is not merely that the imports from Ireland are free of duty here. What we export to Ireland is highly charged by her. She accordingly raiſed annually on her trade with Great Britain and the Britiſh dependences, by the average of the laſt three years, a revenue of 622,000l. * of which ſum 194,000l. were levied on Engliſh products and manufactures. The duties which ſhe levies annually on her whole trade with all other parts amount to about 209,000l.

And yet, notwithſtanding all theſe encouragements, Ireland, with a population equal perhaps to one-third of the Britiſh population, has a trade equal to not more than one-ninth of the trade of Great Britain.

And, laſtly, that the ſmall and diſproportionate commerce which ſhe poſſeſſes is almoſt intirely dependant on Britiſh generoſity, and on laws made in Great Britain.

* See Appendix, No. 6.

My Lords, there is a well known line,

Iſthæc commemoratio
Quaſi exprobratio eſt immemoris beneficî.

I mention it merely to deprecrate and diſclaim the application of it. The ſtatement which I this day ſubmit to your Lordſhips is not given grudgingly, nor for the purpoſe of conveying either reproach or menace. It is my ſincere wiſh neither to irritate nor to alarm; but to conciliate, and, if poſſible, to convince.

It would be idle to imagine, that in a Britiſh Parliament, this great queſtion can be debated, with flattery, and complaiſance, and reſerves, and on Iriſh intereſts only. The people of Ireland ought not to be kept in ignorance that numerous and eſſential benefits are conferred on them without reciprocity: but that thoſe benefits, without Union, remain liable, on any eventual diſagreement, to a ſudden exploſion with the utter ruin of all the Iriſh intereſts dependant on trade and manufactures.

I have not heſitated to diſplay theſe truths to our own manufacturers and merchants; becauſe I know it to be their wiſh, as it always has been mine, to extend to Ireland, even without Union, every acceſſion of proſperity that can be made compatible with our own well being and ſecurity. If indeed it ſhould ever appear, that Ireland were ſeeking ſtrength at our expence, in order to make that ſtrength operate to the weakening of the Britiſh empire, then and then only would the manufacturers and merchants object loudly to the ſyſtem of gratuitous conceſſions; and then, and only then, would I join my voice to theirs.

And ſurely it cannot be either unfriendly or ungenerous to point out to the party obliged the means of giving both permanency and effect to the benefits which are conferred. Can the ſuperior country be expected to enrich, beyond certain limits, the inferior, without having ſome ſecurity that the wealth, and ſtrength, and reſources of the one may be conſidered as the wealth, ſtrength, and reſources of the other.

Or is it to be expected that capitals and commercial credit ſhall be transferred to a country ſtruggling under an anomalous, incompetent, and diſturbed government, and maintaining a claim of right to adopt at any time adverſe connections and intereſts? Nothing leſs than Union can ſatisfy theſe queſtions. We cannot reſt on the flimſy and undefined proteſtation ſo often repeated, and ſo imperfectly realized, that "the "affections of Ireland are unalienable, and "that both kingdoms ſhall ſtand and fall toge-"ther." Let the Union take place, and all commercial diſtinctions, and all political jealouſies will be annihilated; for there can be no competition between two parts of the ſame kingdom, having incorporated intereſts directed by one legiſlature.

Theſe reaſonings are not new; in the diſcuſſions between the Scotch and Engliſh Commiſſioners, under Charles II.* it was admitted by the Scots, that, without Union, they could

* See the Report lately printed by Mr. Bruce, and the State Papers which are annexed to it, No. 36 and No. 40.

have no pretenſions to commercial privileges, beyond what might be given to any alien power; and that all indulgences enjoyed whilſt the two nations remained ſeparate, muſt, in their nature, be ſubject to Engliſh controul and to Engliſh laws. And it was then alſo particularly ſtated, that if Ireland poſſeſſed any advantages in the Engliſh trade, they depended ſolely on her being bound by Engliſh laws; or by laws made in Ireland, but originating in the Engliſh Privy-Council.

What then, my Lords, are the multiplied and ineſtimable benefits which our Addreſs and Propoſitions hold out to Ireland?—The preſervation of her actual advantages, the extenſion of capitals, the increaſed employment of her people, with the conſequent cultivation and ſoftening of their minds and manners; and, above all, the introduction of a middle claſs, one of the great wants of Ireland, and the moſt important link of ſecurity between the higheſt and loweſt orders.—Still leaving to her the ſame conſtitution, the ſame liberties, the ſame laws,

and the ſame privileges, that ſhe enjoys at preſent.

We do not, however, propoſe this meaſure as calculated at once to diſpel the cloud of foreign war and domeſtic treaſons, which has ſo long darkened the Iriſh atmoſphere. Undoubtedly the Union of the two countries might tend to correct the peſtilential exhalations which prevail. But that effect would be gradual, and perhaps ſlow. I look rather to the effect which would be produced on a return of peace. Ireland would then be governed as the reſt of the Britiſh Empire is governed; a new order of things would take place; and the manners, principles, and opinions, of the two iſlands would at laſt be aſſimilated. Can it, my Lords, be offenſive to add, that Ireland ought to feel an honourable pride in being invited to an Union with all thoſe bleſſings of induſtry, order, and law, which have rendered Great Britain the glory and bulwark of civil ſociety, and have ſecured to her the envy and admiration of the world?

And here I ſhall cloſe; truſting that with fairneſs and moderation I have urged what occurs to me, in ſupport of a meaſure which, in the emphatical words of the King's meſſage, "may beſt tend to improve and perpetuate a "connection eſſential for the common ſecurity "of the two kingdoms, and to augment and "conſolidate the ſtrength, power, and reſources, "of the Britiſh Empire."

We know that this meaſure is dreaded by the revolutioniſts of the day: we have ſeen that the ſeparation of the two kingdoms is the firſt object of the unprincipled and implacable nation which is making a wild and cruel war on the liberties of mankind.—The ſeparation alſo of Scotland from England was in like manner fought in the very beginning of this conteſt.—"We rejoice (ſaid the Society of United Iriſh-"men in Dublin to their Delegates in Scotland, "in 1792) that the Scots do not conſider them-"ſelves as merged and melted down into ano-"ther country, and that, in the great queſtion

" to which our addreſs alludes, they are ſtill " Scotland." *

The Revolutionary Committee of Nine, aſſembled in Dublin on the 9th April, 1795, expreſſed themſelves in the ſame ſpirit, by a reſolution, " collectively and individually to reſiſt even their " own emancipation, if made to depend on the " fatal meaſure of Union with the Siſter King- " dom."

My Lords!

In this awful period of crimes and calamities, amidſt the ſubverſion of ſtates and empires, and when the whole ſyſtem of human affairs ſeems to be convulſed and endangered, the great and glorious fabric of Britiſh liberty ſtands unmoved and unſhaken. We offer to Ireland the full participation of our happineſs and ſecurity.—And unleſs Providence ſhall have withdrawn from her all mercy and protecting influence; unleſs the diſpenſations are to be ſuch as

* Report of Committe of Secrecy, p. 12.

to number her among the wrecks of nations, ſhe will gladly and gratefully receive our offer, and will become an integral part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—

There remains one point, my Lords, on which, before I ſit down, I muſt ſay a few words.—Some of the Noble Lords who ſeemed to oppoſe the meaſure of Union, have been pleaſed to talk much, though ſomewhat indefinitely, reſpecting what is moſt improperly termed, Catholic Emancipation. I am not diſpoſed to follow them into the entanglements of a diſcuſſion in which I ſee no poſſible good, and much poſſible miſchief.—Nor is ſuch diſcuſſion now neceſſary. Our Fifth and Eighth Reſolutions are clear and intelligible, and do not ſeem either to require or to admit any amendment.—It has long been my opinion, that whatever may be the indulgences, whether more or leſs limited, to the Catholics in England; the meaſure of thoſe indulgences ought to guide our diſcretion with reſpect to the Catholics in Ireland. I am of opinion, that ſuch a rule is beſt calculated

for the ſecurity, happineſs, and true intereſts, of both perſuaſions. I ſincerely lamented the abrupt and wide departure from that rule in 1793. But I will not look with an unavailing regret to what muſt now be conſidered as irrevocable. And I rejoice that our future adherence to that rule muſt be one of the many important conſequences of a Legiſlative Union.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE Report made in the Iriſh Houſe Commons in 1703, by the Committee on the State of the Nation, concluded with a reſolution, that Her Majeſty be moved, "that through her fa-"vourable interpoſition her ſubjects of this king-"dom may be relieved from the calamities they "now lie under, by a full enjoyment of their "Conſtitution, or by a more firm Union with "England." This repreſentation was voted by the Houſe.

The Addreſs of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, 1ſt October, 1703, concluded thus: "As we are "ſenſible that our preſervation is owing to our "being united to the Crown of England, ſo "we are convinced it would tend to our farther "ſecurity and happineſs, to have a more com-"prehenſive and intire Union with that king-"dom."

Houses of the Oireachtas

The anſwers returned were in general terms, and not encouraging.

On the 4th March, 1704, the Speaker, in preſenting the Bills, referred pointedly to the repreſentation above-mentioned, as having had the unanimous voice and conſent of a full Houſe, and prayed the Lord-Lieutenant's ſupport to carry it into execution.

On the 9th July, 1707, the Iriſh Commons, in their Addreſs to the Queen, entreated Her "to add greater luſtre and ſtrength to the "Crown, by a yet more comprehenſive Union."

The Addreſs of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, on the 15th July, 1707, was expreſſed in terms ſtill ſtronger in favour of an Union.

Houses of the Oireachtas

No. 2.

Extract from the Earl of Carliſle's Anſwer to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, 17th April, 1782.

" I requeſt you to offer to that Houſe, " where you ſo worthily preſide, my moſt ſin- " cere thanks for this mark of national appro- " bation. It is with cordial pleaſure that I " ſhall ever reflect on the fortunate combination " of circumſtances, if by them I have been " enabled to encourage the commercial in- " tereſts of the kingdom, to promote the great " improvements of this metropolis, to give a " new ſpring to public credit, to ſee the liberty " of the ſubject ſecured by law, to add weight " and dignity to the adminiſtration of juſtice, " conciliate to His Majeſty's government, every " perſuaſion and deſcription of men, and finally " to mature the means of uniting a loyal " people in general harmony and happineſs."

Houses of the Oireachtas

No. 3.

AN ACCOUNT of the Total true Value of the Imports into and Exports from GREAT BRITAIN, in the Year ending the 5th of January, 1799, distinguishing the Woollen and Cotton Manufactures and the Irish and Foreign Linens imported and exported, with the Amount of the Duties collected on the Linens imported, and the Bounties and Drawback paid on the Linens exported; together with the Amount of the Gross Revenue of Customs collected on Imports and Exports in the above Year, and in all Cases distinguishing IRELAND.

IMPORTS.

	Irish Linens.		Foreign Linens.			Value of Imports from all other Parts.	Total Value of Imports.
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Duty.		
	Yards.	£	*Yards.*	£	£	£	£
Ireland . .	35,300,610	2,503,165	—	—	—	2,772,230	5,275,395
Other Parts	38,290	2,712	16,757,409	832,466	170,175	40,852,657	41,687,835
Total . . .	35,338,900	2,505,877	16,757,409	832,466	170,175	43,624,887	46,963,230

EXPORTS.

	British Manufactures exported.				Foreign Merchandize exported.									
					Irish Linens.			Foreign Linens.						
	Value of Woollen Manufactures.	Value of Cotton Manufactures.	Value of all other British Manufactures.	Total Value of British Manufactures exported.	Quantity.	Value.	Bounty.	Quantity.	Value.	Drawback	Value of all other Articles of Foreign Merchandize exported.	Total Value of Foreign Merchandize exported.	Total Value of British & Foreign Merchandize exported.	Gross Revenue of Customs collected on Imports and Exports.
	£	£	£	£	*Yards.*	£	£	*Yards.*	£	£	£	£	£	£
Ireland -	801,397	144,771	1,904,133	2,850,301	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,412,504	1,412,504	4,262,805	47,542
Other Parts	8,633,115	4,576,444	17,552,307	30,761,866	6,429,476	560,353	29,232	3,585,744	227,709	32,553	12,187,323	12,975,385	43,737,251	6,852,293
Total	9,434,512	4,721,215	19,456,440	33,612,167	6,429,476	560,353	29,232	3,585,744	227,709	32,553	13,599,827	14,387,889	48,000,056	6,899,835

NOTE—The Bounty paid on IRISH Linens exported, on an Average of the Four Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, amounted to 34,700l.

Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas

No. 4.

ANNUAL AVERAGE of the Three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, of the true Value of the Products and Manufactures of IRELAND imported into GREAT BRITAIN: And also, of the Products and Manufactures of GREAT BRITAIN exported to IRELAND for the same Period, with the Balance in favour of IRELAND.

Value of the Products and Manufactures of Ireland imported into Great Britain.	Value of the Products and Manufactures of Great Britain exported to Ireland.	Excess or Balance in favour of Ireland.
£.	£.	£.
5,510,825	2,087,672	3,425,153

Houses of the Oireachtas

No. 5.

ANNUAL AVERAGE of the Three Years preceding the 5th of January, 1799, of the true Value of the IRISH Products and Manufactures, and of the Foreign Merchandize, annually imported into GREAT BRITAIN from IRELAND; likewise of BRITISH Products and Manufactures, and of Foreign Merchandize, exported from GREAT BRITAIN to IRELAND, for the same Period, with the Balance in Favour of IRELAND.

Total Value of Imports into Great Britain from Ireland.	Total Value of Exports from Great Britain to Ireland.	Excess or Balance in Favour of Ireland.
£	£	£
5,612,689	3,555,845	2,056,844

Houses of the Oireachtas

AVERAGE ANNUAL AMOUNT, in the Three Years preceding the 25th March, 1798, of the Duties of Customs collected in IRELAND in her Commercial Intercourse with GREAT BRITAIN and the BRITISH COLONIES, distinguishing the Subsidies on Goods exported from the Duties collected on Foreign Merchandize imported: Also, distinguishing Duties on Goods the Produce or Manufacture of Great Britain, from the Duties on Foreign Merchandize imported through the Medium of Great Britain: Likewise the Total Amount of the Duties of Customs on all the other Branches of the Trade of Ireland.

Duties collected on British Manufactures imported into Ireland.

Species of Goods.	Rate of Duty.	Amount of Duty collected.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Beer	0 4 $8\frac{3}{4}$ per barr.	11,914 12 7
Coals	0 0 $9\frac{1}{2}$ per ton.	23,389 7 5
—— into Dublin	0 1 $9\frac{1}{2}$ per ton.	
Cottons. Plain & coloured	11 11 0 per cent.	
Calico, white	11 11 0 per cent. and $7\frac{3}{10}$ per yard	
——coloured	0 1 2 per yard	
Muslin, white	11 11 0 per cent. and $7\frac{3}{10}$ per yard	12,357 0 2
——coloured	11 11 0 per cent. and $7\frac{3}{10}$ per yard	
Drapery, new	0 0 $2\frac{1}{2}$ per yard	29,430 8 11
—— old	0 0 $7\frac{1}{4}$ per yard	
Earthen Ware	17 6 6 per cent.	3,463 18 8
Glass Bottles	0 0 11 per doz.	3,011 8 5
——Cases	0 4 $2\frac{1}{4}$ each	
——Plates and Ware	11 11 0 per cent.	
Herrings	0 1 $2\frac{3}{10}$ per barr.	4,139 18 6
Hops	1 6 8 per cent.	27,435 5 0
Hosiery, Cott. Stock	11 11 0 per cent.	3,114 9 5
Iron and Hardware	11 11 0 per cent.	5,676 7 5
Salt, rock	3 0 0 per ton	21,438 9 6
——white	0 2 0 per bush.	11,401 6 0
Sugar, loaf	1 17 11 per cent.	18,321 11 3
Other articles	——	52,255 7 1
6 per Cent.	——	6,200 0 0
Total in the Year ending 25th March, 1798		233,549 10 4
Ditto 1797		199,745 6 8
Ditto 1796		197,917 7 2
Annual Medium in Irish Money		210,404 1 4
Ditto in British Money		194,219 11 0

Duties collected on Irish Products and Manufactures exported to Great Britain.

Species of Goods.	Rate of Duty.	Amount of Duty.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Beef	0 1 0 per barr.	4,305 3 0
Bullocks and Cows	0 3 3 each	4,947 17 7
Butter	0 1 6 per cent.	18,472 14 7
Hogs	0 3 3	1,019 19 0
Hides, untanned	0 1 0 each	674 15 7
Pork	0 1 6 per barr.	10,718 9 0
Tallow	0 1 6 per cwt.	916 12 6
Skins, calf	5 0 0 per cent.	1,220 0 0
Yarn, linen	5 0 0 per 120lb.	5,081 10 0
Other articles	——	1,183 7 6
		48,540 8 9
		32,964 8 8
		29,218 14 8
		36,907 17 4
		34,068 16 0

Duties collected on Foreign Merchandize, imported through the Medium of Great Britain.

Species of Goods.	Amount of Duty.
	£ s. d.
Groceries, Pepper	4,147 9 9
—— Sugar	157,144 5 4
Silks	4,361 1 10
Iron, unwrought	3,177 6 3
Spirits, Brandy	10,851 11 4
—— Geneva	
—— Rum	
Tea, Bohea	60,173 2 5
—— Green	5,711 16 0
Tobacco	144,199 0 0
Wine French	7,259 17 5
Madeira	
Port	
Spanish	
Rhenish	
Other articles	10,489 5 10
6 per Cent.	2,120 0 0
	409,589 16 2
	340,560 2 6
	372,134 9 3
	374,094 15 11
	345,318 5 0

Total Duties collected on the Commercial Intercourse with Great Britain.

£ s. d.
691,679 15 3
573,269 17 10
599,270 11 1
621,406 14 7
573,606 12 0

Duties collected on the Imports into, and Exports to the British Colonies in America and the West Indies.

On Imports.

Species of Goods.	Amount of Duties.
	£ s. d.
Sugar	23,773 19 5
Rum	4,363 5 1
Other Articles	3,589 6 6
	40,140 16 4
	37,160 5 0
	73,686 10 3
	50,329 3 0
	46,457 14 0

On Exports.

Species of Goods.	Amount of Duties.
	£ s. d.
Beef	996 14 0
Butter	2,035 11 0
Pork	1,838 12 6
Other Articles	228 3 0
	146 4 5
	2,460 10 0
	3,906 13 6
	2,171 2 0
	2,004 2 0

Total Duties collected on the Commercial Intercourse with the British Colonies in America and the West Indies.

£ s. d.
40,287 0 9
39,620 15 0
77,593 3 9
52,500 5 0
48,461 16 0

Total Duties collected on the Commercial Intercourse with all other Parts.

£ s. d.
117,454 15 9
226,018 0 2
335,509 2 9
226,327 6 2
208,917 10 0

Houses of Oireachtas

AVERAGE ANNUAL AMOUNT in the Three Years preceding the 25th of March, 1798, of the Duties collected in IRELAND, on the EXPORTS from and IMPORTS into that Country, to and from the States of America, and all other Parts, other than Great Britain and her Dependences, distinguishing the principal Articles in the Year ending March, 1798.

Duties collected on Goods imported from and exported to the States of America.				Duties collected on Goods imported from and exported to all other Foreign Parts.				Total Duties of Customs collected in Ireland, and the Trade with all Parts other than Great Britain and the British Colonies.		
Species of Goods.	Amount of Duty.			Species of Goods.	Amount of Duty.					
Inwards.	£.	s.	d.	Inwards.	£.	s.	d.			
Tobacco	38929	19	2	Sugar, Muscov.	5264	4	7			
Other Articles	1210	17	2	Herrings	4042	5	0			
				Salt	9313	3	6			
	40140	16	4	Wine, Port	34082	6	8			
				Spanish	4504	8	6			
				Wood, Deals	3466	5	2			
				Other Articles	11428	0	7			
				6 per Cent.	1680	0	0			
				Total	73780	14	0			
Outwards.				Outwards.						
Sundry Articles amounting	146	4	5	Butter	3120	9	0			
				Other Articles	266	12	0			
					3387	1	0			
Total Inwards and Outwards 1798	40287	0	9		77167	15	0			
Ditto 1797	60243	13	6		165774	6	8			
Ditto 1796	27289	18	4		308219	4	5			
Annual medium in Irish Money	42606	17	6		183720	8	8	£ 226327	6	2
Ditto in British Money	39329	8	0		169588	2	0	£ 208917	10	0

Houses of the Oireachtas

No. 7.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of the following ARTICLES exported from IRELAND to all Parts, distinguishing GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies from Foreign Countries, in the Periods of the Four Years preceding the War and of the Four last Years of the War.

FOUR YEARS PRECEDING THE WAR.				FOUR LAST YEARS OF THE WAR.			
	Great Britain and her Dependencies.	Foreign Parts.	Total.		Great Britain and her Dependencies	Foreign Parts.	Total.
Bacon, Flitch	42,557	8,932	51,489	Bacon, Flitch	83,449	29	83,478
Beef, Barrel	91,803	31,179	122,982	Beef, Barrel	112,397	3,912	116,309
Butter, Cwt.	236,980	71,854	308,834	Butter, Cwt.	263,878	44,786	308,664
Pork, Barrel	81,814	10,404	92,218	Pork, Barrel	132,946	9,131	142,077

ANNUAL Medium of the Number of BLACK CATTLE, and of SHEEP and LAMBS, sold at Smithfield-Market, in the Four Years preceding 1771, and the Four Years preceding 1799.

	Black Cattle	Sheep & Lambs.
Annual Medium of the Four Years preceding 1771	85,682	664,135
Ditto Four Years preceding 1799	105,539	813,239
Average Annual Increase in Favour of the latter Period	19,857	149,104

No. 8.

AN ACCOUNT of the Quantity of the principal ARTICLES of IRISH Manufactures and Products exported from IRELAND to all Parts, on an annual Medium of the Four Years preceding the 25th of March, 1798, distinguishing GREAT BRITAIN and her Dependencies in AMERICA and the WEST INDIES from Foreign Parts.

SPECIES OF GOODS.	To Great Britain.	To the British Colonies and Islands in America and West Indies.	Total to Great Britain and the British Dependencies.	To the States of America.	To Foreign Parts of Europe and Africa.	Total to Foreign Parts.	Total to all Parts.
Linen plain, per Yard	33,695,659	1,285,998	34,981,657	4,012,589	891,530	4,904,119	39,885,776
Linen Yarn, per Cwt.	16,876		16,876	3		3	16,879
Corn, Oats, per Quarter	500,273	1,234	501,507		120	120	501,627
Cows and Oxen, per No.	18,110		18,110				18,110
Hides, raw, per No.	47,888	477	48,365		320	320	48,685
Provisions. Beef, per Barrel	88,544	23,853	112,397	849	2,992	3,841	116,238
Butter, per Cwt.	240,050	23,828	263,878	874	43,241	44,115	307,993
Pork, per Barrel	113,417	19,529	132,946	638	8,493	9,131	142,077
Bacon, per Flitch	83,396	53	83,449		29	29	83,478

No. 9.

ANNUAL AVERAGE Value, in Irish Money, in the Three Years preceding the 25th of March, 1798, of the IMPORTS into, and EXPORTS from, IRELAND, to and from all Parts, agreeably to the Estimates of the Inspector-General's Books of that Country, distinguishing Great Britain and the British Colonies from other Countries.

IMPORTS.							EXPORTS.						
	British Products and Manufactures.			Foreign Merchandize.				Irish Products and Manufactures.			Foreign Merchandize.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
From Great Britain	2,217,425	—	—	1,205,952	—	—	To Great Britain	3,861,193	—	—	37,812	—	—
From British West Indies . .				116,405	—	—	To British West Indies	231,640	—	—	5,514	—	—
From British Cont. Colonies				6,980	—	—	To British Continent. Colonies	38,597	—	—	410	—	—
Total, Gt. Britain & Colonies	2,217,425	—	—	1,329,337	—	—	Total, Gt. Britain & Colonies	4,131,430	—	—	43,736	—	—
From States of America . . .				190,339	—	—	To States of America	329,107	—	—	3,295	—	—
From all other Parts				560,711	—	—	To all other Parts	182,242	—	—	1,824	—	—
Total, Foreign Part				751,050	—	—	Total, Foreign Parts	511,349	—	—	5,119	—	—
GRAND TOTAL	2,217,425	—	—	2,080,387	—	—	GRAND TOTAL	4,642,779	—	—	48,855	—	—

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

1. SPEECH of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, in the House of Commons, Thursday, January 31st, 1799, on offering to the House the Resolutions which he proposed as the Basis of an UNION between Great Britain and Ireland. SEVENTH EDITION. Price 1s. 6d.

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2. SPEECH of the Right Hon. HENRY DUNDAS, in the House of Commons, Thursday, February 7th, 1799, on the subject of the LEGISLATIVE UNION with Ireland. THIRD EDITION. Price 1s.

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