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UNION OR SEPARATION.

WRITTEN SOME YEARS SINCE

BY THE REV. DR. TUCKER,

DEAN OF GLOUCESTER,

AND

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

IN THIS TRACT UPON THE SAME SUBJECT

BY THE REV. DR. CLARKE,

SECRETARY FOR THE LIBRARY AND CHAPLAIN TO
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THIRD EDITION.

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

ON THE POLITICAL COMMERCIAL & CIVIL
STATE OF IRELAND.

"TROS TYRIUSQUE MIHI NULLO DISCRIMINE
"HABETUR."

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1799.

UNION OR SEPARATION

The attention of the House of Lords was called (Tuesday, March 19th, 1799) by the *Marquis of Lansdowne*, to the Tract of Union or Separation, as containing "more sound sense, more information, "and more knowledge of the world, than volumes "which had been written on the subject."

Errors of the Press, which the Reader is requested to observe, or have the goodness to correct.

Page 39	Line 12	for <i>their</i> own, read <i>her</i> own
39	14	after <i>manufacture</i> read <i>Ireland</i> ,
39	20	read <i>from do, to</i> Ireland.
41	15	read <i>be</i> stunted.
45	10	for <i>plea</i> read <i>plan</i> .
49	8	after <i>vague</i> a comma, and none after resisted.
51	2	for <i>seat</i> read <i>seal</i> .
61	20	for <i>leader</i> read <i>leaders</i> .
65	6	for <i>teey</i> read <i>they</i> .
71	30	for <i>constitutiona</i> read <i>constitutional</i> .
75	25	for <i>spendor</i> read <i>splendor</i> .
75	26	for <i>embrace</i> read <i>embosom</i> .
76	38	for <i>force</i> read <i>voice</i> .
79	19	for <i>less</i> read <i>loss</i> .

Preface.

THE magnitude and importance of the commercial propositions in 1785, had led men to investigate the positive and relative conditions of the Sister Kingdoms, in order to understand the extent of that negotiation.. This subject occasioned much private inquiry and discussion between Dean Tucker and Dr. Clarke : and out of it arose the question of an Incorporative Union. Dr. Clarke enjoyed at that period the constant society of this able and excellent man ; and now reflects on it as an honour and happiness of his life. The common occurrences, however, of human affairs having separated them, their intercourse was afterward kept up by

correspondence : and the question of an Union was still discussed, until Dr. Clarke was too far removed from the scene of British Politics, and no where stationary for the regularity of communication upon such topics. But the opinions, which had been urged by the Dean, upon a subject of such magnitude, seem too valuable for oblivion at a moment so important as the present, and which this profound Politician had long foreseen and often anticipated, in his discourse. His arguments, therefore, without their meaning being marred, or their reasoning weakened, but as they were drawn up himself, are, with permission, submitted to the Public, by Dr. Clarke. To his great and virtuous friend his debt of gratitude has been always large : his love and veneration will be endless.

UNION OR SEPARATION.

THE First Civil Compact took place between Britain and Ireland, at a moment when Government in the latter was the instrument of caprice, or the incentive of Rebellion. The Policy however, under an *Imperial Union* formed by Henry II, was barbarously defective: it long excluded the Irish from the benefit of the English Laws. The ground was thus laid of a jealous odious and disgraceful distinction,* which has been kept up by succeeding circumstances, and prevails down to this day. Accumulated misfortunes at this moment might be traced back to this unwise Policy under the *Imperial*, and we may say, *Dependent Union*.

Another Union however arose between Great Britain and Ireland upon a vast com-

* Englishman and Protestant have but one term in the Irish Language.

bination of causes, and a singular concurrence of events. In 1779, Freedom of Commerce was established for Ireland: in 1782 her Legislative Dependency was formally Renounced by the Parliament of Great Britain: and hence she dates her *Federal or Free Union*.

Men however of sound political experience beheld this measure with concern. Things were changed, but not corrected. The consequences were foreseen by them and foretold. But what must now follow? The Imperial or Dependent Union proved Defective; the Federal or Free Union has proved Defective: there is therefore no resource now left but a Real or Incorporative Union. That or Separation must ensue.

This is not the sentence of a rash judgment or an hasty moment: it is the deliberate opinion of a man, whose ability to combine causes and calculate effects, and whose honesty to speak out and foretel these effects, have rendered him Prophetic in the Political World. I may say this of him without suspicion of flattery, and with deep sorrow I may say it, for he will probably never

never know it. We shall never enjoy again the guidance of this great Luminary—he has closed with the hand of venerable age the book of Politics for ever.

Let us then listen to the high authority of Dean Tucker on this question of an Incorporative Union. We shall find three of the great Popular Objections, which the Patriots of Ireland are pleased to urge with a most decisive tone against this measure distinctly considered and confuted by him.

First: the Poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of those Taxes, which the Riches of England enable her to sustain with ease and comfort.

Secondly: in case of an Union, the greater number of English Members in such an United Parliament compared with the few Irish, would enable England, when any competition should arise between the two Countries, respecting Trade Manufactures and Navigation, to favour England and oppress Ireland.

B2

Thirdly.

Thirdly: the money now spent in Ireland, by means of a Parliament held in Dublin, would in that case, be transported to England, to the great Enrichment of the one Country, and Impoverishment of the other.

Fourthly: that an Union tends ultimately to a Separation.

Fifthly: that a Moral Assimilation with Britain, or an amelioration of the Manners of the People of Ireland may not be expected from the supposed Incorporation of the two Legislatures.

These are the grand Objections so loudly insisted on; which we own are very popular, and therefore in some sense formidable: but we cannot esteem them solid. However let us examine them.

“ *The first Position is, that the Poverty
“ of Ireland cannot bear the Weight of
“ those Taxes, which the Riches of Eng-

*Note: All Passages with inverted Commas contain the arguments of Dean Tucker, drawn up in 1785, in answer to the Objections then submitted to him by Dr. Clarke.

“ land enable her to sustain with no great
 “ Difficulty, or rather with much Ease.

“ Now here, under the Expressions *Pover-*
 “ *ty* and *Riches*, as applied comparatively
 “ to both Countries, a Fallacy is concealed,
 “ of which probably some are not aware.

“ In all States, Kingdoms or Countries
 “ whatsoever, and more particularly in Ire-
 “ land, the Poor are by far the greater
 “ Number. Therefore the Question comes
 “ to this: Are the great Majority of the
 “ People of England so heavily and oppres-
 “ sively taxed, as to suffer great Misery on
 “ that Account? And were the Poor, that
 “ is, the still greater Majority of the People
 “ of Ireland to be subject to the like Taxes,
 “ could they support themselves under such
 “ a Weight. To clear up this Point, let
 “ it be observed, that the Taxes laid on
 “ the People of England, may be summed
 “ up under the following Heads.

“ including likewise

“ 2. The Custom-House Duties on the
 “ Importation of foreign Produce, foreign
 “ Manufactures, and foreign Luxuries.

“ 3. The Excise on Articles of home
 “ consumption, under which Head, Salt
 “ may likewise be included.

“ 4. The new Duties on Coaches, Car-
 “ riages, Horses, Servants, Hats,” Dogs,
 “ Armorial-bearings, Powder, &c.

“ 5. The Stamp Duties, which of late
 “ have been so extended, as to comprehend
 “ a vast Variety of Articles.

“ 6. The Tax for defraying the Postage
 “ of Letters.

“ 7. The Poor-Tax in its different
 “ Branches.

“ Now, let any one seriously consider,
 “ which of these, and whether any of them
 “ do really fall on the labouring Poor of
 “ England, to any considerable Degree,
 “ unless it be their own Fault? And whe-
 “ ther the great Majority of the English
 “ Nation has any just Cause to complain
 “ on that Account?

“ For

“ 1st. As to the Land-Tax, and that
 “ on Houses and Windows, not only the
 “ menial Servants of both Sexes, but also
 “ the Journey - men and Journey-women
 “ throughout the Kingdom, the low Mecha-
 “ nics the Fishermen and Sailors, the Day-
 “ Labourours and Cottagers, are almost uni-
 “ versally excused. I do not enter into the
 “ Reasons, which induce the Assessors both
 “ in Town and Country, to omit them, and
 “ thereby to excuse this numerous Class
 “ from paying Taxes: but I do assert this
 “ to be the Fact: for hardly any of them
 “ are ever rated: and therefore they do
 “ not pay. In some Instances the Laws
 “ themselves excuse them: and in others
 “ a Connivance almost universally pre-
 “ vails.

“ 2. As to the Duties on the Importa-
 “ tion of foreign Goods, Manufactures, or
 “ Luxuries—I hope I may insist upon it
 “ without Offence, that the lower Class of
 “ People in England may enjoy very com-
 “ fortably good Food, decent Raiment, and
 “ warm Dwellings (the three great Necessi-
 “ ties of Life) without paying a single
 “ Tax for the Importation of any thing
 “ from

“from abroad. Therefore if any of them
 “chose to indulge themselves in such Ele-
 “gancies, or Luxuries, as are brought from
 “foreign Countries, they ought to pay
 “for their Prodigality: and have none to
 “blame but themselves.

“3. The Excise is the next Article to
 “be considered. And here it must be con-
 “fessed, that in a few Instances, and in a
 “very small Degree, even the frugal in
 “the lower Classes may be taxed. The
 “Excise on Malt, Hops and Cyder, also
 “on Soap, Candles and Leather with the
 “Duty on Salt, must affect the most par-
 “simonious among them in some small pro-
 “portion. But were they to be content
 “with a moderate Quantity of Cyder, or
 “one-way Beer,—and were they to buy
 “the other Articles at the best Hand, it is
 “not possible, that these Taxes (though
 “the worst of any) could essentially hurt
 “or impoverish them. As to the heavy
 “Tax on spiritous Liquors, this is so far
 “from being a real Grievance, that were it so
 “high, as to amount to an absolute Pro-
 “hibition (if that were possible) it would
 “be the greatest Blessing, which could be-
 “fall the common People.

As

“ As to the new Duties laid on Coaches,
 “ Carriages, Horses, Male Servants, fine
 “ Hats,” Armorial Bearings, Powder, &c.
 “ these surely do not affect the labouring
 “ Poor: for they are exempted by their
 “ very condition from paying any of these
 “ Taxes.

“ 5. The like Observations may extend
 “ to the Stamp Duties in all their Branches.
 “ Indeed, if the ignorant Populace will buy
 “ Newspapers, and commence Politicians,
 “ they are not to be pitied; for they ought
 “ to pay for their folly.

“ 6. The Tax on the Postage of Letters
 “ cannot materially affect the Poor, and
 “ even if it did, the Post-Tax is so much
 “ cheaper than any other Mode of Convey-
 “ ance, that it cannot be made a Matter of
 “ Complaint.

“ Lastly, as to the Tax for the Mainte-
 “ nance of the Poor, burdensome as it is
 “ here in England, this falls altogether on
 “ the middling and higher Ranks in Society,
 “ and not on the lowest, or the meanest.

“ Upon the whole, it evidently appears,
 “ even from this brief Survey, that the Ma-
 “ jority of the English Nation, [that is,
 “ male and female Servants, low Mecha-
 “ nics, Journey-men, Fishermen, and Sai-
 C lors

“ lers, Day-labourers, and 'all kinds of Cot-
 “ tagers, with their numerous Families],
 “ are not heavily or oppressively taxed.
 “ And supposing that similar Taxes were to
 “ be laid on Ireland, the Poor of that Coun-
 “ try would escape Tax-free*, at least ac-
 “ cording to their present mode of living ;
 “ for they use and consume much less Malt,
 “ Hops, and Cyder, less Salt, Soap, and
 “ Candles, Leather, and Stamps, than the
 “ Poor of England are known to do. There-
 “ fore they have much less to pay.

“ But, indeed, were an Union to take
 “ place, why should it be supposed that the
 “ Taxes must be invariably the same ?
 “ They are not so in Scotland, nor can any
 “ Reason be assigned why they must be
 “ exactly the same in Ireland. On the con-
 “ trary, many Regulations might be sug-
 “ gested, especially in regard to the Land-
 “ Tax, which would enrich Ireland, instead

“ *The claim of opening Parliament to Popish pre-
 “ tensions is said to be a claim made on the right of
 “ three Millions. Now of these three Millions, it is a
 “ known fact, that two millions, one Hundred Thou-
 “ sand are, by the late Hearth Money Act, *excused on ac-*
 “ *count of poverty from paying four-pence a year each to*
 “ *the State.*”

Speech of Robert Johnson, Esq. Member for Hillf-
 borough, before the Irish House of Commons, May 24,
 1795.—Dublin, Printed by Mercier.

“ of impoverishing it. For it can never be
 “ too often repeated, that any Tax, which
 “ promotes Industry and encourages a cir-
 “ culation of Labour, enriches a Country ;
 “ and any Tax, which checks Industry
 “ and stops Labour, necessarily impoverishes
 “ the Country in the same Proportion.
 “ This is the true Touch-stone for discover-
 “ ing the Merit or Demerit of any Tax.

“ Ireland is continually complaining that
 “ her Trade is *cramp*t, and her People
 “ have not Work ; yet there are no People
 “ under the Sun who take so much Pains
 “ to cramp her Trade, and check her In-
 “ dustry, as the Irish themselves. Were
 “ they to create an Yeomanry [and they
 “ alone * must do it], this very circumstance
 “ would raise up such a Demand for the
 “ Consumption of their internal Produce,
 “ and coarse Manufactures, as would give
 “ full Employment to their present *misera-*
 “ *ble, lazy, starving Poor*, for Ages to come.
 “ But they unhappily expect a Foreign
 “ Trade, without an Home Consumption ;

* The great tracts of land that are given in lease,
 and divided by the Lessee, to be sub-divided by other
 Lessees, until the Cottager is crushed by the number
 of those, whom he has to support above him, is a
 sore and crying evil. It is hence that the lands in
 Ireland are let § higher, though they are purchased
 cheaper than in this country ; while the Tenant does
 thereby

“ thereby grasping at the Shadow, and let-
 “ ting go the Substance. They think it
 “ good Policy to keep the *Mafs of their People*
 “ *fo poor, and fo destitute of the three great Neces-*
 “ *saries of Life, Food, Raiment, and Dwelling,*
 “ [which, by the by, are the Foundation of
 “ all Commerce whatever, even the most
 “ brilliant and extensive] that their *black*
 “ *cattle are almost, if not altogether, as good*
 “ *Customers to the Community,* and as much
 “ promote the Trade of it, as the Peasantry
 “ of Ireland—that is, in other words, as

not receive as much for his produce; and even of the
 returns of this produce, he has by no means a portion
 equal to that of the English Tenant. Were the gentle-
 men of Ireland to adopt the plain principle of those in
 England, by taking one third of the produce of the
 land, and giving the remaining two thirds to the Farmer
 for his profit and expences of cultivation; and if the
 lands were let solely to those who occupie them, a
 yeomanry would soon arise valuable to all parties.

§ Mr. Arthur Young's opinion is, that if an allowance be
 made for the disproportion between the English and Irish acre,
 and the difference of the currency (1s. 8d. in the pound) in
 both Countries the lands of Ireland are not let higher than
 those of England. There is a deference due to the investigations
 of Mr. Young; and his opinion is just, if formed upon the
 Rental received by the *owners in Fee* of the lands of Ireland;
 for their rents are extremely low and moderate. Or if he has
 formed his calculation upon the Rental of even the Lessees under
 the *Owner in Fee*, (many of whose Tenures are for 999 years)
 it may perhaps be just. But if a calculation were formed upon the
 Rental paid by the *Cultivators* in Ireland (whose case we are
 here considering) and upon that paid by the same description in
 England, it would be found after all allowances for size of Acre
 and currency of Money, that the Lands of Ireland are let higher
 than those of England. This is an opinion formed upon much
 enquiry and intercourse with the two Countries.

“ five-sixths, perhaps as nine-tenths of the
 “ Mass of the People.

This is a point which calls for peculiar consideration, as one of the first importance, in these times. At every period, however, Husbandmen are of higher value to a State than those endowed with the sharpest Invention or most profound Genius. But if Industry be not animated by due remunerations, all the rich gifts of God and Nature to that Island are vain. As well might great portions of its Land have remained buried in the Chaos, or overwhelmed by the Waters. Under Incorporation, new repose and widely extended Trade must arise, with a whole system of industry, encouragement, and happiness, blessing and exalting the Nation. Incorporation is the angular stone of its greatness. Its Natives, whose talents and industry are scattered over the earth, will no longer explore foreign Climates or dangerous Desarts, if they be happy at home. Neither will foreign markets be so necessary for Commerce, when there is through home Industry an home * Trade and good

* Perhaps a better criterion of the happy effects of industry can not be had than the home consumption of Britain compared with its trade all over the Globe. The profits of the *home* trade are calculated by Mr. Pitt at 28 Million: The profits on the foreign trade at but 12 ditto.

price for the Commodities. The influence extending from this to the Agricultural System will put all these co-operating powers in motion, which tend to the population and prosperity of Ireland. For Agriculture is not only the first and great source of wealth to a State ; but Agriculture and Population are like the ocean and the rivers which supplie each other. Agriculture promotes Population, by invigorating the bodies of Men, and by furnishing food for an increased progeny. And Population promotes Agriculture by the consumption of the fruits of the earth. Agriculture gives *existence* to the Landed Interest, Population is its *support*.

“ Were a Land-Tax* of 100,000l. a year
 “ to be constantly levied on Lands and
 “ Houses in Ireland, as in England: but
 “ were the *Occupiers* of Dwelling Houses in
 “ Cities, Towns, and Villages, under the
 “ Rent of three pounds a year, to be totally
 “ exempted ; also every Cottage or Cabbin
 “ in the Country, to which was annexed

“ * The greatest Advantage attending the English Land-
 “ Tax is, that it is not subject to fluctuations in the
 “ proportions to be observed. In which it widely differs
 “ from the Land-Taxes in France, which arose according
 “ to the improvement of Land, or the advancement of Rent.
 “ What the Proportions were on each County, City, or
 “ Borough Town in the Reign of King William, the same
 any

“ any quantity of Land, not exceeding
 “ *half* an Irish Acre, to be exempted like-
 “ wise ; moreover, were every Farm, not
 “ exceeding 50 Irish Acres [provided it had
 “ a *Dwelling House* upon it, *inhabited* by the
 “ Farmer, or Owner himself], to be taxed
 “ only three-pence annually for each Acre ;
 “ were every other Farm, circumstanced in
 “ the same manner, and not exceeding 100
 “ Irish Acres, to be taxed six-pence annual-
 “ ly for each Acre ; but were all other
 “ Lands or Farms of a larger extent, or
 “ not so circumstanced, to be rated to the
 “ Land-Tax at two shillings per Acre [un-
 “ less they happened to be barren Rock, or
 “ inclaimable Bog, not capable of improve-
 “ ment, or Lands covered with Woods, or
 “ Coppices] these few regulations would
 “ soon fill the Irish Towns and Cities with
 “ industrious Inhabitants, and the Country
 “ with laborious Cottagers and working
 “ Farmers ; most of them in easy circum-

“ Proportions have remained to this Day. Consequently
 “ the Sum levied on each Individual operates as a *Quit*
 “ *Rent* on his Estate, to *spur* him on to improve it as
 “ much as he can ; knowing, that if he should improve
 “ his Estate so much as to double, or treble his Rental,
 “ he shall pay no more ; and were he to let the Land
 “ run into an uncultivated Wilderness, he should pay no
 “ less. The great Improvements of the landed Estates
 “ in England, date their Origin from this Cause.”

stances

stances, and none too proud or too lazy
for their Condition and Station in Life.

“ Another good Circumstance would naturally arise from such a Plan. The present Clamors for protecting Duties and prohibitory Laws would cease of course. Clamors which betray a total Ignorance of the true Interest of that Country, because Ireland ought always to excite an Emulation among her Mechanics and Manufacturers to excel her Rivals, instead of checking and preventing it by Monopolies, Pains, and Penalties. And above all, Ireland should never use such a conduct towards other Nations, especially towards the English, her best, and almost only Customers, as would provoke them to retaliate the Injury upon herself with redoubled Vengeance. For were England to lay the same Duties on Irish Linens, which she doth on German, and other foreign Linens:—the whole Linen Trade of Ireland, her only Staple Manufacture, and the source of all her Wealth, would sink to nothing.*

* There have been 52,000,000 yards of Linen exported in one year. Great Britain by her protection secures a monopoly of this branch to Ireland. In the English market Irish Linens have an advantage of 37 per Cent. over German Linens, and receive bounty of three-half-pence per yard on re-exportation.

“ The Second popular Objection against
 “ an Union, is *that the English and Scotch*
 “ *Members, in this supposed united Parla-*
 “ *ment, being so many more in Number than*
 “ *the Irish, the Majority would conspire a-*
 “ *gainst the Minority, and out-vote them on all*
 “ *Occasions of Competition: so that Ireland*
 “ *would be oppressed instead of being benefited.*

“ Strange Delusion! which takes these
 “ things for granted, that are both *impro-*
 “ *bable* in Theory, and impracticable in
 “ Fact. The Supposition is utterly impro-
 “ bable, that an Union should ever take
 “ Place, without such *Preliminaries being*
 “ *settled*, as would prevent either of the con-
 “ tracting Parties from having the Power
 for all, whereof the value does not exceed eighteen-
 pence yer yard.

Such are the advantages on the Linen Trade: let us
 now see what are the advantages on general Trade be-
 tween the two Countries.

In the year 1795 the Irish Im-
 ports, into the Port of Lon-
 don, amounted to
 British Manufacture exported
 from thence to Ireland

£. 2,209,501 3 4

168,687 18 3

Balance of Trade in favour of
 Ireland from only one Port

2,040,813 5 1

N. B. The balance at Liverpool, where the Linens
 are chiefly imported, must be immense.

“ to lay a greater Burden of Taxes, or
 “ to put more Restraints on Trade, or to
 “ curtail any of the Liberties of the other
 “ Party, beyond what the Articles of Union
 “ shall authorize. An Infraction of the
 “ Terms dissolves the Union *ipso facto*, and
 “ restores the injured Country to its former
 “ state of Independence.

“ The like Conspiracy is equally *imprac-*
 “ *ticable* in Fact, because where there is
 “ no Clashing of Interest, there can be no
 “ Competition either for *Power** or *Profit*.
 “ Thus, for Example, when Ireland shall
 “ be so united, as to form one Country
 “ with England, the Power of the one
 “ will equally become the Power of the
 “ other. No man considers the strength of
 “ Yorkshire, as in any Degree separate
 “ from; or opposed to that of Devonshire
 “ and Cornwall; though they are much
 “ farther distant from each other, than
 “ England and Ireland. For they both
 “ must stand, or fall, or rise together. And
 “ the Case of Scotland affords a still stronger
 “ Illustration.

* The principle of this argument applies with no small
 force to the Internal Parties of Ireland, in favor of an
 Incorporative Union.

“ As to Profit, or Interest, the same
 “ Ideas must recur. For, properly speak-
 “ ing, no Competition of Interests can have
 “ any Effect on the Legislature, to make
 “ partial Laws on either Side;—it being
 “ evident, that each Country, and each
 “ part of the Island must enjoy their own
 “ peculiar Advantages, natural, or artifi-
 “ cial, without Let or Molestation. At this
 “ instant Yorkshire is getting the Cloath-
 “ ing Trade from the West of England,
 “ by means of its superior Frugality, Oeco-
 “ nomy, mechanic Skill, and Industry.
 “ And what will be the Consequence?
 “ Plainly this, that the West must adopt
 “ the like Measures and Police with the
 “ North, or deservedly suffer for their
 “ Folly. But according to the Notion here
 “ broached, another Mode might be adopt-
 “ ed. Yorkshire returns only 30 Members
 “ to Parliament; whereas the several Coun-
 “ ties of Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, and
 “ Somerset, much of the same Extent with
 “ Yorkshire and all united in one com-
 “ mon monopolizing Cause against it, re-
 “ turn no less than 80 Members. There-
 “ fore poor Yorkshire ought to be in a
 “ terrible Fright, lest this vast Majori-
 “ ty in the House of Commons shall enact

“restraining, or prohibitory Laws to crush
 “the Trade of the North, in Order to
 “favour the Manufactures of the West?

“No: Yorkshire is in no Fright: and
 “entertains no such apprehensions: nor
 “even Scotland: notwithstanding this lat-
 “ter hath not a twelfth Part or Share
 “in the Legislature of Britain. Yet all
 “Parts are safe, and will ever so remain:
 “for it is not in the Power of the Ma-
 “jority to hurt the Minority in these Re-
 “spects. Such a Scheme would defeat itself.

“The last objection, and perhaps the
 “most popular of any in the Streets of
 “Dublin, is, *that were the Parliament in*
 “*Ireland to be removed to England the Money*
 “*now spent in Dublin, would be lost to that*
 “*Country and gained to this.*”

“Now this objection is built on a vul-
 “gar Notion, which is entirely false,
 “that *Money is Riches*. Whereas Industry
 “and Frugality are the two Riches of a
 “State: and money only the Sign of
 “them. Nay, if Money becomes the
 “Sign of Riches in one Sense, it may be
 “an Indication of Poverty in another.
 “For the Circulation of Gold and Silver,
 “or the transferring of these Metals from
 “Hand to Hand, is no otherwise useful

“ to a State, than as it promotes the Cir-
 “ culation of Labour and general indus-
 “ try. Wherever it is not productive of
 “ this good Effect, the greatest Quantity
 “ of Gold and Silver is so far from being
 “ beneficial to the Community, that it
 “ is the greatest Detriment. The Spani-
 “ ards have experienced this to their cost.
 “ History tells us, there was a Time when
 “ Spain was full of Industry and Manu-
 “ factures. But when a Mode was intro-
 “ duced of getting Money without Labour,
 “ by means of the mines of Mexico and
 “ Peru, and by plundering and seizing on
 “ the Wealth of the defenceless Moors, and
 “ Jews, the Looms and all the Apparatuses
 “ for carrying on extensive Manufactures
 “ were laid aside : and Spain soon became
 “ one of the poorest, and worst cultivated
 “ Countries in the Western World.

But there are striking instances of this
 important truth, that *Money is not Riches*,
 within our own experience. For, where-
 ever Money is idly spent, the People are
 uniformly poor. Amidst all the splendor
 and brilliant extravagance of Versailles,
 how relatively poor were its Inhabitants
 to those in commercial parts ! Reflect
 also upon the Sovereign Residences in Ita-

ly: look to Vienna, and Berlin: examine the poverty in Dresden where the Rich Saxon Elector holds his Court: What does the wealth of the Sovereign and Nobles of the two Electorates produce at Munich! Pass to the residence of the Inferior Sovereigns, where splendor and dissipation predominate, and mark the effects! The seat of all prosperous Manufactures, over the Universe, is removed from the haunt of Dissipation.* Now pass into Britain: and observe what immense sums are spent weekly in dress, pursuits of pleasure, prodigality, luxury of table, horses, servants, gaming, &c, at Bath, by perhaps an average of 20, 000 Strangers, beside Residents, in the Season. And are the people of Bath rich? Has any Manufacture sprung up there amidst this splendid extravagance:— or what man would think of entering on such †an undertaking? Yet Nature seems to have destined this as a seat for Manufacture: it has directed here a River in its course, whose banks are peculiarly adapted to the

*Before Dissipation was so great or universal in Dublin, the Manufactures in that Quarter called the *Liberty* were extremely flourishing. But at this day what a scene does it present?

† On this principle the Citizens of London interfered against the Royalty Theatre being opened for Dramatic exhibitions. The whole town of Manchester some time since, had not a single family within its walls, that were not the children of Trade and occupation.

erection of Mills; whose streams are never exhausted, but form a communication with the second trading Town in the British Empire. And if Riches could accelerate success, here is money, and Votaries of pleasure in crowds, to purchase the necessaries of vanity and ostentation. But there is notwithstanding no manufacture here, because here no manufacture would prosper. Throughout all the Island, at all the places of pleasurable resort and dissipation, much money circulates but the Inhabitants remain poor.* “Indeed, even Ireland can
 “afford a Confirmation of this important
 “Truth. For wherever Money is idly spent,
 “as it always is in supporting Horse-Races,
 “promoting Amusements and Diversions,
 “&c. &c. the People of such Places are
 “always poor, on that Account, and
 “never can thrive effectually, till these
 “Temptations are removed out of their
 “Way.”

“But still it will be urged that during a
 “Parliament-Winter, great Sums are spent
 “in Dublin, by the Nobility and Gentry
 “of Ireland, which would have been carried out of the Kingdom, were the Parliament removed.

* Compare the Wealth of the Inhabitants of Bath to that of the Bristol Merchants: yet Bath has had an infinitely longer run in its Trade of Dissipation, than Bristol in its commerce.

Granted. that a part but not the whole of this would be transferred. But if the whole were transferred, it would be the removal of a Detriment: for in as much as Diffipation withers manufactures must grow up: and further, as the Union produces security and repose, commerce must extend; and consequently its advantages infinitely counterbalance all apparent losses: they in reality would prove gains.

“ Beside great Sums were once expended in
 “ Edinburgh, when the Court was kept, and
 “ the Parliament held in that Metropolis
 “ And what was the Consequence? —Edin-
 “ burgh was then a very poor Place; but is
 “ now a great and wealthy City. Its Trade
 “ and Commerce, Merchants and Manufactu-
 “ rers are in a more thriving State than ever
 “ they were during the Time it was made
 “ the Seat of Government and Legislation.
 “ Whereas now its Buildings are not only
 “ more extended, but also are grand and
 “ elegant. Therefore it may be fairly ask-
 “ ed, how is it that such great alterations
 “ have been brought to pass? Plainly thus:
 “ Edinburgh was poor, when devoted to
 “ Pleasures, Amusements, and Diversions,
 “ (as Dublin is at present); but on the re-
 “ moval of the Parliament, Edinburgh be-
 “ came the Seat of Industry and Manu-
 “ factures.

But say the Inhabitants of Dublin, in their short-sighted fears, the trade of the Metropolis will be ruined, for Commerce will transfer itself to the best Harbours; Cork, Derry, Galway, and Belfast, will thrive; whereas Dublin must decline. How weak is the too great Egotism of Mankind! This cannot possibly be the case; and suppose it were, that a great bulk of the Commerce flowed into those Ports, still Dublin must thrive and its Trade extend. Can the Capital, or head of a Nation droop and die, while the different Members of the Kingdom are increasing the sound sources of civil life, and the whole body accumulating vigor? This dread is altogether absurd. Dublin, being the Seat of the Treasury and National Bank, must ever be the centre of Exchange, and being the centre of Exchange for universal Commerce, (which Commerce must, under repose and security, extend to an incalculable degree), consequently and incontrovertibly Dublin must become the scene of a proportionate and increased Trade.

London is a proof of this. This Metropolis is the Seat of Exchange for her trading Towns with the commercial world. If money be due from Hamburgh to Manchester,

it is paid in London : if it be due from York to Exeter, it passes through the medium of a Bank in London. And the consequence is before us in the extensive trade of London. Beside, a corroboration of this fact is found in the practice of Ireland itself. If orders go from England to Cork for provisions to any amount, do the Graziers take bills upon the Commissary in England, whence the orders come, or upon a Bank in London ? Certainly upon neither ; they must have a bill upon Dublin. Therefore, it is obvious, that let the Commerce of Ireland be extended in what manner it may, either in direction or in quantity, its influence must finally be felt, and be commensurate in the Capital.

Moreover, a proof of the ill-founded fears in Dublin, as to its local losses in trade, supposing the Union to take place, appears in the fact of London, Bristol, and Liverpool. For, how far superior to these ports, are those of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Milford-haven, &c. for commerce ? Yet, notwithstanding all these natural and extreme defects of London, Bristol, &c. they have not lost their trade. And why ? Because when once an establishment, vast in its combination, and extensive in its parts, has taken root, it is difficult to remove it. Its relations

and its habitudes are its security. No situation can be worse than that of London, as to every natural defect, for trade; but its artificial basis has become too broad for its disadvantages to overturn it. Their inhabitants of Dublin therefore need not have such fears for their loss of trade. The Capital of a Commercial Nation is like the human heart, through which all the blood must flow: whether the nutrition, from which it has been formed, results from the operations of the hand, the head, or any other member. By whatever ports commerce enters into Ireland, Dublin must be the great seat of action. And what the difference is between the action of Commerce and the action of Dissipation, may be seen in the vigorous animation on Ludgate Hill, compared to the Lounging in Bond-Street, and the Sauntering at Bath.

“ Much hath been said by certain Writers
 “ in praise of an influx of Money into a Na-
 “ tion, *merely as such*; without considering
 “ what Effect this Money hath upon the
 “ Community, whether to make Men indus-
 “ trious, or to make them idle. And it must
 “ be confessed, that Traders in general are so
 “ narrow sighted as scarcely to entertain any
 “ other Idea of the *Goodness* of Trade, than

“ as it may enable them to accumulate more
 “ Gold and Silver than their Neighbours, and
 “ with less Trouble. Then *that* Trade is a
 “ good one. Now, were this the true Idea of
 “ a good Trade, the Inhabitants of ancient
 “ Rome had the best in the World: for their
 “ Trade was to plunder all Nations and to
 “ share the Spoil among themselves. Yet we
 “ know from History, that the Mass of the
 “ Roman People were poor and indigent in
 “ an extreme Degree. For they were not able
 “ to borrow Money for less than 12 per Cent.
 “ per Annum; and they were not to be trust-
 “ ed, but from Month to Month. Many
 “ other Examples of the Wretchedness and
 “ Poverty of this brave and blustering, but
 “ idle and extravagant People, might be
 “ given.

“ But waving all Instances from Antiqui-
 “ ty, let us take a view of Things appertain-
 “ ing to our own Times. The County of
 “ Down, for instance, is allowed to be one of
 “ the most industrious, and consequently the
 “ richest in all Ireland. Would you therefore,
 “ in Order to augment its Wealth, to en-
 “ crease its Industry, and to secure Tempe-
 “ rance, Sobriety, and Frugality among its
 “ Manufacturers;—would you, I say, think
 “ it adviseable to remove the Parliament

“ from Dublin, and plant the Members of
 “ both Houses in Groups in the Manufactu-
 “ ring parts of the County of Down? And
 “ what would be the Effect of such Planta-
 “ tions?—The Application is obvious.

“ Nevertheless, strong and convincing as
 “ these Reasons for an Union are, I do not
 “ depend on them for Success in the present*
 “ Case. For that Man must be very ignorant
 “ of human Nature, who expects to subdue
 “ deep rooted Prejudice, merely by the
 “ Force of Reasoning. *But there is a Tide in*
 “ *human Affairs to which Prejudice itself must*
 “ *yield, because it cannot resist it.*

At this moment if the good sense of Ireland
 be not supreme, and all passion put down,
 she may be lost. It is an universal crisis of
 Men and Things. And no Man can say upon
 what centre or basis they will repose. Amidst
 this general concussion, and the particular
 shock of Ireland, where is her safety? Is it
 in her own Arms? Certainly not. “ Non ex-
 ercitus neque thesauri præsidia regni sunt,
 verum amici. (Sal.) As to the Colossal power
 which tramples upon the Globe, the more it
 shakes it, the sooner it will fall. Amidst the
 concussions of this moment it trembles. The
 Party in Ireland which cries to it for protec-
 tion, should reflect! The other Party, in Ire-
 land which cries to England for protection,
 should also reflect! This moment is big with
 the fate of both.

* Written October 19th, 1796

“ The Americans and the English could not
 “ agree about the very same Points, on
 “ which the Irish and English now differ.
 “ The Americans expected to enjoy all Pro-
 “ tection, and every kind of Benefit, by their
 “ Connexion with England, but absolute-
 “ ly refused to stipulate to bear any part
 “ of the common Burden. For they declared
 “ such a Stipulation to be a surrender of their
 “ *unalienable* Rights. The inevitable Con-
 “ sequence was either a separation, or an U-
 “ nion. Happily for England, an Union, on
 “ Account of the Distance being impracti-
 “ cable, a total Separation necessarily took
 “ Place.

“ Respecting Ireland, one or other of the
 same Consequences must inevitably follow.
 “ For after Tropes and Figures have been let
 “ off without Number, after Torrents of Elo-
 “ quence have been poured forth, much Pa-
 “ per blotted, and much Ink spilt, —RE-
 “ COURSE MUST BE HAD AT LAST, EITHER TO
 “ A SEPARATION,—OR TO AN UNION.
 “ For plainly there is no *other Alternative*; —
 “ *no other Medium* to be discovered, or *Cement*
 “ which can *last* for any length of Time.
 “ Probably in the first Onset, and during
 “ the Paroxysm of the patriotic Fit,—a total
 “ Separation may be resolved upon, accord-
 “ ing to the *unalienable* Doctrines of Locke

“ and Molineux. Price and Priestly, and ac-
 “ cording to the Pattern set by the Americans.
 “ In which Case it will be the Wisdom and
 “ the Interest of Great Britain to remain a
 “ Spectator as *unconcerned* as possible, by giv-
 “ ing these misguided Zealots no manner of
 “ Disturbance in the Prosecution of their wild
 “ Scheme, but letting them feel their own
 “ Insignificance, by their smarting under the
 “ Lash of their own Folly. This will much
 “ sooner bring them to a just Way of think-
 “ ing, than any compulsive Measures what-
 “ ever. For, after having made the Trial,
 “ they will gladly accept of those Conditions
 “ and of such an Union, as they had spurned
 “ at before with Contempt and Indignation.
 “ Therefore it is evident to any Man, who
 “ will reason coolly on the natural Course
 “ of human Affairs, that the shortest and most
 “ direct Road to an Union between Great
 “ Britain and Ireland, is first to let the hot-
 “ headed among the Irish Nation both see,
 “ and *feel* what they shall get, or rather what
 “ they must infallibly lose by their *write*
 “ *Independence*, and the necessary Consequence
 “ of it, — a SEPARATION.

Rather let Ireland soberly reflect, how Bri-
 tain rose, under the sublime sanction of her
 Government, through Commerce, from no-

thing into something, and from something, into greatness. For, she who commands the Sea, commands the Commerce; she who commands the Commerce, commands the Wealth; and she who commands the Wealth of the World, must command the World itself. To an Union of this nature then Ireland is called. That or Separation is before her.

If Holland vanquished Nature, though the four elements all corrupted warred against her, and rose by Commerce to Opulence and Power, what then may Ireland expect into whose Lap Nature has poured a profusion of her blessings? Give her but stability† and repose, under an Incorporative Union, and the dreams of Avarice will not outstrip her Prosperity. What has the poor and barren Scotland done under the auspices of an Union; and what shall not Ireland do, teeming with all the treasures of the animal, vegetable and mineral* Kingdoms: with such

† The Opulence of England will then promote the Commerce and Agriculture of Ireland.

* It is stated on the first authority that the mineral treasures of Ireland are equal, if not beyond those of any other Cuntry in Europe. If Security then be once established, what may not the wealth of English Companies dig out of these mines? Were it not wise in the University of Dublin, to make mineralogy a part of their System of Education; that Gentlemen might know the value of their property, or Professional Men be brought up to inquire into it?

Ports, Climates, Soil, Rivers, Harbours, and Position upon the Globe: with an active, strong, and robust race of Men, quick in their perceptions and solid in their Combinations? Constituted as Europe now is, Power is manifestly in proportion to Wealth, and Wealth must ever be in proportion to Commerce. Ireland therefore possesses the means of Power to a degree that all the advantages of Nature can bestow, or art may procure, if she has Security and Peace. When these are established by Incorporation with Britain, all the Seas of the Universe will be enriched by the Burdens of her Commerce, and her bosom be for ever closed against indigent Idleness, indigent Venality, indigent Avarice and Ambition, against Indigence and Rebellion.

Should it however be urged, that the value of Property in and about Dublin must be diminished by the decrease of Population, or change of Trade to other Ports: first, we deny the Position, as unfounded: and next, if the ground of the Position were true, so much the better. But it is false on the clear views of Trade which have been given before. It is false because the numbers which will be summoned† to attend the British Par-

†The number of Peers may be perhaps about 32.

liament will be comparatively inconsiderable to those which will not be summoned. And it is false, because, increased Commerce must give increased Wealth and Population, and consequently increase the value of Land and Houses about Dublin.

But, suppose that all this were not true, (and it were a supposition in the very teeth of truth,) but suppose, that part of the Commerce were to pass to *Galway, Cork, Derry, or Belfast*. So much the better! Because manufactures could be rendered more cheap, where there is less Luxury and less Population. This is the grand secret for success, in commercial emulation: all the results of skill and capital are to produce cheapness, and enable the Manufacturer to undersell others, in foreign Markets. Again, it is so much the

There are at present 41 Irish Nobles, who are Peers in Britain: and there are about 81 Irish Peers, residents in Britain—consequently as out of these, several, if not most perhaps of the 32 Peers may be chosen, where will be the great diminution of Resident Peers in Ireland?—As to the Commons, the number may be about 100: now it is a well-known fact, that the leading Commoners of Ireland spend a certain portion of each year in England, and more than may be necessary for the attendance on Parliament. It will therefore be in reality but a change of season as to the time of absence, as it is presumed that they will, like all other Country Gentlemen, be glad to get their release and betake themselves to their Demesnes domestic scenes and Rural amusements.

better, from the convenience for external Commerce. But on the contrary, suppose that there were not any of these advantages of cheapness and convenience to extend the scale of Commerce: and suppose further, that Trade thus transferred would not increase, (which is impossible,) still after all these suppositions against reason and against experience, we say that it matters not to the *Nation* at large, whether it receives its treasures with the right or left hand. Or rather indeed it is a matter of much importance, that it should accumulate Opulence with two hands, rather than with one, and have the other withered. Dublin should rejoice, if Ireland were to become a Briareus of Commerce.

Diffusive happiness, arising from general Industry and Wealth, is the greatest blessing of a State. Let not Dublin then realize the fable of the war of the Members. An overgrown Head is the emblem of disease, and usually forebodes death. The skilful Architect proportions his base to his capital. And no Statuary would weakly hope to support the head of a Colossus upon the trunk of a Pigmy.

The views of sound Policy and true Patriotism embrace the interest of an entire People, or a whole Empire; and reject false cal-

culations of individual or local advantage. But suppose that this maxim, which is an eternal truth, were false; and that the Inhabitants of the Capital were to be guided solely by self Interest. Still in their pursuit of Riches, it is not amidst the dissipations of the Great, nor amidst the idleness and corruption of their trains during Parliament, that they will find them. It is amidst flax and wool and workshops. "To increase the Riches of a Kingdom" said the celebrated Colbert, on a consultation relative to commerce, "we must find out
 " manufactures to give employment to the
 " poor, and work to the idle. Flax, silk, and
 " wool are our objects." Through the medium of such wealth, luxury will not breathe its corrupt influence on the Capital: instead of riot there will be decency, order, and opulence; instead of shops there will be warehouses. Dissipation and immoral extravagance may, like whirlwinds, rise one place to raise up heaps in another: but riches thus rapidly collected, are as rapidly dissipated. Riches are, in truth, a moral poison; yet like natural poisons, which after passing through certain operations become not only medicine but wholesome food, so do they become the support of society. And beside, if from gold, luxurious vices origi-

nate; from poverty, crimes are produced. But the specific against both is honest industry.

To this test let all the opposition of the Capital be brought, and the Inhabitants will soon perceive, that if their Parliament House could be converted into the Seat of a New Manufacture, or should it be transformed into a Woolen Hall like that of Leeds, the change would be advantageous and beneficial both to themselves, and the Nation at large.

It is Commerce that has freed Kings from Slavery and people from oppression. If therefore the grounds of complaint, so strongly urged by the Association of united Irishmen, have, (which we do not admit) real existence, Commerce is an infallible remedy. And if they have not existence, Commerce is the source of glory, splendor, opulence, and happiness. For the acquisition of all which: Incorporation is the Charter.

But will any of those advantages be enjoyed without Incorporation? Separation follows, according to the authority of Dean Tucker; and according to arguments and considerations which will appear in their proper place. Since then one of those two events must result, we shall lay before men

no uncertain *Data* in the Documents of Commerce, whereby they may calculate what they have to hope from British Connexion and Incorporation, and what they are to fear in its loss.

IRISH COMMERCE DURING THE LAST CENTURY,
FROM 1698 TO 1798.

	£.	s.	d.
In 1698 her balance of Commerce amounted to	-	-	400,220 0 0
In 1703, unable to support her Civil Establishment, the Commons laid her " <i>deplorable state</i> " before the Queen	—	—	—
From 1768 to 1779 the average balance	600,000	0 0	
In 1779 <i>as in the year 1703</i> (see Woodfall's Report of Mr. Burgh's speech in the Irish House of Commons, August 12, 1785).	—	—	—
In 1785 Exports to Britain 2,500,000			
Imports from ditto 1,000,000			
Balance	-	1,500,000	0 0

[Here it should be remarked that these Irish Exports were admitted *duty free* into Britain : and that on every article of British import, a revenue was raised in Ireland. The consumption of Irish Linens at this period was only 20 millions of yards, (it is *now* about 52), and to favour this, Britain taxed herself annually 450,000*l.* she laid an heavy duty on Russian and

German linens, and paid an advance price for the Irish ones. The consequence is before us in the immense increase of the Linen trade at this day. But her influence over the Linen trade may be ascertained from another fact of the same date, not less convincing, though alarming. In 1750 Ireland exported more sail cloth than she imported: but at that period Britain commenced a bounty on the export of their own sail cloth. The consequence was the total ruin of that manufacture. For in 1784 *none* was exported from Ireland, and 180,000 yards annually imported.]

In 1795 Irish Imports into *one* Port,
viz. London 2,209,501l. 3s. 4d.

British Manufac-
tures from Ire-

land to - 168,687l. 18s. 4d.

Balance from only one

Port in favor of Ireland - 2,040,813 5 0

In the year 1785 Irish linens brought in two millions annually to that country: but we perceive from the last statement, that the balance from one single port exceeded this amount by 40,813l. But we shall further see how through English Ports, extensive capitals, and dealings, the linens have found their way to foreign places to an immense amount: and so must it be with other fa-

brics. Such is the fostering hand and participation of British commerce! From the following statement laid before the British House of Commons, and which shows the prosperity of the linen trade, an important lesson may be learned by Ireland.

Irish Linens exported from England,	
in three quarters to Oct. 10, 1797,	157,681 16 0
Ditto in three quarters, to Oct. 1798,	276,929 15 6
Increase in three quarters, and during the rebellion	£. 119,247 19 6

If we may calculate a fourth quarter on this ratio in order to make up a year's increase	-	29,811 19 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
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Total of one year's increase during the Rebellion	£. 149,059 19 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
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It appears also that a *century* since (1698) her balance of commerce with the *WHOLE WORLD* was *less* than *one fifth* what it now is with *one Port* in Britain: and that thirty years since, her ballance of Commerce with the *whole world* was about *one fourth* of what it now is with a *single Port* in Britain. The application of those facts to the *advantages* of British Commerce, to be increased through Incorporation or lost through Separation, are obvious. Besides, we should consider that England]

supplies * Ireland with salt, for fisheries and provisions: hops, that she cannot grow: tin, that she has not: bark that she cannot procure elsewhere: coals, without duty; though her own subjects pay two, three, and four shillings a chaldron duty for coals sent coastways, and in London, seven shillings.

In the establishment of all manufactures, and to which we look through the security of Incorporation, there are two leading objects. The first is, cheapness as to provision and labour, and that is in Ireland: the next is a near, sure, and extensive market, and this is in England. Consequently, with a good climate, equal natural powers, cheaper food, and lower labour, the skill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland, in order to sell to England: and with superior situation, and Ports for Commerce, the skill and capital of England will find its way to Ireland to sell to, and undersell all the world.

Under Incorporation commercial jealousy must subside, and each country forgetting rivalry, enjoy its own natural and artificial

* See Woodfall's Debate, August 12, 1785, in the Commons of Ireland, Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech.

advantages, for their respective and united benefits. One nation will pursue that manufacture which it can fabricate with most profit; and buy from the other what it can render better and cheaper. The communication between their respective markets will be encouraged by a mutual preference; and consolidated and united they will soon outrival all the strangers of the universe.

Commercial jealousy has been too long irritating both countries. It has been increased, and political jealousy has been roused by two Independent Legislatures. If the powers of the two nations, thus connected, yet jealous, be separately employed for commercial and civil aggrandisement, is it possible that their political union must not be shocked? Separation of interest must inevitably occasion separation of connexion. Has it not nearly produced it at this day?

If we view for a moment the history of states, we may safely say, on the analogy of facts, that Ireland must, in the wildest scheme of Republican freedom, ever be a connected state. The plan of rebellious separations demonstrates this truth: for it looked to connection with France. But nothing save human phrenzy, could have conceived or supported this extravagant

purpose. Let the situation of Ireland internal and external be examined : where is there more civil Freedom ? Where can men have such advantages as to commerce and protection ? For, protection and powerful protection she must have with such internal weakness and such a line of coast. Where then such advantages, as to protection and commerce ? Besides, no country on the globe would connect with Ireland, but on terms of benefit, contribution and concession. What nation upon earth then would give, or could give such protection or such terms, as Britain ? Let the map of the world be examined : Let the power of each empire be balanced : Let the interests of each state be sifted : Let the politics of all Europe be considered : and then let it be said, if the *Commerce*, the *Constitution*, the *Religions* of Ireland could or can owe their safety, but to British connexion alone ? That connexion indeed is an axiom in politics so self-evident, that it is the fixed principle of the wise man, and the canting pretence of the cunning knave. But that connexion will not, cannot subsist with radical principles of separation. For, the truth cannot be too often repeated, where there is *separation of interest*, *separation of connexion* must follow. Whereas, by Incorporation, Security, Freedom, Opulence,

and Power are offered : far better than French Republics, or Utopian Directories.

But it may be asked, why does Britain offer Incorporation, and such participation of benefits—*timeo Danaos dona ferentes* ? Most truly, on the principle of self-interest ; liberality is the wise man's egotism. The self-interest of Britain is, at this day, understood to be inseparable from the interest of Ireland : her strength is Britain's strength ; her greatness Britain's glory. She offers Incorporation, because she is sensible of the advantage of the connexion. She is anxious to give security to Ireland, because she is thus giving * security to herself ; because Ireland supports her § navigation ; supplies her commerce with raw materials in linen-yarn, woollen-yarn and hides ; because it gives her provisions, money, † men, ‡ and importance in the consideration of Foreign Powers ; be-

* Had Britain an enemy in Ireland and were she thus Situated between two hostile lines East and West, what an extent of Coast would she have to guard against on both sides and to protect at home ? How would her Commerce be endangered and hemmed in on every point ? How would she be exposed to Invasion ? The passage from Ireland requires but boats and a short space of time.

§ The trade between Great Britain and Ireland, employs, as we have heard about half the tonnage of English commerce in Europe.

because it is for Britain, beyond the rampart of her rocks and the deep moat of the ocean, a citadel that she can surround with her invincible walls.

These are the important reasons why she would embrace her in her blessings. Will Ireland then embrace them and unite, or will she separate?

Separated Ireland must be at war or peace with Britain. First: if she be at war, and a tool in the hands of the enemies of Britain, the consequence may be death to Britain if she does not subdue Ireland. And if she does subdue her: the doctrine of prevention, against a case recurring so awful in its effects, may enforce the total destruction of Ireland.

But next suppose Ireland not at war with England: then according to those imperious dictates, which Policy must prescribe for

† Besides victualling the Navy, &c. Ireland is become a granary for England. It contains about seventeen million acres, which, though inferior in tillage, are superior in nature to the lands in England. For, even in this state, when they would require about 80 millions (or 5*l.* per acre) to bring them to the same degree of cultivation as those in England, Mr. A. Young estimates their acreable rental to be equal. We have before said that we believe this estimate to be under the reality; however, it gives twelve million 750 thousand pounds per annum.

‡ The population of Ireland is not so high as stated in the late examination before the Parliament in that country. This was but an opinion; whereas, it appears from the Hearth money books, that it is beneath five millions, but above four; perhaps it may be midway between both.

Britain, and according to the principle of the Balance of Power, Ireland must not throw herself into the scale of France. If it does, war is declared: and the results follow, which have been already stated.

But suppose that these results were not to follow: would the case of Ireland, united with France be improved? It would then indeed wear chains. And though embellished with a false name, would they be the lighter? If it looks for freedom in French fraternity, it is to be foolish beyond the privilege of passion. But if arguments, if facts, that the power of controversy can not change, may add weight to opinion, hear the French themselves: judge them both by their words and actions.*

Suppose however that French fraternity were a kind embrace, and not a pressure incompatible with existence in wealth or independence—the supposition is however absurd—but what would be the result? †“ France would be rendered both the weaker and the poorer, by thus acquiring an Island so difficult to be governed and so very expensive to be maintained.” Consequently though Ireland began in peace, she would

* See Enumeration of the Contributions, Confiscations, and Requisitions of the French Nation, with an Account of the Countries Revolutionized since the Commencement of the present War.”

† Dean Tucker.

be forced into war; though she began in liberty she would be forced into slavery; though she began in dreams of wealth, she would die in the pangs of poverty, blood, and Civil abjection.

Again: suppose Ireland not at war but at peace with England, and in amity with France, or a Province of France, which ever is most pleasing: even in this case, though Britain and Ireland be separated, “† the course of trade will be ruled by Interest and by no other motive. Therefore so long as the English Market will be the most eligible, so long the Irish will give Great Britain the preference to other Countries.” And consequently Britain will be sure of the trade without the expence of protection.

But further; suppose the English were to reject them from their Market—what then becomes of Ireland? Will America take all her linens? How blind are men who view objects through the medium of enthusiasm and passion! This however is at least a period for common prudence and common experience to teach mankind. But will Ireland trade to France when driven out from England? “† It is impossible for her to trade with her to any advantage. For, she must be a loser in almost every article. She can send none of her manufactures into

† Dean Tucker.

France, because they are rendered much cheaper in that Country. And she can import nothing from thence, but what has a tendency to make her people idle instead of industrious."

Thus then stands the case of Ireland: on the decision of which the existence of that state depends, and in which the repose and security of the British Empire are deeply involved.

From this point Ireland is to ascend or descend. Some Change must, and will take place: and though it be not immediate, total Separation will inevitably ensue, if a real Union, or Incorporation of the Parliaments be not adopted. But by this measure will the Constitution be altered? No! All the essential good will be thus retained, and the contingent evil, which has been so loudly murmured against, got rid of. The complaints of one party against Faction and its consequences must cease: and the complaints of the other against subversion of the Constitution can be heard no more. The object is not to apply temporary palliatives to the one, nor to roughly amputate the newly acquired powers of the other. Far otherwise! The union proceeds upon radical principles, that its operation may be perpetual against disorder. The present Con-

fiect has cost His Majesty 10 Million of Money and 40, 000 Subjects in Ireland! Must not every Man be protected against his share in such calamities: the high and eminent and the low and humble? Should not both Religions be snatched from a Revolutionary Death? Must not all property be saved from Republican rapacity? And since we have but one Constitution and one King, should we not have but one Senate, one Sword, one purse, one prosperity, should we not form one United and Imperial Britain?

Thus all parties will stand under a greater scale of protecting vigilance; and the abilities and virtues of none stunted by the absence of the Court. But while the Viceroy remains for all the wise celerity and dispatch of Executive Government, the proportions of power, and the selection of merit, and the just pretensions of all, will be fixed upon a broader and securer basis—the solid claims of virtue and of talents.

The Fourth Objection is,—*That an Incorporative union tends ultimately to Separation.*

This assertion we deny. For, if the causes of separation, that is, if the elements of discord be dissolved, all combinations for this purpose will cease. And, that grounds of solid conciliation are contained in the measure of incorporation

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* The eight following pages bear the same numbers as the eight preceding.

poration, we doubt not that the conflicting parties of this moment will find, upon dispassionate deliberation.

The one body of men consists of those who founded their purposes of separation upon the *wrongs of Parliamentary Factions*; we take their own statements in order to convince them upon the same point of strength, in which they have been pleased to place their motives. The other party consists of those men, who, roused at the meditated *subversion of Government*, have been victorious in its preservation.

Since, therefore, *Parliamentary Factions* on one side, and annihilation of the Constitution on the other, form the grounds of complaint, a competent and specific remedy for both will be found in the Incorporative Union. It is the vehicle of dissolution for all the causes of separation so loudly urged by the one; and consequently for all the effects so justly dreaded by the other: to the one, it will give (instead of a Party-government, or the rule of a Ministerial Cabinet, as they state it) the unparalleled blessings of a British Government; and, to the other, perfect security for the stability of this unequalled Government.—The Catholic will no longer have an ambitious and neighbouring zealot, as he calls the Irish Protestant, who is to rule over him; nor the Protestant have a bigotted and

envious Catholic, as he terms him, to endanger his property or his power. But both sects will be unalterably secure against each other in the very source and origin of their complaints.

The security of the Catholic is obvious in the total removal of the causes : and the Protestant may fully perceive his security in the effects, when rebellion can have neither beginning nor end : that is, when the Parliament, whether *complained* of as the *instrument*, or *viewed* as the *object* of ambition, be incorporated with the British Legislature. But, should it still be asked, how will this incorporation of Parliament give more security than at present against those who really plot for *separation*, and whose complaints are but a mask ?—The answer is, that, when this Parliament is secured to one, and cannot injure the other by incorporation, then the *Empire* will decidedly protect itself against any branch or body, that should rise to violate the unquestionable blessings of its constitution. Then, indeed, all complaints must be utterly vain ; because no just cause for them can subsist, and because this will be known to the empire at large ; whereas, at present, the knowledge with respect to Ireland is really little, and that little much obscured. It is but the loud burst of explosion, which is heard at distance,

but of which the cause cannot be seen nor examined.

But, suppose unfounded complaints should arise, and arm for separation, what would be the result?—The reply to this question may also quiet the apprehension of some men, who state that the Catholics do not now desire legislative privilege; that, on the contrary, it serves them as a blind camp, which occupies attention while they seek success in another quarter, in physical not legislative power. Let this be admitted: and the answer is, that, so long as the two nations are in reality separated, (though nominally and apparently united,) instead of being incorporated in such a manner that no part can be influenced without the other, so long their interests are evidently not the same, and their mischiefs cannot be equally and mutually felt. But if really incorporated, they then constitute one and the same point; they are then indivisible in their dangers, and must rise or fall together.—And herein is contained the stability of the Irish Constitution. The numbers to preserve these blessings to themselves will be as fourteen to three;—the numbers to destroy them are now three against one. Consequently, it must appear from hence, that as by physical force security is established—that as by the force of interest it is no less firmly established; therefore, upon

those two principal and great grounds of force and interest, no separation can follow.

Moreover—the Protestants, in general, state (notwithstanding the contrary opinion on the part of others as to the change of political tactics) that the address of the Catholics not only *was* to get possession of the Parliament—"for then, say they, equality of power and superiority of numbers would have rendered them paramount"—but they state, that this plea is *still* persevered in. Be it granted, then:—and what follows?—that the object of this scheme, if it be separation, perishes at the moment of Incorporation.

But, suppose that Incorporation should not take place, and that the Catholics seek parliamentary power; their object either is, or is not separation. If it be not separation: is it a matter of much moment to the Government whether Catholics get into the Irish Parliament or not? If it be separation: why, then, not terminate it by Incorporation? But, whether it be separation, or otherwise; the Catholics either will or will not get into Parliament. So long as they do not, the legislative privilege will be sought with more avidity and more discord, the more it is refused. And if it be gained, let those, who resist incorporation, pause upon their fears.

Further : let it be considered, that, if Incorporation takes place, and the Irish Catholics were to request admission into the British Parliament, one of two events must follow—either the request would or would not be acceded to. But in both cases, the fears of the Irish Protestants must cease. For if the national voice, or the feelings of a British Parliament, were to silence the demand, the Protestants of Ireland could consequently have nothing to dread. Or—if, on the contrary, the British Constitution were not found too strong ; and if such an act were not an annihilation of its charters, but the Catholics were to be admitted into its Parliament ; certainly, the Irish Protestant could not possibly have any objection : because the inferior number of the Catholics, in such an united Parliament, and the identity of constitution in both countries, would form the protection of Ireland, as well as of Britain ; and because the former could not be injured without the latter. Hence, therefore all idea of separation vanishes.

Thus the one party, finding by Incorporation, security against the physical force or civil infringements of the other ; and the other party finding, by Incorporation, like security against all factious oppression, in whatever sense or strength they have thought proper to place

it : we may, therefore, without charge of fancy, sound the dirge of *Separation*—*requies ea certa laborum* ! All parties will hence enjoy repose under security : and unquestionably this security and repose will throw open the improved commerce of the *universe*. Herein, then, perish all thoughts of separation ; and the Constitution must live. Amidst the golden glory of virtuous and active commerce, men will contemplate blessings beyond the dreams of fancied power, and liberty beyond the flights of Republicanism. Imperial strength will then be found paramount to all parties in the state,—paramount to all enemies over the globe. It is under such important advantages of Incorporation, that men will become attached to the Government and to the State : they will feel that they have a country ; their first idea will be, security and imperial strength ; their second, prosperity and national peace. And thus, the different members coalescing into the amity of brethren—Will they exhibit a group tending ultimately to separation ?

Far otherwise : but this great effect, so directly contrary to separation, cannot be brought about without an incorporative union. And were it produced otherwise, which is utterly impossible under the existing circumstances of Ireland, it would be unstable and insecure.

Civil misery and separation must follow. Let us sift this point.

As nearly as moral deductions can approach demonstrative proof, we believe it may have appeared that the jarring conflicts of parties will cease under incorporation. Whereas, it is manifest *already*, that without this Incorporation, the claims and discords of party arise with *new* vigor, and upon *new* grounds; and that consequently tumultuary scenes menace an increase. Such then are the obvious effects of incorporation, and non-incorporation. Let us however, in order effectually to convince men that union does not tend ultimately to separation, but that the very reverse of this proposition is the case, give them the strongest ground of argument, whereon they could combat, and still they will be defeated.

Suppose therefore, that all these intestine struggles and tumultuary commotions were to subside, and that happiness and virtue were to bless all ranks and conditions of men: that the upper and the lower orders had established by wise regulations a civil system cementing them in love and friendship; and that Catholics, and Protestants, and Dissenters, all lived in the endearing amity of brethren.—A more complete system of civil happiness, we believe no man will require. But the question, which follows

this, is first, how long will it last? And next, if separation were to ensue, may not separated Ireland, thus established upon a basis of civil happiness and moral virtue, last and enjoy herself long?

To answer these questions, we shall recur to experience and facts: for, opinions may be vague or resisted, however solid and conclusive.

Both antient and modern times furnish us with examples, that small states have not sufficient force to insure them *long life*. It was the case in Greece; it is the case in Switzerland, was in Genoa, and will probably be in all the New Republics. Societies, being composed of men, have the vices of men. Nations therefore are capable of ambition, hatred and jealousy; and where there are seeds for those passions in separate interests and pursuits, division is manifest, and no NOMINAL UNION CAN HOLD OR LAST LONG. This being the case, and Ireland being separated, its system of complete happiness, which we have supposed, would instantly be disturbed; first, by the internal rivalry of individuals; and next by the external ambition of surrounding nations? The parties of Holland would soon be revived in Ireland, and contending nations make this *separated happy* spot a scene of civil tumult, and personal animosity? What a source of hatred

would separation open for Britain? What a source of war with France? What a scene of blood for Ireland? What a gulph of jealousy would commerce form? And in this detached state of Ireland, even those *happy* individuals would soon, through their passions, enable the neighbouring power to profit of their divisions, and make one swallow up the other. Or one of the great neighbouring powers of such a state, favoured by its strength, or sanctioned by its circumstances, would mark it for an object of conquest, and terminate its hatred, its jealousy, or ambition, in its ruin.

The monuments of history have preserved for us the memory of those times, when all Europe, Italy, the Gauls, the Spains, and Germany, were subdivided into a crowd of small states: we know how they finished. England too was portioned out into small states, Ireland into petty monarchies: but they have all submitted to one. Should it however be answered that Venice, and other small states: have maintained themselves long in Europe; the reply is, that it was not the result of their own power, but of the policy and interest of their neighbours. And that very principle, which formed their preservation, would form the destruction of Ireland. The power, policy, and interest of other nations would make

it the feat of war and scene of conquest, or the seat of amity by mutual abandonment, and guaranteed insignificance. Such is the result of separation; which is the result of non-incorporation.

On these grounds therefore, an incorporative union appears a measure of preservation from without and within; and a measure not only of aggrandisement and elevation to the state, but of repose and strength to the empire. It has not for its object a conquest of parties, but a balance of parties; to unite, and not to divide; to govern England by an Irish Parliament, and Ireland by an English Parliament, in as much as each will be governed by the united wisdom of both. All acts will then be the result of the concurrence of the Empire: no misdeeds can then possibly find security in the intrigues of little party: nor no misrule be then founded either by calumny or by truth upon the Parliamentary influence of factions in a single state.

Ireland will no longer have to complain of Viceroys influencing Parliaments, or Parliaments influencing Viceroys. But, that country will have a King and a Parliament, as has been demanded by the voice of discontent, which sought for separation.

And here a new and important consideration opens before us. If any Government, as it has

been advanced on the rebellious side, possesses or admits of faculties sufficient to provoke separation; but does not possess, as it has been stated on the opposite side, sufficient to root rebellion rapidly out; such a Government, every man will allow, is positively bad. But it is relatively worse, if a better can be established. The Government thus complained of by the conflicting parties in Ireland, [for we reason upon their complaints in order to investigate, and lay before them, the remedy] is an executive Viceroy with a Legislative Parliament. And against the influence of which, operating reciprocally as cause and effect, the loudest murmurs have gone forth, and been swelled with every aggravation for the cause of separation. What then must follow?

This Government consists of two parts: to which of these two is a remedy to be applied? Is it to the Viceroy? On account of the natural separation of the two kingdoms, the Executive Government in England cannot immediately discharge its functions in Ireland. These operations must therefore be deputed to second means. The system of Lords Justices has been already tried for this purpose, and was found highly pernicious. The system of Viceroys has been tried, and is found less pernicious. But still there is a bane in Viceroyal Government

which, not only according to separatists, but others, has been Parliamentary influence.—The Executive power, however, must exist in the Viceroy, and the Legislative one must exist in the Parliament; and therefore since neither must be destroyed, what is to be done? There is manifestly no medium left, in order to silence all those complaints, but to dissolve the contact and consequently the reciprocal operation of this influence, by incorporating the Irish with the British Legislature. And thus according to the circumstances and constitution of the two countries, all the good of the viceregal Executive is considerably ameliorated, and all the murmured at evil of Parliamentary influence wisely removed from the organ of separation.

Prejudice alone can be blind to conviction upon the advantage, as well as the necessity of this incorporation. For the whole matter resolves itself into a question of one simple point that every reasonable man can answer. Is it better to have a Viceroy in contact with Parliament as *heretofore* in Ireland, or to have the Monarch co-operating with Parliament, as at present in Britain? Upon this question we believe no man can entertain a doubt. And should it even be asked, may not Parliamentary influence operate from Britain? The best answer is: contemplate its effects in Britain: examine her exalted situa-

tion; and then let us weep over the deplorable condition of Ireland.

It appears throughout the history of past ages, that the civil, religious, and political state of that island have been peculiar beyond example. It appears throughout the existing evidence of facts, that the discord of internal interests, and the jarrings of external policy have been by no means harmonised. Rebellion and a desire of separation have been uniformly and throughout time a prominent feature, under Viceroyalty in contact with Parliaments. We do not however attribute this to the Government: the disease is not of the physician's creation, but its continuance may argue incapacity. Besides, it appears that this contact and its consequences have furnished murmurs and pleas for separation. Is it not reasonable then to suppose, that a dissolution of the causes will be followed by a dissolution of the effects; rather than separation should ensue with more certainty, the less the causes for it subsist?

Whether the complaints of parties in Ireland be true or false, there are arguments as clear as existence itself, that Ireland should desire incorporation: that she should gladly embrace the same Legislative Government as England, and prefer its *King*, Lords, and Commons, to

a Viceroy, Lords, and Commons. Facts are solid and irresistible proofs. Britain offers them in the abundance of its glory, opulence, and prosperity, in favour of Incorporation; Ireland in the history of its poverty, complaints, and rebellions.

The reasons are numerous and undeniable for Ireland's placing herself under the *immediate* vigilance of her Sovereign and Parliament, rather than remaining as heretofore under a Viceroy. The position of a Viceroy in contact with Parliament differs widely from that of his Sovereign: Because, with respect to Parliament, the Monarch is above all party; because, with respect to interest, the Viceregent has no hereditary interest, inseparable from the prosperity of the state: because with respect to the states, there must ever be under the existing system a species of rivalry subsisting between the country which he is sent to govern, and the one from which he may be chosen, and wherein all his interests lie. Whereas both are equal to the Sovereign: his interest arises from both; and his high honours and emoluments are personal, permanent, and entailed upon his posterity. Consequently, with this view, he will watch Parliamentary influence, and find his own interest, and that of his descendants inseparably linked with the interest of each state. Hosts of argu-

ments might be produced upon this head, were it necessary: and all tending to show that when Incorporation places Ireland under such vigilance, there cannot be much dread of separation.

It may also be briefly remarked, that in all Governments whatever, where Legislative influence is connected with temporary executive authority, the effects are pernicious. In confirmation of this, let the Ecclesiastical Governments of Europe be considered for a moment: where the chief has infinitely greater interests at stake on the well doing of the country, than a deputed ruler can possibly have in a Viceroyalty. Yet the influence of such Ecclesiastical Governments marks itself for the travellers eye in the wretched face of the country, the neglect of agriculture, and the poverty of the subjects. And whence all this? Evidently because the ruler's interest is too little, while the action and reaction of *Influence*, between his *Councils* chambers and himself, are too great. His reign however, closes but with his existence. But were it limited to four or five years instead of being permanent for life, or rather were its duration dependant on the will of another, then with the rapidity of succession the mischiefs of *Influence* would increase. Since therefore, even this Ecclesiastical Government has advantages

above Viceroyalty connected with Parliamentary Influence; for, the Ecclesiastical Ruler must, by any immoral exercise of his power, defile the sacred character of his own sovereignty; whereas the Viceroy, under the action and reaction of Parliamentary influence, plays with the awful dignity of another's sceptre; were it not better for the nation, to be placed under the personal vigilance of its Hereditary Monarch immediately co-operating with its Parliament? Were not such a Governmental system far preferable to the one heretofore in use, and less liable to cause a separation between the great Members of the Empire?

Surely, since it appears, through the experience of ages, that Parliament cannot exist in Ireland, without this influence operating under Vice-royal government: and since it appears, that murmurs upon this head have been long and loud; and that in those days it has been the war whoop for rebellion; and has armed Separatists to drench the land with blood: surely then, if such mischiefs can be barred for ever, not only with safety but with supreme advantage: it were something worse than folly, it were a shameful stupidity to the sufferings of society, and to the future glory of men and things, if they be sacrificed to vain pride or idle prejudice.

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There are other motives, no less cogent for the adoption of this measure, in order to guard against separation. — The councils of Ireland either originate or are decided in the British Cabinet. So long as the two kingdoms remain separated, as they are at present, their interests certainly are not identically the same. What then must be the consequence? Partialities or neglects must inevitably appear toward one or the other country, notwithstanding the wisest deliberations and most upright intentions. The plans, therefore, participating of those, are to be submitted for the sanction of parliament, by a viceroy enjoying all the patronage of the Crown. What then must be the result? Either the plan does or does not succeed: but, in both cases, influence is exerted. If it succeeds, all is anger and animosity on one side, and the old horn of separation may be blown again. If it does not succeed, while the Government is defeated, it is disgraced, if not endangered: for amidst the triumph at the opposite side, separation may not be far from discontent at the attempt. Whereas, if the kingdoms be incorporated, all this rivalry, this partiality, this influence generating party in the Nation, all these attempts creating ill blood between the States, can not possibly exist. And hence we believe no separation will follow.

Again, suppose there be no partialities whatever in a plan proposed ; but that it is a great Imperial measure, Consequently, the necessity of unity in the system establishes the necessity of Viceroyal exertion and influence to carry it into execution. If then this influence succeed, and the people without the doors of Parliament be rendered averse by the party of opposition within, or by factious leaders amongst themselves, what clamor, misconception and sedition will go forth and invite separation ? But suppose, on the contrary, that this influence fails, where an Imperial system required unity : then, not only the Government is endangered by its weakness, but the whole Empire is shocked and convulsed, and the States, perhaps, torn asunder, will present an awful separation.

A view of parties also and of the constitution of those Realms would clearly shew, that they are by no means formed for any other union, than an incorporative one, without danger of separation. An absolute Monarchy is well calculated for a different connection, because it is above the re-action of an united State, or the influence of internal party : and, on the same ground, it is better calculated for remote possessions, or extended conquests. Had Britain not been blest with her constitution, America had not been rent from her. And hereon both coun-

tries should seriously pause, to consider separation. In absolute Monarchies, one will prescribe, and the same will acts; but no man dares to impeach it. Whereas, in any union of *Free States*, (save where the executive and legislative authority of each, and all, are the same,) and in all distant Governments, connected with Free States, are combined the elements of numberless accusations, which supply with food the rage of parties at home. But parties are widely different, with respect to States, *federally* united, and a Free State itself, or an incorporative union of Free States. In a Federal union they are as the thunderbolt, glancing from one part of the horizon to the other, to rend asunder the unions of nature. But in a Free State, or incorporative union of Free States, they are like those bodies of vapour, that serve as conductors to electric fire, and which seem to inflame the heavens, but enlighten mankind.

Parties, however, should not be confounded with factions; and, of the latter, Ireland has long been too productive. They have been its bane; but Incorporation is the antidote. And were it only to purge the country of the dangers of this pestilence, it were a sufficient argument, for the adoption of this measure: Because such bodies are always influenced by private, not public ambition: because their leaders would raise

themselves upon the management of individuals and the fall of their country : because it is the very spirit of faction to have *division* and *corruption* in the State, and not UNION in the Empire, not integrity in its parts.

The chiefs of such bodies communicate their passions to others : and through the incentives of avarice and ambition increase their factions in society, to disturb the public peace, and rob society. What they could not effectuate individually in a single state, they effectuate collectively. But what they effectuate collectively in a *single* state, they could not effectuate in an *union* of the States. But, since the Viceroyal Government, constituted as it now is with legislative connection, has *often* been influenced, and *unable* to resist those factions : since, from such moments, many of the mischiefs of Ireland partly may be dated : and since such factions and their leader, should any such hereafter arise, must hide their diminished heads before an Imperial senate, consequently, the great cause of *separation* will thus lie vanquished at the feet of Incorporation.

This want of union, this division between the States and people of Britain and Ireland, have long enabled factions in both nations to bring disgrace upon themselves, and danger upon the Empire from abroad and at home. The same causes must ever produce the same effects, and

finally, perhaps, *separation*. But Incorporation blasts it in the very germ.

On these grounds, therefore, it were obviously wise to incorporate the Parliaments. The Executive Government of Ireland would then assume a new form. When, unincumbered with the business of Parliament and distractions of parties, all its vigilance and attention would be directed to the due execution of the laws;—and when, no longer exposed to the influence of legislative party, it could no longer be accused of consequent partiality.—Therefore, the *present PLEA and DREAD of SEPARATION* must be dissolved, and the bond of connexion between those realms be drawn closer.

The fifth position is—*That an amelioration of manners may not be expected from an Incorporative Union.*

Violations of moral order have been too long permitted to settle into habitudes in Ireland.—The effects of such conduct in distant times are felt grievously to this day. Britain, however, has not now a Sovereign, who REFUSES its *laws, customs, and manners*, to Ireland, as those in remote periods * ; but who has thrown open to it, freedom and commerce ; and now offers

* 2 Edward III. clause 17—Council Book of Ireland, 34 Hen. VIII.

a participation of Britain's opulence, stability, and glory :—*His* heart is alive to the interests of all his subjects—his bosom is open to receive them in joy or distress—and his arms to protect them.

Upon the subject of manners, we shall be guided by the evidence of known historical facts; and, through the experience of ages and countries, we shall seek instructions for the good of Ireland.

At a moment when the public mind had not yet been enlightened by the progress of knowledge, the first Political Compact took place between England and Ireland. Both countries became consolidated under Henry II. by an imperial and dependent union. The influence of this union did not, however, supersede the evils of an uncivilised state; for the Irish were refused the sanction of the British Laws, and kept under the bolts and bars of their own barbarous customs. At that moment, they were moulded into a species of moral monster, bereft of all the virtues of a savage state, and corrupted by all the vices of a civil one.

From the period of Henry II. in 1171, to the time of a reformation under JAMES, by Sir John Davies, a space of 440 years intervened; and, from that time to the present, we have a term of 188 years. Now, that all the habits which had been contracted through a space com-

mencing beyond human record or tradition—
 whose savage shades had been fixed through the
 succeeding tyranny of the civil state during 440
 years; and which had been rendered still more
 savage, by the addition of new vices and the
 abolition of old virtues;—that all this accumu-
 lation of lawless and tumultuary barbarism, col-
 lected and forced upon the natives through un-
 limited time, could have flowed off in 188
 years—we believe no man, who has observed
 moral operations in society, could well ex-
 pect. To this must be added, that those
 188 years have been attended with peculiar cir-
 cumstances, which were by no means calculated
 to eradicate bad moral habits, and give back
 nature to its genuine and true tone. But, if we
 remove those circumstances, which have retarded
 the progress of that moral amelioration brought
 about by the civil reform, have we not just rea-
 son to suppose that a rapid improvement in man-
 ners will take place? And such must be the
 effects of Incorporation:—First, through a radi-
 cal removal (as we have shewn before) of the
 discord of the higher parties, which arms the
 tumultuary rage and jealousy of the lower; and
 next, through an inevitable improvement (as we
 shall now show) of that condition of the lower
 classes, which shapes them, in all countries and
 ages, into apt tools for rebellion and vice.

If the people be happy, they will be virtuous; and, if the Great be virtuous, they will be happy. There is no maxim in morality more true. The question, then, for the application of this moral truth, is—Are the people of Ireland as happy as teey might * or ought to be?—because, if they be not happy, do not expect civil virtue.

Poverty is tolerable, in states of savage equality; but it is insupportable in the aspect of civil opulence. Privations are indifferent to men, when enjoyments are not known; but privations become punishments in the centre of furrounding indulgences. Where there is excess of opulence and excess of poverty, social *happiness* must cease, and civil liberty expire.—Eternal objects of envy, even the rich cannot be happy amidst their enjoyments. They arm the miserable with fire and sword against them: and a dangerous immorality ensues. In such cases also, *corruption* creeps by the path of meanness from poverty to opulence. And *corruption* mounts also, with a vicious rapidity, to elevation, by all the means of moral abjection. What, then, must follow such manners?

Throughout all societies, in order to lay the foundation of civil VIRTUE, *social happiness*

* The statement made before the House of Commons in Ireland by Mr. Johnson, is referred to—See note, page 10.

must be established upon a general diffusion of wealth. We mean by this, that, with regard to the lower orders, they must have decent raiment, comfortable dwellings, wholesome and abundant food. Without these, civilised man is miserable : and misery creates *indolence* ; and both *immorality*. But indolence and immorality must rapidly subside, under trade and commerce springing from security. Security will soon bring English skill and capital to Ireland ; consequent trade will promote agriculture ; and trade, agriculture, and security, fully evince the benefits of Incorporation upon human manners.— It is thus a system will soon develope, wherein we shall no longer see one part of the nation condemned to idleness, another to indigence, and both to misfortune. But we shall behold *activity* diffused throughout the nation, without which there is no happiness ; and energy, without which there is no virtue. Then the combinations of vice will cease among the aspiring low, and the expedients of baseness among the suffering poor. Force of body or faculties of mind will offer more easy modes of subsistence, honorable pursuits, and greater hopes.

The capital will no longer be a gulph of riches and men. The one and the other will be distributed more equally throughout the provinces. The towns will be less populous ; the

country more so; and the inhabitants more united and less distressed, will find, in this new situation, peace, *happiness*, and *virtue*.

These principles are not founded upon speculation, but upon facts and experience:—we reason not as metaphysicians, we speak from example. History demonstrates that manners are more pure, and happiness more great, in proportion as riches are less unequal amongst the people of all nations. Greece alone furnishes many examples of this truth. Lacedæmon owed, to this circumstance, the preservation of its virtues during ages.

We have further corroboration of the truth of these principles in the example of Rome.—After the expulsion of the Tarquins, an odious and disproportionate inequality remained between the two great orders of the state: had it continued, Rome had soon perished, and perhaps its name had not come down to us. But, as this disproportion disappeared, *virtues* came forward, and prepared the Romans for the conquest of the world. However, the plunder of nations brought on an inequality more deadly. The manners became rapidly corrupt, they prepared the ruin of the Republic: they became more corrupt, and the Republic is no more. This is a picture: May it not prove a prophecy?—let France look to it.

But without recurring further to ancient proofs, we have a striking example at home. Behold, Britain! Where is there a more just and general diffusion of wealth—and where is there more *happiness*—where more *virtue*?—What is Britain, in those days of yeomanry?—what was it, in those of vassalage?

In such barbarous times throughout Europe, so different from the present, and in no instance more than the following, the men least civilized were the most exalted. For to ignorance they joined brutal valour and brutal manners, and concentrated the vices arising from riches and power. Such an order of men was to be ruined before they were to be civilised. And through commerce and the arts, this barbarism of Europe has been removed. For, when the Indies flung its wealth into the lap of Europe, such men became more luxurious, more distressed, more submissive; their sovereigns more free; and the people less oppressed. The whole mass of manners has been changed by commerce. Its activity has given new life to men, since fortunes depend less upon titles than upon industry: for the man of nothing, who has talents, elevates himself, while the great man, who has them not, tumbles.

These are the indisputable effects of commerce. It has, throughout Europe—it has,

manifestly in Britain, freed Kings from slavery, and people from oppression : and thus in all countries, commerce brings in riches ; riches produce luxury ; luxury puts down the high and exalts the low. Thus vice is punished, if not checked above ; and virtue and industry encouraged below. It is the universal system whereby manners have been ameliorated : the proofs are before us.

But if luxury pass into a country throughout any other medium than that of commerce, the same effects will not follow. We are informed by history, that commerce had enriched some towns of Italy, and introduced luxury. The Popes introduced this luxury into France : and their legates left it in all the courts : but commerce was not in the train. * What was the consequence ? This luxury rendered the people more polished, but not more civilized, not more politically moralized.

A nation becomes civilized in proportion as it quits the manners, which marked its barbarous state. It becomes politically moralised, as it obeys the laws that oppose disorder, and form an habitude of social virtues. And it becomes polished, when it piques itself on its elegance in thought or action. Thus for example, the Greeks were civilised before the times of Solon or Lycurgus : they were politically moralised

during the ages of these two Legislators; and they were polished during that of Pericles. In modern times, the French amidst their luxury were polished: the English with luxury on one side, and commerce on the other, stand between and enjoy polish and political morality: whereas the Irish are in the extremes. The one class is not yet politically moralised, for it has not contracted the social virtues; nor can it contract them until it is happy in the comforts of the social state. But the other class is arrived at the state of polish and luxury. If however atticism and urbanity marked the decline of Greeks and Romans, what may be the result to day, where polished luxury is at war with civil misery? That which is not expected: virtue and happiness will arise from this state. For, commerce will advance the one class, and bring back the other to that point of political morality, where *happiness* will secure *virtue* amongst the people, and *virtue* insure *happiness* amongst the great. And thus will incorporation assimilate Ireland to England, and ameliorate the manners of the former. For, even the state of Vassalage was put down in the latter by commerce, and the nation advanced to its present point of polish and political morality.

It should be remarked too, that this measure of Incorporation wisely combining the two great

principles of Legislation and Government, unfolds in one act the *policy of nature*, and the *policy of the passions*. It proceeds upon the physical relations of the two countries, as to position and advantages, and it consults the moral cast of society, or the manners and moral effects of natural and civil causes. Must it not therefore, clearly and inevitably, under the operations of such true principles, harmonize *all jarrings, external and internal*? And through such effects *must* not VIRTUE be diffused throughout the nation? We shall not then behold, what is the greatest VICE under Government, men living no longer under the empire of the laws. This is surely therefore a measure of sound policy: Sound policy is sound morality: and that sound morality will not ameliorate manners, is an unwarranted assertion. From the chaos of rebellion thus a great nation may arise, secure under HAPPINESS and growing amidst its VIRTUES.

CONCLUSION.

There are certain points peculiarly deserving the attention of different bodies.

The Catholics will no doubt wisely balance what they wish to gain, and what they have to lose by Incorporation. First, their great object is the acquisition of Legislative Power—but that power were more attainable in a British Parliament than in an Irish one, for the constitutional

impediments are equal in both countries, but the prejudices and apprehensions must be less in the former. Beside, if they were at present to acquire emancipation in Ireland, it were a tantalizing boon which they could not enjoy. Nine tenths of the landed property being in the possession of Protestants, it must ensure no small sway in county elections, which will be used with double exertions, to keep Catholics out of an Irish Parliament. And as to Boroughs, they were formed expressly to exclude Catholics from Parliament; so that the whole frame of the Legislature must be broken up, and the whole constitution must be changed and altered, before they can taste emancipation, were it even granted to them. After this they will consider what enjoyments, the maxims of statesmen on tolerated sects, might move and sanction others to take back, if not secured by Incorporation. When the Catholics were in the proportion of forty to one Protestant, their restraints were very severe. They are now as three to one; but this universal maxim of policy, with respect to sects, which is followed over the globe, even where they are weak, has been relaxed in Ireland, beyond example, where they are still strong. These are surely civil blessings; and of which indeed some of the most wise and virtuous men of that body seem truly sensible.

Unhappily however, under the sanction of names and some popular principles in politics and religion, the sense and piety of others have been cruelly deluded by bad men. Miserable impostors ! What have they done ? They have let loose upon fallen Catholics, upon mild and simple cultivators of the land, the monster fanaticism which drinks the blood of mankind. They have blooded the sun of their rising liberties with an horrid war. Why did they prompt the Catholics to take up arms ? Was it for religion ? Their religion was not attacked : their temples are still open ; even a college has been founded by the Government for the education of their clergy, and the instruction of their youth. Was it for their liberty ? Never did they enjoy so much. And in no nation under heaven does a sect differing from that established by the policy of the state, enjoy such a portion. The Catholics then will wisely secure these blessings. And as to the vanity of ambition and all its empty acquisitions, where laws and freedom are equal, surely there is a much more solid and endearing power over mankind, through the influence of an happy superiority arising from the virtues, the opulence, the industry of commerce. Riches and beneficence are far beyond the glare of office, or the thorny

pillow of station. We speak to the understandings of men, and not to their passions.

Through the effects of the supposed union we conceive that *all professions* must reap considerable advantage. For as the prosperity of Ireland will then keep pace with the prosperity of the empire, and as the prosperity of the empire must be indisputably increased by this Incorporation, consequently by Incorporation Ireland must acquire aggrandizement and elevation. And as the population, commerce, and agriculture of Ireland increase, so must necessarily the *objects* of all professions; and likewise the *remunerations* of science and the arts be proportionately augmented.

Upon this ground, professional man may entertain wide and solid expectations, for there is an extensive and obvious latitude for improvement in Ireland. If we calculate upon what that nation *is*, and what she *was*, we may see what she *may be*, and consequently what men have to expect.—First, then with respect to what she is, and the latitude for future improvement; there are many and great deficiencies in a civil, religious and commercial view; which are highly impolitic, and indeed disgraceful in so great an empire, and in so enlightened an age. Is a continued chain of sanguinary rebellions, a proof of civilisation? Is such a state of

agriculture, is one solitary manufacture, is poverty and complaint a proof of enlightened policy? Is the most abject superstition, is the most sanguine bigotry, a proof of sound or true morality? Is the commerce of the country compared with its extraordinary capacities, a proof of civil economy? Let men dispassionately consider, if they would have Ireland remain thus? But she cannot remain thus: she must descend by Separation, or ascend by Incorporation. And what that ascent or what Ireland *may be*, will be best calculated on a retrospective glance at what *she was*. In the beginning of this century her balance of commerce with the *whole world* was about four hundred thousand pounds per annum: and now her commerce with *Great Britain alone* is about ten fold that sum. The question then is, whence the enormous increase which she has experienced within those few years? Because Britain before that period turned her back upon Ireland, and her face toward America, and she was lost in her shadow: but then turning with a partial influence toward Ireland, that country has rapidly grown under the warmth of her spendor and protection. Now she would embrace her in her glory, and what must be the effects? Will men embrace them by Incorporation, or reject them and separate?

The world is now entering upon a new epoch of things. New views and new relations, political and commercial, must arise between states, from the coincidences of those times. A strange variation marks this awful period, and renders uncertain the pending issue of affairs. It will therefore be at least wise in every branch of the British Empire, to coalesce and consolidate her energies, that she may meet this moment of trial with a commanding aspect.

It is no inconsiderable maxim in policy that Governments watch over the inclinations of their own subjects, and consult the genius and tendency of other nations. They should hearken attentively to the times, observing the bias of men and season of things. These are Counsellors, whose voice speaks aloud to all parties, and should be the guide of all men. Tutored by them, they will remark, that in bodies politic as well as natural, diseases may be death, or may prove remedies. The days of Cromwell were a political fever, when many vitiated humours were thrown off: Every disorder of the constitution became *notorious*, and the remedies were *understood*.

To day both disorder and remedy are manifest in Ireland. Separated, however, as she is, the thunderbolt has often fallen, and its force was not heard: but united, it must be heard, it will

be felt in Britain. The whole system of things will be changed ; the operations will be different, the wheels different, and the moving force better proportioned to the resisting power. In a more numerous* Senate there will be an acquisition of wisdom. And the legislatures of the three nations will thus become the heart of the Empire, to diffuse vigour throughout the whole, by their sound and wholesome laws : or these laws must return corrupted and destructive to that source, whence they first originated. It will, therefore, be no longer the rash or unwise experiment of one nation, reposing for a prop on the other in case of failure. For the fate of one and all will be at issue, and the wisdom of the whole will, at least, be cautious.

“ Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum,

“ Una salus ambobus erit.”

VIRG.

Thus then, with an anxious desire for the real good of the Irish nation, and for the splendour and invigoration of the Empire at large, we have placed before men their public condition, that they may think wisely and act justly. It were

* It may pass for a maxim in State, that *the administration cannot be placed in too few hands, nor the Legislature in too many.*

Dean Swift..

more

more than imprudent, at this day, to harmonise parties to an accordance, which was not founded upon the unalterable scale of truth. But wisely, honestly, and openly brought into unison, and to embrace an Incorporation, they will soon fell to the earth the monster Rebellion. Proud are we to say, that we do not stand single upon the meditated ruins of bad systems. And we doubt not that one heart will animate and one mind pervade men, when they shall have seriously and dispassionately reconsidered those *injuries* and *losses* *gains* and *benefits*, which have been or may be attributed to this Incorporative union.

INJURIES.

The first injuries are those urged at a meeting of the gentlemen of the Irish bar—

1. “ *That the poverty of Ireland cannot bear the weight of taxes, which the riches of England sustain with ease and comfort,*”—This has been clearly confuted.

2. “ *That in the United Parliaments, in all cases of competition, Ireland must suffer.*”—It has been undeniably proved that this cannot be the case.

3. “ *That this Union tends ultimately to separation.*”—The reverse shewn: for, WITHOUT INCORPORATION, SEPARATION must follow.

4. “ *That Amelioration of manners will not result from this Union, but perhaps the contrary.*”

Facts, analogy, and the experience of ages, overturn this position.

The next Injury which has been attributed to this measure by other gentlemen, has appeared in the following shape :

5. “ Should the Protestant gentlemen, whose services stemmed the torrent of rebellion, and saved the nation to the Empire, be removed ?” The answer is, the *causes* of rebellion are to be removed, and the nation saved effectually to itself. Beside, how few of these gentlemen will be removed ?

LOSSES.

6. The losses of money to the capital, by the sums spent in England by those attending on Parliament. “ First, The number will be inconsiderable : second, if through this number a less were to be sustained, it would be much more than counterbalanced by the civil effects : third, in reality, no such loss can be felt from the overbalancing *increase* of commerce : and fourth, such an apparent loss were a real gain to the capital in views of trade and manufacture.

7. A formidable one, according to the spirit of rivalry, appears in the diminution of representation. Some have said, that the dignity and consequence of Ireland would be lowered,

by the reduction of its members, It is tolerably obvious that Ireland must be exalted in wealth and power, by this scheme. Beside, in fact, is representation a just scale of Political dignity? If so, how superior in civil importance is the pot-house of old Sarum to the great and populous towns of Birmingham and Manchester together? Also, since Yorkshire sends thirty members to Parliament, and London but four, then London must, indeed, be very inconsiderable as to its importance; and, its comparative consequence toward York is, according to this measure, exactly double that of the beer-house at Old Sarum, which sends two members to the Senate.

8. The next loss, which is urged, is one that will prove a gain beyond calculation. Flaming PATRIOTS, as they *would* be thought, have called the union an act, whereby a youthful and rising body is coupled to one old in decay and tumbling into dissolution. Now, in truth, the fact is, that it is joining the Irish nation, old in disorder and feeble in itself, through those disorders, to one that is vigorous and virtuous. It is the union of a child, or rather a pigmy, to a giant, in strength, commerce and freedom, for mutual support. For since the positive or relative power of nations is estimated by size, population and wealth; what is Ireland in all those

three, toward the whole of the British Empire beside? What is her opulence or power compared to the sources of both in the commerce of Britain alone, and in that navy which is the broad shield of the universe? If the taxable income, as stated by Mr. Pitt, and we apprehend that it is understated through discretion, amounts, after deducting the one million of Ireland, to 101 *million* annually, it is not a difficult matter for Ireland to calculate upon such *data* the relative capital of both countries. When the relative capital is ascertained, then let her ask herself, whether it were wise or not to join in such a firm as that of Britain for commerce, and whether it were well to join with such a free and powerful nation, for an equality in both?

GAINS.

Let us now view the *gains* resulting from Incorporation.

9. The civil system improved, in property; in public and private condition; and in political situation.

10. The religious or ecclesiastical system: by the revival of moral obedience, and respect to its authority, which have too long been and must ever be lost in civil discords and fanatic rebellions, that undermine the throne and the altar: improved also in the security of its pos-

sessions and establishments. Query—Should not the catholic establishment be taken under the patronage and protection of Government; and the clergy of this body and of the dissenters have their support from the Crown?

11. Commercial system, under security and tranquillity, must be improved in skill, capital, and extent, beyond the possibility of calculation.

BENEFITS.

Lastly, let us view some few of the *benefits*.

12. The nation will be freed from the characteristic and immoral impulsion given to the people, by civil circumstances, down through ages, and under the Imperial union.

13. It will be freed from the political and ambitious impulsion given to other orders, under the Federal Union.

14. It will be freed from the effects of that awful impulsion, given to many, by the civil pestilence of the times.

15. It will be freed from distresses, which have been *long* existing, according to the testimony of the servants and *friends* of Government.

It will be freed from distresses which have been aggravated, for the purposes of rebellion, by the enemies of *Government*.

It will be freed from distresses which are attested by the ablest politicians of Europe, men

no way connected with Ireland, but by their knowledge and virtues, with which they have laboured for the good of the Empire, and have been crowned with the applauses of the universe.

For these great and valuable purposes, and upon the grounds and reasons before mentioned, we are the advocates of an Incorporative union. To raise up such a *system* of happiness and virtue upon the ruin of bad ones, and not to accommodate errors but eradicate evils, our Phalanx is some of the ablest, the wisest, and the best men of both nations.

All other party we disclaim : Little distinction is lost in our view. In the comprehensive sound of Empire, our mind embraces but an unison of nations : in that of nations it awakens but a thought of mankind. Judges, before whose tribunal we bow, your happiness is our object. If our zeal be excessive, we submit to your reproach : But, as the friend of Ireland, we would drive from the cradle of its infant greatness, the monsters that menace its existence and repose. Tarquins may condemn us, but no Brutus will accuse us.

THE END.

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