Duplicate see vol 4to

DEFENCE OF OPPOSITION

WITH RESPECT TO

THEIR CONDUCT

ON

IRISH AFFAIRS,

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES.

DEDICATED

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

C. J. FOX.

BY AN IRISH GENTLEMAN,

A MEMBER OF THE WHIG CLUB.

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Houses of the Oireachtas

Houses of the Oireachtas

TO THE

Right Hon. C. J. FOX.

SIR,

THE founding a commercial intercourſe between Great-Britain and Ireland, upon the baſis of mutual advantage, ſeems a meaſure ſo wiſe, and ſalutary in itſelf, and ſo promiſing in its conſequences, as naturally to excite a more than ordinary ſhare of the public attention.

The object has long had the warmeſt wiſhes of the beſt, and moſt exalted characters of both countries, and the moſt fervent prayers of every one not inſenſible of their welfare and happineſs; and it is with inexpreſſible pleaſure and ſatisfaction, they now behold it ripening, and nearly brought to a ſtate of maturity, by the foſtering hand of the preſent moſt excellent Miniſter, who, with his father's reſplendent virtues, moſt happily blends the wiſdom of age and experience.

A meaſure, Sir, that will at once do away all thoſe jealouſies that have ſo long filled the breaſt of Ireland—that muſt for ever attach her to Great-Britain—and make their intereſt one and the ſame, cannot but claim a very powerful ſupport from the repreſentatives of the people.

It is, therefore, with much ſurprize, the public hear, that you, and thoſe you are in the habit of voting with, (including your *new* friends) intend to give it every oppoſition in your power.

The

The *conſiſtency* of your conduct, in the line of politics, gives, at once, the flatteſt contradiction to ſo impudent and barefaced a calumny.

The following ſheets, however, will effectually put the matter out of doubt, and do you ample juſtice.

They are the faithful extracts of various ſpeeches delivered in Parliament by *you*, and *thoſe* you have the honor to act with, and will be found to contain the ſtrongeſt recommendations of the *very* meaſures, now under diſcuſſion, for eſtabliſhing a fair and equal trade between Great-Britain and Ireland.

You will pleaſe, therefore, to accept of them as the beſt, and moſt concluſive refutation of the charges brought againſt you, as from them, it is impoſſible, conſidering how very unlikely *you* are to be actuated by party views, that the miniſter can want *your* ſupport and aſſiſtance.

I have the honor to be,

SIR,

Your moſt devoted humble ſervant,

A MEMBER OF THE WHIG CLUB.

ST. ALBAN'S TAVERN,
March 19, 1785.

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Houses of the Oireachtas

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. SAWBRIDGE.

I Am againſt all monopolies of trade, and commercial interdictions; there is trade enough for every nation upon earth, *if all impolitic reſtrictions were repealed*. No nation, nor corporate body, nor individual, has a right to deprive another *of the benefits of manufactures, trade, and commerce.*

March 18, 1779*.

Mr. BURKE.

It is for the *intereſt* of Great Briain to throw open *even the woollen trade to Ireland*; and if it is not done now voluntarily, the French will ſoon oblige us to do it. *March* 18, 1779.

Lord BEAUCHAMP.

The language the noble Lord, (Earl of Hilſborough) uſed in the other Houſe of the late miniſters, (Lord North, &c.) clearly meant an equality of

 export

* The order of the day was for going into a committee on the importation of ſugars into Ireland, which was loſt on a diviſion, 62 to 58.

Houses of the Oireachtas

export and import duties, cuſtoms, &c. an equality of trade, and conſequently of mutual advantage. *Nov.* 30, 1779.

Earl of UPPER OSSORY.

As an Iriſhman, and bound to Ireland by the ſtrongeſt ties of intereſt and affection, it might be fairly, and I will add, be truly preſumed, that I entertain the moſt ſincere wiſhes for her happineſs and proſperity; nay, I will ſay, that as an Engliſhman, it is my duty to do ſo, becauſe I am perſuaded, *that whatever promotes the trade and commerce of* Ireland, *will ultimately promote that of* Great Britain. *Dec.* 6, 1779.

Lord BEAUCHAMP.

That Ireland is in a diſtreſſed ſituation, no man within or without this Houſe will, I dare ſay, venture to deny; but I can never be perſuaded to think, that the miſeries which Ireland feels, and under which ſhe at preſent groans, can be fairly attributed to the preſent miniſtry; or indeed to any miniſtry within my remembrance. The grievance has not originated, at leaſt ſince the preſent reign, with any particular ſet of men in power, nor from any recent meaſures adopted in reſpect to that country. The cauſes are various, *but the prime ſource* of the diſtreſſes of that kingdom, *is the ſyſtem of our trade laws*, which lay *a reſtraint upon*

upon her commerce. I am convinced, that theſe reſtrictions ariſe from a very narrow, ſhort-ſighted policy, conceived in prejudice, and ſtrengthened by time; which, after more than a century, has been wrought, as it were, into the very conſtitution of this country.

For my own part, I think *the intereſt of both countries is inſeparable,* as their political connexion is indiſſoluble, and whoever endeavours to obſtruct either, *is no friend to his country,* that is, *he is ignorant of the true proſperity of both**.

Though enjoying a place under the Crown, my ſituation is not ſuch, as to entitle me to know what paſſes in his Majeſty's council; but I have heard in converſation, that the noble Lord on the ſame bench, (Lord *North*) in concert with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſervants, have agreed upon propoſitions, which are to be ſubmitted to this houſe. I am ignorant of their purport; but from what I heard fall from a noble Lord (Earl of Hilſborough) in the other houſe, the firſt day of the ſeſſion; to whom, both England, and Ireland, owe the higheſt obligations, it is ſuppoſed, *that Ireland will*

* As neither Lord *North*, Mr. *Fox*, nor Mr. *Burke*, can be thought *ignorant* of the true proſperity of both England and Ireland, according to Lord *Beauchamp*, neither of them *is a friend to his country*; and they will hardly have the ill manners to contradict a noble Lord they ſo cordially act with.

HouseOfCommons

be granted an equal trade, or an equality of trade, upon the broad baſis, of impartiality and juſtice.

Dec. 6, 1779.

Mr. BURKE.

Ireland ſpurns at the Britiſh claim of dominion: ſhe looks upon herſelf *free and independent*, and is firmly determined to maintain it. The American war originated in injuſtice, has been conducted with cruelty, and is likely to end in infamy, diſgrace, and diſappointment. The loyalty of the people of Ireland can no more procure juſtice at the hands of miniſters, than the ſtubborn ſpirit of America. Ireland, driven to the laſt ſtage of human miſery and diſtreſs, is left to her wretched fate; ſhe intreats—ſhe ſupplicates—but in vain. Without a pretence of offence on her part, ſhe is left to her fate, unattended to, and unpitied!

Ireland now will not be ſatisfied *with any thing ſhort of a free trade.* The people of Ireland have reaſoned fairly and juſtly: the colonies, they know, have been offered the moſt that their own moſt ſanguine expectations could aſpire to, a free trade with all the world. America, for her revolt, has had a choice of favours held out to her: This is the reward of rebellion. Ireland for her loyalty, for almoſt a century, and her forbearance under accumulated oppreſſion, and internal diſtreſſes, has been refuſed the mighty indulgence of importing her own ſugars; at all events, without

taking

taking any peculiar merit with the Britiſh Government, for their loyal, faithful, and peaceable demeanor, they thought they were at leaſt entitled to meet the colonies upon equal terms, and with equal expectations of favor and relief to thoſe which America has ſpurned at with contempt.

I am induced, from every conſideration, which ſtrikes me, to believe, *that whatever meaſure will ſerve Ireland eſſentially, will, and muſt, in the end, ſerve England.* *Dec.* 6, 1779.

Mr. FOX.

It is the general calamities of the empire, that has made Ireland *poor*; but it is the incapacity and negligence of goverment, that has rendered her bold and daring. It is therefore incumbent upon parliament, to ſhew their fulleſt diſapprobation of that indolence and incapacity; and convince Ireland, that they are as ready as themſelves to reſent and puniſh the cruel and improper treatment, which they have received from miniſters. Ireland will ſee by ſuch a conduct, thas it is not this country, but its miniſters who are blameable, which will, in my opinion, prove the ſureſt means of once more binding both countries in the ſtrongeſt, and moſt indiſſoluble ties of friendſhip and affection. *Dec.* 6, 1779.

Lord

Lord NORTH.

Many favors have been granted to Ireland, ſince I have had the honour of a ſeat in his Majeſty's councils, ſuch as the free importation of beef and butter rendered perpetual; the encouragement given to the Newfoundland cod fiſhery; and the Southern whale fiſhery, by bounties granted by the Britiſh parliament; the giving leave to export woollen for clothing the troops on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, ſerving out of that kingdom; the act for encouraging the culture of tobacco and hemp, by permitting its importation into Great Britain; the permiſſion of the export of ſeveral enumerated articles to the Britiſh ſugar colonies, and the coaſt of Africa, &c. Theſe favors, howſoever liberally given, have not anſwered, nor proved ſufficiently efficacious in removing the difficulties the people of Ireland labour under, *from the reſtrictions laid upon her trade*, nor *the diſtreſſes that are the conſequences of thoſe reſtrictions.* What parliament may do, is not for me to foretell, nor dictate; but I preſume, they will come with the beſt diſpoſitions towards their brethren in Ireland, *and grant them every thing which does not apparently claſh with the eſſential intereſts of this kingdom.* *Dec.* 6, 1779.

Mr. WELBORE ELLIS.

Though a native of Ireland, I riſe as a member of this houſe, to give my opinion, relative to the intereſt

intereſt of my conſtituents, and am happy to find myſelf in a ſituation, when I can unite a ſtrict diſcharge of my duty with my native feelings. *The intereſt* of Great Britain and Ireland *are reciprocal and mutual.* *Dec.* 6, 1779.

Lord GEO. GERMAINE.

Perſons of great weight and ability in this kingdom have been conſulted on the ſubject of our differences with Ireland, but their opinions were ſo contradictory, that no certain information, or what would promiſe to give ſatisfaction, could be obtained, ſufficient to ground meaſures upon, and conſequently neither Miniſtry, nor Parliament could decide, *till a proper ſpecification was made by the People of Ireland*, through the only channel on which it could be relied on, or attended to. That ſpecification has been made; the Iriſh Parliament have come to an unanimous vote, *that nothing ſhort of a free trade would anſwer the object* which their preſent ſituation neceſſarily points to. The Iriſh Parliament has been explicit, *and I hope that their deſires will be granted* *.

Dec. 6, 1779.

Lord NORTH.

I mean now to open my three propoſitions, relative to the allowing Ireland a free export of her

* Nothing can poſſibly be more agreeable to this, than the conduct obſerved by the preſent miniſter towards Ireland.

her wool, woollens, and wool flocks; a free exportation of glaſs, and of all kinds of glaſs manufactures; of a freedom of trade with the Britiſh plantations, on certain conditions, the baſis of which is to be *an equality of taxes and cuſtoms, upon an equal and unreſtrained trade.*

To demonſtrate the matter of right, as well as favour, I beg leave to ſtate the two following propoſitions: Firſt, *That Ireland has a free and unlimited right to trade with the whole world.* Secondly, That Ireland does not, nor cannot, pretend to claim any right, directly, or co-relatively, with any part of the Britiſh colonies, or plantations. Every perſon in both kingdoms, muſt inſtantly give an univerſal aſſent to the latter propoſition. It is not my wiſh to enter into a diſcuſſion of the former, or debate points merely ſpeculatively: ſo much, however, I will hazard, that mixing the broad claim of a free and unreſtrained trade, and qualifying it with the advantage derivable from a connection with Great-Britain, it will not be too much to ſay, that although the claim is with Ireland, the option of a connexion with this country, and a participation of commercial intereſt, *is clearly in favor of Great-Britain.*

It is both the intereſt, and inclination of Ireland, to ſtand well with England, and on the idea of ſuch a natural and political connexion; they have been rather harſhly and impolitically treated:

before

before the Reſtoration they enjoyed every commercial advantage and benefit in common with England.

The commerce, import and export, was held in common by both kingdoms till the reign of Charles the Second: even the act of navigation, the great foundation of our plantation laws, put England and Ireland upon exact terms of equality; nor was it till two years after that the firſt commercial reſtriction was laid on Ireland, and that not directly, but by a ſide wind, and by deductive interpretation. When the act firſt paſſed, there was a general governing clauſe, for giving bonds to perform the conditions of the act, but then the act was amended, in the fifteenth of Charles the Second: whence a concluſion was drawn, that the acts of the two preceding Parliaments, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth of Charles the Second, were thereby repealed, though it was as clearly expreſſed in theſe acts, as it was poſſible for words to convey, that ſhips built in Ireland, *navigated with the people thereof*, were deemed Britiſh, and qualified to trade to and from the Britiſh plantations; and that ſhips built in Ireland, and navigated with his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland, *were entitled to the ſame abatements and privileges, to which importers and exporters of goods in Britiſh built ſhips were entitled by the book of rates.*

Upon an average of the ſix years, from 1766 to 1772, the export to Ireland was ſomething more than two millions; and in the ſucceeding ſix years,

ending in 1778, about as much more, one half nearly Britiſh manufacture or produce, the other half certificated articles, of which this country was the medium of conveyance; out of the native produce, which was ſomething more than 900,000l. per annum, on the average, only 200,000 were woollens: ſo that in this light, ſuppoſing every thing that any man could wiſh to conclude from the fact, I muſt ſubmit to the Houſe, whether it would be found policy to riſque *a million export* of native produce, for a woollen export of 200,000l.

The woollen manufacture muſt, indeed, a long time continue in a ſtate of infancy; and though cloths have been manufactured ſufficient to anſwer a conſiderable part of the home conſumption, yet it can hardly be expected that Ireland will be able to rival Great Britain at the foreign markets, when, after the expence of land carriage, freight, inſurance, factorage, &c. ſhe is able to underſell Ireland in her own markets on the very ſpot, though aided by the advantage of low wages and taxes.

Should the Iriſh be permitted to enjoy a free export of woollens, I ſhould ſtill be for continuing the bounties paid on the importation into England of certain ſpecies of fabrics of Iriſh Linens.

The ſubject demands much conſideration, and requires much modelling. It is a matter of infinite delicacy, and will call for a great deal of detail and enquiry, and therefore ought not to be hurried on.

Though

Though under different legiſlatures, Great-Britain and Ireland *have but one conjugal intereſt*; and are, in the general ſenſe of the phraſe, BUT ONE PEOPLE. Even ſhould ſhe (Ireland) be enabled to rival us in foreign markets, in a few commodities of native growth, cheapneſs of labour, and other incidental circumſtances, we ſhould not forget *that Ireland forms a part of the Britiſh Empire.*

Dec. 13, 1779.

Lord NORTH.

In one article of Importation, viz. *that of ſugar*, Ireland may probably ſtill chooſe to take them *circuitouſly* through England, at the low duties, in preference to *directly* importing them at the high duties.

Jan. 24, 1780.

Mr. EDEN.

Will it not be expedient to anticipate the wiſhes of Ireland, and convince her of our ſincere intentions, to give her every ſecurity in our power for the permanency of her conſtitution, and of that trade which ſhe is ſo anxious to preſerve? *

April 18, 1782.

* On the 2d of February, 1785, the following Reſolutions were *unanimouſly* agreed to, viz. to allow the exporting, carrying or conveying *corn* out of this realm into Ireland; to admit *foreign hops* there; and to repeal the acts which take off *the drawbacks on Britiſh hops*; and for the Iriſh to be admitted *to the Turkey Company*, &c. No oppoſition was given to theſe Reſolutions, nor any debate had thereon.

Mr. FOX*.

The diſpoſition of the King's miniſters towards Ireland, I believe, is ſufficiently underſtood; and that diſpoſition, which they have expreſſed, *when out of office*, I ſincerely believe they will now maintain, and will take the ſpeeedieſt and moſt likely means of giving *compleat ſatisfaction to the people of Ireland.*

I truſt in the candor of the Houſe, for the confidence which they will have in the intentions of his Majeſty's Miniſters towards Ireland; and that they will believe that they mean and wiſh moſt ardently to bring the matter forward in the moſt ſpeedy manner. I will again aſſure them, that it has always been my political ſentiment, that it is unjuſt and tyrannical to attempt to hold a country in ſubjection, and to govern againſt the will and opinion of the people. It has always been my ſentiments with regard to America, as well as Ireland, that they cannot, much leſs ought not to be governed by laws which they reject as unconſtitional. All juſt Government muſt conſiſt in the perfect conſent, good will, and opinion of the people; it is the beſt and ſureſt ſyſtem of Government where harmony prevails; and without it, it is not Government, but *uſurpation.*

It

* At this time one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State.

It is certainly the moſt conſiſtent with true policy, as well as juſtice, to bring about a final ſettlement of the diſpute between Great Britain and Ireland; to ſtate, and preciſely to declare, *not for a moment*, but for ever, what is the relative ſituation of the two countries with reſpect to each other; to take in and conclude all the points of difference, and to eſtabliſh ſuch a *ſyſtem* of connexion, intimacy, and relation between them, as ſhall be immediately, and permanently, for the intereſt of both. To be ſettled for ages, and not, as has been the conduct of late miniſters, ſear up the wound for a moment, without compleating the cure. When thoſe miniſters agreed to the extenſion of the trade with Ireland, they ſhould have ultimately ſettled the claim, and fixed the ſituation. They failed to do this at the proper time, and they ought to anſwer for it to their country: *that meaſures however will be uſed for accompliſhing this deſirable end, I may ſafely aſſure the houſe.** I think that deceit is always pernicious, and I wiſh to ſpeak with as much openneſs, and information, as the nature of my office can juſtify.

April 8, 1782.

Mr. SHERIDAN.

The attack made by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Eden) on the new miniſters, is ſcandalouſly unfair

* What *but this*, is Mr. *Fox*, and his party, *now* oppoſing in the Houſe of Commons?—

unfair, *as I am convinced that they* * *have the faireſt intentions towards Ireland.* *April* 8, 1782.

Mr. FOX.

His Majeſty is moſt earneſtly deſirous of ſettling the diſcontents and jealouſies that ſubſiſt in the minds of his ſubjects of the kingdom of Ireland. The meaſures which his Majeſty's miniſters conceive neceſſary to be taken in the preſent inſtance, and which I am to propoſe to the Houſe, *will require a great deal of moſt ſerious diſcuſſion.* The Houſe will perceive, that in the pretenſions of the Iriſh, expreſſed by the parliament and people, that the matter contains no leſs than the conſtitution of the kingdom, that it comprehends not only the commercial rights, and privileges of the kingdom, but alſo the legiſlative power and royalty. The moſt important objects are therefore embraced, and both nations are moſt materially concerned, in the diſcuſſion and ſettlement of the matter: they are topics, upon which they will ſee his Majeſty cannot decide, without the aſſiſtance of his parliament; nor *indeed without the aſſiſtance and concurrence of both parliaments.* To come to the buſineſs therefore with propriety, and in a manner that will give effect to their proceedings, they muſt have full and authentic

* Meaning, no doubt, Lord *North*, Mr. *Fox*, &c.

authentic information; *and both parliaments muſt take time in their deliberation.** *April* 4, 1782.

Hon. Colonel FITZPATRICK.

I have been prevailed upon to accept of the office of the Secretary of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the firm perſuaſion and confidence, that his *Majeſty's preſent miniſters*† are ſincere in their profeſſions; *and that* THEY *are earneſtly diſpoſed to make ſuch conceſſions to Ireland, as ſhall quiet their jealouſies, and give ſatisfaction to their minds.* If I had not had this opinion of the King's Miniſters, no circumſtance on earth ſhould have induced me to take a ſituation which at any time I would not have coveted, *and which only ſuch opinion and confidence would make me endure.* It is the wiſe policy of this country, to make thoſe conceſſions, as from the eſtabliſhment of a firm and friendly relation, founded upon clear, and known conſtitution, *the moſt happy conſequences will be derived to both countries.* *April* 9, 1782.

Mr. FOX.

Ireland, may perhaps think of freſh grievances, and riſe yearly in her demands; it is fit and proper therefore, that ſomething ſhould be now done towards eſtabliſhing on a firm and ſolid baſis, *the*

* Every poſſible information has been ſought after by the *preſent miniſter*, and time given *for the fulleſt deliberation* on the ſubject of Iriſh affairs.

† Lord *North*, Mr. *Fox*, &c.

the future connexion of the two kingdoms; but that is to be propoſed by me here in parliament; it will be the duty of the Crown to look to that; *the buſineſs may be firſt begun by his Majeſty's ſervants in Ireland* *; and if afterwards it ſhall be neceſſary to enter into a treaty, commiſſioners may be ſent from the Britiſh parliament, or from the Crown, to enter upon it, and to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue, by giving mutual ſatisfaction to both countries, and eſtabliſhing a treaty, which ſhall be ſanctified by the moſt ſolemn forms of the conſtitution of both countries.

I have no doubt, but that in affection, as well as in *intereſt*, Ireland and Great-Britain will be *but one people*. If any man ſhould entertain any gloomy ideas on the ſubject, let him look at the concluding paragraph of the Iriſh addreſſes; where he will find, that the Iriſh people and parliament *are filled with the moſt earneſt deſires to ſupport England*, to have the ſame enemy and the ſame friend; in a word, *to ſtand or fall with England*. Let gentlemen look forward to that happy period, when Ireland ſhall experience the bleſſings, *that attend freedom of trade and conſtitution*; when by the richneſs and fertility of her ſoil, the induſtry of her manufacturers, and the encreaſe of her population, ſhe ſhall become a powerful country; *then may*

* Surely Mr. *Pitt* cannot but be conſidered as extremely fortunate, in having proceeded in a manner, *ſo ſtrongly recommended by Mr.* FOX.

may England look for powerful aſſiſtance in ſeamen to man her fleets, and ſoldiers to fight her battles.

England renouncing all right to legiſlate for Ireland, the latter will moſt cordially ſupport the former, as a friend whom ſhe loves; if this country, on the one hand, is to aſſume the power of making laws for Ireland, ſhe will only make an enemy inſtead of a friend; *for where there is a community of intereſt* *, and a mutual regard for thoſe intereſts, there the party whoſe intereſts are ſacrificed becomes an enemy.

Upon the whole, I am convinced that the Iriſh deſire nothing more ardently, *than proper grounds for being moſt cordially united to England*, and I am ſure that they will be attached to this country *even to bigotry.*

May 17, 1782.

General BURGOYNE.

I cannot prevail upon myſelf to give a ſilent vote; the great revolution that has been effected, with ſo much calmneſs and ſteadineſs, does the higheſt honour to Ireland; and I cannot expreſs myſelf better in praiſe of the characters who have effected it, upon the greateſt principles of freedom, than in the words of the Roman author, *eos qui de nihilo niſi libertate cogitant, dignos eſſe qui Romani fiant.* Thoſe who know how to think ſo juſtly of it, *deſerve to be free.*

May 17, 1782.

* Such a one as the *preſent* miniſter propoſes to eſtabliſh.

Lord BEAUCHAMP.

It is not the mere repeal of the 6 Geo. 1. that will ſatisfy Ireland, becauſe the repeal will leave the queſtion juſt as it was before. *May* 17, 1782.

Mr. BURKE.

It is not on ſuch a day as this, when there is not a difference of opinion*, that I will riſe to fight the battle of Ireland; *her cauſe is neareſt my heart*, and nothing gave me ſo much ſatisfaction, when I was firſt honoured with a ſeat in this Houſe, as it might be in my power, *ſome way or other, to be of ſervice to the country that gave me birth* †; and I have always ſaid to myſelf, that if ſuch an inſignificant member as I am, can ever be ſo fortunate as to render an eſſential ſervice to England, and that my ſovereign, or parliament, were going to reward me for it, I would ſay to them—*do ſomething for Ireland—do ſomething for my country, and I am over-rewarded*——I am a friend to my country, but gentlemen need not be jealous of that; for in being the

* Reſpecting the repeal of the 6 of Geo. 1.

† There ſurely then can be but little doubt of the miniſter's having Mr. *Burke's* ſupport in carrying his commercial regulations, between Great Britain and Ireland, through the Houſe.

Houses of the Oireachtas

the friend of Ireland, I deem myſelf of courſe the friend of England—*their intereſts are inſeparable.*

May 17, 1782.*

Mr. EDEN†.

It was wiſdom in the Iriſh Parliaament to chuſe an undefined expreſſion upon a ſubject ſo complicated and extenſive in all its connexions and conſequences; the whole conſideration is now opened to both kingdoms, *and it is the intereſt of both to come to an early kind of efficient concluſion*‡.

It is a political truth, that happineſs and ſtrength ſhould be extended *through the conſtituent parts of an Empire*, as far as wiſe and beneficial laws can operate to that effect. It would next be eaſy to ſhew, that public happineſs and ſtrength are diffuſed in proportion to the plenty and convenience with which not only the natural wants of a people are ſupplied, but ſuch adventitious ones as are ſuperinduced by univerſal habit and induſtry: when this end is not attained to a certain degree, an Empire

 may

* Mr. *Fox* on this day moved, that it is the opinion of this committee (the Houſe being then in a committee) that the intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland *are inſeparable*, and that their connexion *ought to be founded on a ſolid and permanent baſis*, to which the committee agreed without a debate.

† See his letter, entitled, A Letter on the Repreſentations of Ireland, reſpecting a Free Trade.

‡ Page 140.

may indeed exiſt, and may encreaſe in numbers, but it will grow like an unwieldy body, liable to dangers and acute humours*.

Whatever may have been the ſyſtem of government adopted, or accepted by Ireland, the recent and moſt intereſting fact is, that ſhe now complains of ſome diſtreſſes which ſhe conceives to reſult from that ſyſtem. Theſe diſtreſſes are poſſibly no more than have reſulted from temporary cauſes;—from the late rebellion with the Colonies, or from the calamities incident to war; but we know perfectly, that the complaint is founded in real ſufferings. The firſt inference which would ariſe from this fact, in any mind reaſoning kindly towards a part of the Empire, and diſcreetly in reſpect of the whole, *is, that the Iriſh, as fellow ſubjects, are intitled to every relief compatible with the general intereſts*†.

If we were to ſtate to an Iriſh gentleman, the long continued poverty and idleneſs whichhave prevailed over ſo large a proportion of his countrymen, he would probably anſwer——

"All this may be true, but the monopolizing "ſpirit of our ſiſter kingdom is the cauſe of it: "that ſpirit exerciſing itſelf upon Ireland in a "very early ſtate of her civilization, nipped her dif-

* Page 142. † Page 143.

" diſpoſition to induſtry, and, indeed, made it im-
" poſſible for her to become induſtrious. In the
" very infancy of our country, and whilſt we were
" contenting ourſelves with the exportations and
" ſale of our cattle, you made an act * to pro-
" hibit thoſe exportations. We next gave our
" attention to the increaſe of our ſheep, in order
" to export wool, but you forthwith † prohibited
" the exportation of wool, and made it ſubject to
" forfeiture. We then endeavoured to employ
" and ſupport ourſelves by ſalting proviſions for
" ſale; but you immediately ‡ refuſed them ad-
" mittance into England, in order to encreaſe the
" rents of your lands, though you thereby en-
" creaſed the wages of your labourers. We next
" began a woollen manufacture; but it was no
" ſooner eſtabliſhed than deſtroyed; for you
" prohibited § the exportation of manufactured
" woollens to any other place than England and
" Wales, and this prohibition alone is reported to
" have forced twenty thouſand manufacturers out
" of the kingdom.

" The Navigation Act ‖ had unwittingly, but
" kindly, permitted all commodities to be imported
" into Ireland, upon the ſame terms as into Eng-
" land: but by an act ** paſſed three years after-
" wards,

* 8 Eliz. ch. 3.
† 13 and 14 Car. II. ch. 18.
‡ 18 Car. II. ch. 2.
§ 10 and 11 Will. III. ch. 10.
‖ 12 Car. II. ch. 10.
** 10 and 11 Will. III. ch. 10.

" wards, the exportation of any goods from Ire-
" land into any of the plantations was prohibited:
" and as if that had not ſufficiently crippled the
" benefits given by the Navigation Act, we were
" ſoon * afterwards forbid to import any of the
" enumerated commodities from the plantations
" into Ireland. This reſtriction too was much
" enforced by ſubſequent acts, and the liſt of enu-
" merated goods was much encreaſed. I ſay no-
" thing of your regulations reſpecting glaſs, hops,
" ſail-cloth, &c. † and other inferior barriers and
" obſtructions to our commerce: we ſubſiſted
" under all this, and under a drain alſo, which
" has gradually encreaſed upon us, by remittances
" to our own abſentees, Engliſh mortgages, Go-
" vernment annuitants, and other extra-commer-
" cial purpoſes, to the amount of half a million
" ſterling annually. And though we retained no
" trade but in linen, and proviſions, the latter has
" been under a three years prohibition, during
" which period we loſt the principal market for
" our own beef, though three-fourths of our peo-
" ple were graziers. Many of us, indeed, carried
" on a clandeſtine trade, and it was eſſential to
" our ſupport; but that too has been lately check-
" ed, firſt by the revolt of the colonies, and now
" by the war with France and Spain.

" Our

* 22 Car. II. ch. 18. † 15 Car. II. ch. 7.

" Our annual remittances and debts to Great-
" Britain now encreaſe with our diſtreſſes; our
" ſubſcriptions for loans have been lately filled
" from Great-Britain; our eſtates when ſold, are
" purchaſed by Engliſhmen; our leaſes, when
" they expire, are raiſed by abſentees; the drain
" is become greater than all our means can ſup-
" ply; our manufactures find little demand for
" their work; the farmers ſell their produce with
" difficulty; our land rents, indeed, are eſtimated at
" near three millions ſterling, but our land-holders
" will ſoon be obliged to reduce them. We allow
" that ſeveral of your reſtrictions upon us, have
" lately been much ſoftened, or modified, but the
" want of an annual profit in our intercourſe with
" Great Britain equal to our remittances ſtill pre-
" vails, and is every hour more felt. By the un-
" fortunate ſituation of the colonies, we have loſt
" even our old refuge in emigrations. After hav-
" ing for many years taken Britiſh manufactures,
" to the annual amount of *two millions* ſterling, we
" are for the preſent reduced to *non-importation*
" agreements *, as a meaſure, not of expediency,
" but

* It ought to have been anſwered, " We *(the Iriſh)*
" ſend more than that to England, with this difference,
" that the whole amount of ours, is the produce, or ma-
" nufacture of Ireland—the true ſource of the wealth of a
" country; while the half of Engliſh exports are of foreign
" produce—

" but of neceſſity. It would have ſuited the ge-
" neroſity of our feelings, and the affection which
" we bear towards you, to have made our repre-
" ſentations in better and more peaceable times;
" but you ſee that our circumſtances are urgent,
" *and that your recent indulgences are inſufficient.*
" *We deſire, therefore,* A FREE TRADE, *otherwiſe our*
" *diſtreſſes muſt, if poſſible, encreaſe, and the conveniency*
" *of our ports will continue of no more uſe to us,*
" *than a beautiful proſpect to a man ſhut up in a*
" *dungeon* *."

Great-Britain loſes whenever Ireland is deprived of any reaſonable gain—and with reſpect to the ſituation of the latter for the weſtern navigation, we know that it is the intereſt of a dominion to carry on her commerce, from whatever corner ſhe can conduct it to the beſt advantage, and it would be thought a groſs abſurdity in the city of London, if, becauſe Briſtol is ſo ſituated as to have an advantage in the Iriſh trade, *the former ſhould deſire to have the port of the latter ſhut up.*

In all theſe reaſonings, the commercial and political intereſts, *are inſeparably blended.* When the liberty of commerce *is unequally enjoyed,* one part of an

" produce.—Non-importation would have raiſed in Ire-
" land—we take more than 1,000,000l. of their linens,
" and they take 3,000,000l. of our woollens—the two
" ſtaples."

* Page 146.

an empire may be in danger of becoming a burden to the other. An increaſe of ſupport in and of the common exertions, might, in courſe of time, reſult to Ireland from the advancement of her trade, and from the produce of duties, analogous to thoſe of Great-Britain.

It is ſometimes found, that a liberty to export manufactures, increaſes the produce of raw materials beyond the demand of the particular manufacture; and from the experience of the linen trade, it might be doubted whether leſs woollen yarn would be exported to Great-Britain by Ireland, if the export of manufactured woollens were leſs reſtrained; in which caſe, the ſmuggling of raw wool to the Continent of Europe might be checked *.

We are not, however, to proceed with that ſhort-ſighted wiſdom, which may enable us to ſhun the mere difficulty of a day; nor to act upon the ſpur of a moment †.

The Iriſh, though at all times, ſhe has had full liberty to manufacture goods for her own conſumption, the conſumers have hitherto found it eaſier to purchaſe from England, many articles, both of luxury and convenience, than to make them at home.

Amidſt the difficulties which time, and the foſtering attention of this country, alone can enable.

* Page 160. † Page 163.

Ireland to overcome, it deſerves remark, that ſhe has little coal, is ill provided with wood, and is nearly without inland navigations. In ſhort, the conſtitution and eſtabliſhment of a flouriſhing empire, imply a well regulated order throughout the nation, a ſteady and effective police, habits of docility and induſtry, ſkill in manufactures, and large capitals in trade; all which can be the reſult only of a continued and gradual progreſs, aided by a combination of other favouring circumſtances *.

Colonel FITZPATRICK †.

I am anxious that ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the Iriſh nation, and that they ſhould learn, that this country is well diſpoſed *to give every neceſſary ſatisfaction.* This is particularly to be wiſhed, becauſe pains have been taken to ſpread ideas, that what has been done is not ſufficient for the ſecurity of Ireland, and ſurmiſes have been thrown out againſt the friends of order and reaſon, *who were convinced of the rectitude of the intentions of Britain.*

Dec. 19, 1782.

Mr. FOX.

I take the firſt moment to declare, that the intentions of thoſe Miniſters who ſent the repeal of the

* Page 166.

† Colonel Fitzpatrick begged leave to call the attention of Government to the circumſtance, which had given ſome blame to the people of Ireland, *the deciſion of an Iriſh cauſe in the Court of King's Bench in England.*

the Declaratory Act, *were thereby to make a complete, abſolute, and perpetual ſurrender of the Britiſh legiſlative and judicial ſupremacy over Ireland.* THIS *was the intention of Government* * ; and it is clear to the conviction, both of Miniſters and of the Gentlemen of Ireland, who intereſted themſelves in the buſineſs, that the manner in which this is done, is the beſt poſſible way, and the leaſt liable to exception.

Dec. 19, 1782.

Lord BEAUCHAMP.

I have always underſtood it to be the privilege of a Member of Parliament, that when he has any particular buſineſs in the Houſe, it was not to be taken out of his hands *by another* †. This is a privilege I would never reſign ; a friend to *both* kingdoms, my only object is to ſecure *a laſting harmony* between Great-Britain and Ireland ; and if I ſhould be able to root out every remains of jealouſy, *my* great object will be accompliſhed, and I ſhall ſit down *the happieſt of men!*

Dec. 20, 1782.

* No one will ſurely diſpute Mr. *Fox*'s authority.

† This was occaſioned by Mr. *William Grenville* giving notice, that he ſhould move for a call of the Houſe, *at an earlier day* than the 22d of January (the day on which Lord Beauchamp moved the Call) when a motion would be made relative to Ireland.

Mr.

Mr. EDEN.

A diſſatisfaction has ſomehow ſince ariſen, but I ſtill continue to think, that it ought not to have ariſen, for it ſhewed beyond a poſſible doubt *, not merely the good faith, but the induſtrious anxiety of England, *to gratify Ireland in the point of free legiſlation.*

I feel myſelf ever diſpoſed to think, and to ſpeak of Ireland with gratitude, with affection, and with reſpect; but I do not think her at this hour an object of fear to any nation under the Sun; ſhe neither has, nor will have her due importance in the great ſcale of the globe, till ſhe can be induced to think herſelf ſecure *in quitting politics, and purſuing commerce; it is my object and wiſh to forward for her that happy and important moment.*

Jan. 22, 1783.

Mr. FOX.

By the actual repeal of the 6 Geo. I. Great-Britain certainly, *and to all intents and purpoſes,* relinquiſhed *every ſhadow of juriſdiction, and ſupremacy.*

Jan. 22, 1783.

Mr. EDEN.

I relied on a treaty being opened † between the Parliaments of Great-Britain and Ireland, for the purpoſes

* Mr. Fox's propoſition on the 17th of May.

† When I voted for the addreſs of the 17th of May laſt.

purpoſes of arranging not only the points already ſpecified, 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 navies, proportionable ſupplies, *with the whole immenſe detail under each of thoſe heads.* I ſhall then, *and not till then*, think that the connection is eſtabliſhed; and when the two kingdoms have thus realized and ſecured one conſtitution, one commerce, one King, one friend, one enemy, and one fate, it will become impoſſible for any man, *to wiſh the proſperity of the one country more ardently, or more earneſtly, than the proſperity of the other.*

Jan. 22, 1783.

HOUSE

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Earl of HILSBOROUGH.

I WAS called by my Sovereign, from a private ſituation, to aſſiſt in his councils. I had formed my opinion, as an object of leading conſequence, reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland. I imparted my thoughts, my motives, and intended conduct, to thoſe with whom I am to act; *and upon the idea of a full confirmation, and ſupport of the Crown and its ſervants, I conſented to come into office.*

I wiſh not to be underſtood, as dictating any meaſures, or pledging myſelf for the reſult; what I mean is merely this, that ſuch and ſuch were my opinions; that they were approved of, and that I would wait with anxious ſuſpence, and chearfully abide the event, and in common with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, ſubmit to the ſenſe of Parliament; but if, on the other hand, as ſuggeſted as a general charge againſt Government, that the conditions on which I came into place, ſhould be violated, or departed from, or that a perfect good faith ſhould not be preſerved, the ſame motives which induced me to accept of the ſeals, a view to ſerve my country, *to cauſe relief to be given to Ireland,*

Ireland, and advance the intereſt and proſperity of every part of the Britiſh Empire, would point out to me the propriety of retiring again into a private ſtation; *when the end for which I left it**, ſhall be found no longer attainable, or in other words, *when it will not be in my power to ſerve my country.*

Nov. 25, 1779†.

Earl

* To procure, in conjunction with the reſt of the Miniſters of the Crown, ſuch relief for Ireland, as ſhe might be entitled to expect from Great-Britain.

† On the 11th May, 1779, the *late Marquis of Rockingham* moved an immediate conſideration of the diſtreſſed, and impoveriſhed ſtate of the kingdom of Ireland, and ſuch effectual meaſures as ſhould promote *the common ſtrength, wealth, and commerce of his Majeſty's ſubjects in Great-Britain and Ireland.*—After deſcribing the *private* as well as *public* diſtreſſes of Ireland, in the moſt feeling language, the noble Marquis proceeded to contraſt the deſerts of the Iriſh nation, whoſe loyalty kept pace with the extent and magnitude of the calamities they felt. He inſtanced, in particular, their friendly and affectionate behaviour ſince the commencement of the American war; the zeal and fidelity of that kingdom, in the time of the two laſt Scotch rebellions; the uncommon efforts ſhe made during the late war, and her uniform loyalty, and attachment, to this country, in every trying exigency, when engaged in a foreign war.

He ſaid, he hoped, the importance of the object would ſtrike every noble Lord with the propriety, nay, the abſolute neceſſity of his motion, that the Houſe would treat it *with that temper, coolneſs, and moderation* which it ſo apparently

parently merited, and attend to it as a matter, in which every man in the nation was moſt deeply intereſted. He truſted, that their Lordſhips would not be led away *by any partial ideas or narrow diſtinctions of local benefit or advantage**, but meet it fairly as a queſtion of State, in which both kingdoms had an equal intereſt. He would be extremely ſorry, that this, or that town, or diſtrict, *that Mancheſter, or Glaſgow, or any other place, would ſupercede or render of non-effect the wiſdom of their Lordſhips' deliberations.* He wiſhed farther, that on the preſent occaſion, *all party or perſonal conſiderations would give way to the general good* †, and that as they all meant *the ſame thing*, the intereſts of both kingdoms, their Lordſhips' would not entertain a ſecound opinion on the ſubject. It was a great object, and ſhould neither be loſt, abandoned, or evaded; it had for ſome years been unfortunately too much neglected, but matters were at length arrived juſt at that critical ſtate, which would render it not only unwiſe and impolitic to loſe a moment, but would afford an inſtance of obſtinacy and want of feeling, *little ſhort of political inſanity.*

* The noble Marquis appears to be well aware *of the partial ideas, and narrow diſtinctions, of local benefit, or advantage,* that would probably *be ſtirred up againſt* the adjuſting ſuch a commercial intercourſe, as might be thought for the *reciprocal* benefit of both countries; and no doubt, the Houſe of Lords will be ſufficiently guarded againſt any thing of the kind, on the preſent occaſion.

† It is to be hoped that Mr. Fox, and his friends, will bear in mind the ſalutary advice and wholeſome admonition of the noble Marquis, whoſe virtues they ſo juſtly revered, and whoſe memory they hold ſo dear, and not ſuffer the real intereſt of Great-Britain and Ireland to give way *to party or perſonal conſiderations.*

Earl of HILSBOROUGH.

Previous to my acceptance of the ſeals, as Secretary of State, I deſired to know the intention of his Majeſty's Miniſters *(Lord North, &c.)* and the opinion of his Council, relative to future meaſures, reſpecting Ireland; and received every aſſurance from them, that Government was thoroughly diſpoſed to co-operate with Parliament, in giving to that kingdom, *ſuch an extenſion of trade as would put her on a footing with Great-Britain on the ſcale of commerce* *.

Dec. 1, 1779 †.

* As the *memory* of Lord North, and his friends, are ſo apt to fail them, it is rather a *lucky* circumſtance for them, that it can be refreſhed by ſo reſpectable an authority.

† The late Marquis of Rockingham was ſo very ſenſible of the neceſſity there was for doing ſomething for effectually relieving the diſtreſſes of Ireland, and had the object ſo much at heart, that in the courſe of the debate on the 11th May, 1779, he repeated with ſome warmth, that Ireland had been cruelly and injuriouſly treated, and that it would preſent a mixture of folly and ingratitude, which nothing but the dulleſt obſtinacy and ignorance could explain, if we refuſe to lighten *thoſe intolerable burthens* which the reſtriction *of our trade laws* laid upon that *loyal, affectionate, and enduring people.* The *Duke of Beaufort*, though he poſſeſſed a conſiderable property in Ireland, ſaid he ſhould chearfully aſſiſt in any meaſure, for giving the Iriſh that ſpecies of relief which their ſituation demanded. *Lord Townſhend*, in expreſſions of the warmeſt affections for the people of Ireland, pleaded their diſtreſſes and ſerts in very forcible language; and ſaid, he ſhould be

Earl GOWER.

I had the good fortune to unite the Houſe laſt Seſſion, upon the terms of the Addreſs to the Throne *. I was in hopes that ſomething *effectual*

 for

be wanting in the feelings which gratitude ought ever to inſpire, if he did not take the preſent opportunity of teſtifying his regard for them, and his earneſtneſs to procure them every degree of redreſs and indulgence, which their melancholy ſituation demanded, which juſtice dictated, and generoſity and national gratitude rendered a poſitive duty on the part of a great nation. He ſhould, in point of union and national ſtrength, *ever conſider England and Ireland as one country, and the people of each equally bound and connected by the ſame object, the proſperity of the whole.* The *Duke of Richmond* alſo in a very able ſpeech, endeavoured to ſhow, that all local diſtinctions were the creatures of prejudice and ſelfiſhneſs. He ſaid, that Ireland and England *were in fact the ſame nation and people*; that any diſtinction made in favour of the *latter*, was a piece of injuſtice to the *former*. A great, a loyal, and a brave people, were nor to be ruined, beggared, or oppreſſed, becauſe Mancheſter thought *this*, or *this*, or *that country were alarmed.* All theſe petty motives muſt ceaſe to operate, nor be permitted to influence our public Councils, which ought never to loſe ſight of juſtice and ſound policy. He was for an union; but not an union of Legiſlature, *but an union of hearts, hands*, of *affections*, and *intereſts*.

* The Addreſs was as follows.—" That this Houſe " take into conſideration the diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed

" ſtate

for the relief of Ireland would have ariſen *from the unanimous concurrence of their Lordſhips* in the amendment I then had the honour to propoſe †. If, however, nothing has been done, for the relief of that

" ſtate of the kingdom of Ireland, and being of opinion,
" that it is conſonant to juſtice and true policy to remove
" the cauſes of diſcontent by a redreſs of grievances, and,
" in order to demonſtrate the ſenſe which the Houſe en-
" tertains of the merits of that loyal and well deſerving
" nation, this Houſe doth think it highly expedient, that
" this important buſineſs ſhould be no longer neglected,
" and that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty,
" That his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take the
" matter into his moſt ſerious conſideration, and direct his
" Miniſter to prepare, and lay before Parliament ſuch par-
" ticulars relative to the trade and manufactures of Ireland,
" as may enable the national wiſdom to purſue effectual
" meaſures for promoting the common ſtrength, wealth,
" and commerce, of his Majeſty's ſubjects in both king-
" doms."

† The following is the *amended* addreſs which was carried *nem. con.* " That an humble addreſs be preſented to
" his Majeſty, that he will be pleaſed to take into his
" gracious conſideration, the diſtreſſed and impoveriſhed
" ſtate of the loyal and well-deſerving people of Ireland,
" and to direct an account to be laid before Parliament of
" ſuch particulars relative to the trade and manufactures of
" Ireland, as may enable the national wiſdom to purſue
" methods for promoting the common ſtrength, wealth
" and commerce, of his Majeſty's ſubjects in both king-
" doms."

that country, which I am pretty ſure is the caſe, I aſſure the Houſe, that I have done every thing in my power to keep my word, which I formerly pledged to the Houſe, and am ready to acknowledge, but I muſt add, in my own juſtification, that my efforts have proved totally unfruitful.

May 11, 1779*.

Earl of CARLISLE.

I riſe to expreſs my entire approbation of the motions †, and to bear my teſtimony to the zeal and loyalty

* His Lordſhip added, that he had, for ſome years, preſided at the Council Table, and had ſeen ſuch things paſs there, that no man of honour and conſcience, could any longer ſit there. The ſituation of Great Britain and Ireland required *ſincerity and activity of Council.* There is no doubt as to the cauſe of the noble Earl's diſguſt.—The miniſters (*Lord North*, &c.) had certainly pledged themſelves to do ſomething *effectual for the Relief of Ireland*, and none was given.

† " Firſt, That it is the opinion of this Houſe, that " the Act of 6th Geo. I. intituled, An Act for the better " ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of " Great Britain, ought to be repealed. Second, That " it is the opinion of this Houſe, That it is indiſpenſible " to the intereſt and happineſs of both countries, that the " connection between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed by mu- " tual conſent, upon a ſolid and permanent footing, and " that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, that " his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed, to take ſuch mea-

" ſures

loyalty of the Iriſh, particularly of the honourable conduct of the Volunteers, and the liberal offers made of their ſervice, when Ireland was threatened with an attack. Had I been more perſuaded than I am, that Ireland had ever relinquiſhed its right of free legiſlation, which I know they neither have nor can give up, I ſhould ſtill have thought it wiſe to accede to their claim; becauſe I know, that from the gratitude and affection of the country, and the wiſdom of Parliament, much more advantage would ariſe to Great Britain, than by maintaining any offenſive and ill-founded pretenſions to a controul over them.

May 17, 1782.

Earl of HILSBOROUGH.

I hope, and believe, miniſters are ſincere in their good intentions towards Ireland. I am perſuaded, they have no other object with regard to this country, and to that, but to promote the intereſt of both; but perſons at a diſtance, *who are not ſo well convinced of their good intentions towards*

" ſures as his Majeſty in his Royal wiſdom ſhall think moſt " conducive to that important end. " Both motions were agreed to without a diviſion. Both the Reſolutions were moved by the Earl of Shelburne, and ſupported by the Earl of Carliſle, Lord Camden, Duke of Leinſter, Duke of Chandos, and Duke of Richmond.

wards Ireland *, may conſtrue every little delay into matter of ſuſpicion and alarm; and, therefore, I conceive, *I beſt ſhow myſelf the friend of government, by cautioning them of their danger.* *June* 3, 1783.

Duke of PORTLAND.

I always have been, and always ſhall be ready, to do every thing in my power to cement the connection between Great-Britain and Ireland, on terms of mutual affection and mutual intereſt.

April 24, 1783. †

* It is now three years ſince the noble Lord was promiſed by *Lord North, &c.* that relief ſhould be given to Ireland, and though none has ever been rendered, yet the noble Lord has ſtill ſo much faith in their aſſurances, *as to believe them ſincere in their intentions towards Ireland,* nay, for his Lordſhip's part, *he is perſuaded of it,* whatever perſons may think, *who are at a diſtance,* and may conſtrue every little delay *into matter of ſuſpicion and alarm.* —What will the noble Lord think then, ſhould this ſame *Lord North* be found to oppoſe the commercial intercourſe now eſtabliſhing between Great-Britain and Ireland?

† On the ſecond reading of the Iriſh Judicature Bill.

*** The public are reſpectfully informed, that the ſpeeches that ſhall be delivered by the Oppoſition, in the Lords and Commons, on Iriſh Affairs, will be faithfully *contraſted* with thoſe of the preſent publication.

APPENDIX.

Houses of the Oireachtas