

V I E W
Copy of the
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F
I R E L A N D.

CONTAINING
O B S E R V A T I O N S
UPON THE
F O L L O W I N G S U B J E C T S,

VIZ.

ITS DEPENDANCE, LINEN TRADE, PROVISION TRADE, WOOL-
EN MANUFACTORY, COALS, FISHERY, AGRICULTURE.
OF EMIGRATION. IMPORT TRADE OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.
EFFECT OF THE PRESENT MODE OF RAISING THE REVE-
NUE. ON THE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE.
THE REVENUE. A NATIONAL BANK: AND AN ABSENTEE
TAX.

INTENDED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF

P A R L I A M E N T,

On the approaching Enlargement of the Trade of that
Kingdom.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Sketch of some of the principal Political Characters in
the Irish House of Commons.

There have been instances in particular Monarchies, of petty States,
exempt from Taxes, that have been as miserable as the circum-
jacent Places, which groaned under the Weight of Exaction.
The chief Reason of this, is, that the petty State, can hardly
have any such Thing as Industry, Arts or Manufactures, be-
cause of it's being subject to a Thousand Restraints from the
great State, with which it is environed.

MONTESQUIEU.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, NEW BOND STREET.

Houses of the Oireachtas

TO HIS GRACE
THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,
LENOX AND AUBIGNY,

WITH THE MOST PROFOUND DEFERENCE AND RESPECT,

THE FOLLOWING VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,

WINDSOR AND AUBIGNY,

WITH VERY HIGH RESPECT AND AFFECTION,

THE FOLLOWING VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S

MOST OBLIGANT SERVANT,

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INTRODUCTION.

THE situation of Britain presents, at this period, an awful spectacle to the world. The defection of her colonies; the discontents and distresses of a valuable appendant kingdom; a dangerous war with the house of Bourbon, cast a mournful gloom over the brightness of her former prosperity.

If these misfortunes have originated in a rash impolicy, they may still possibly be retrieved, by a course of moderation and justice. A generous and beneficent spirit ought to direct our councils, and banish every contracted, sordid measure of policy, which did not comprehend the welfare of the whole empire.

The kingdom of Ireland has struggled for near a century, under the iron rod of commercial oppression. The narrow illiberal temper of the trader, seemed to have reached and subdued the wisdom of the state. Instead of beholding Ireland in the light of a partner and friend, the ruin of that kingdom, in the eye of mercantile avarice, appears to have been considered as the destruction of a dangerous rival.

The restrictions of Britain, co-operating with various causes, have at length produced what had been long apprehended, a national bankruptcy in Ireland. The inhabitants have discovered, in this desperate situation, a spirit, which a series of uniform injury had never aroused.

Religious

Religious prejudices caused animosity and discrimination. Religious incapacities gave the Roman Catholics scarcely any interest in the prosperity of the kingdom. The Protestant beheld the Roman Catholic with apprehension and distrust; the latter murmured at privileges he was not permitted to enjoy.

The resolutions of the last sessions in Ireland, restoring some of the rights of humanity to the Roman Catholics, have contributed to establish a broad and solid basis for national unanimity. The fortunes of all religious persuasions are now embarked in the same cause. The cloud of prejudice dissipates before the rising day of concord and harmony.

This is the true spring of that firmness, and of that zeal, which having given birth to military and patriotic associations, from their novelty and unexpected appearance in that kingdom, have excited the attention and admiration of this country, and all Europe.

This is an effect, which was ripening under the influence of a benignant union of interests, and which the national calamity has only anticipated.

The Irish parliament, after a long night of servility and venal acquiescence, seem to have caught a portion of the spirit which pervades the people.

A free and unlimited trade is the right which their parliament have besought of his Majesty in their address.

dress. They have solemnly declared, that nothing less can preserve the kingdom from absolute ruin.

This is a request which comes in a shape of too much importance to be rashly denied. What is the objection which the English manufacturer can offer to this salutary measure? The only one which the most unfeeling partisan of monopoly and injustice can mention, is the inequality of taxation. To this I shall endeavour to give an answer. First, the restrictions under which Ireland complains, were not founded upon any such pretence; they originated in a selfish mercantile disposition, which imposed the fetters without prescribing any terms by which the Irish might be left free. Secondly, The kingdom is in a state of national and private bankruptcy. The taxes are no longer productive: an unconfined trade, a commerce open and liberal as the day, is the last and only remedy which can be administered to a perishing country. But is this a time to impose new taxes, when the nation has sunk under the pressure of the old? Commerce then must precede taxation. Thirdly, What is the criterion of this equality? What is the tribunal appointed for it's ascertainment? Is it the parliament of Ireland—or the people of Britain, who are to determine on it's bounds? If Ireland waits for relief, untill generosity and justice is united with a mercantile spirit, she will perish in making the experiment.

It is not humanity and justice, which can be pleaded always with success against a sordid mercenary disposition. It is in the policy, the necessity of this measure, that the inhabitants of Ireland must confide.

The

The parliament of Britain will not, I apprehend, be insensible to the calamities of an important kingdom. They will not be so impolitic as to convert the sharpness of distress into resentment and despair. They ought therefore to give all that their justice can bestow.

Happy time when Britain will no longer appear the bane of Irish property, but the guardian of her fortune. When she will be bound to this country, in an indissoluble connection, founded upon esteem, gratitude, and mutual interest.

On the eve of a revolution, in the great commercial policy of Britain towards Ireland, I have thought it might be of some use, to give a view of the state of commerce in that country. I have written with impartiality, and with a desire to serve the general interests of the empire ; and these are the dispositions I offer as an atonement for my defects.

A
V I E W
OF THE
P R E S E N T S T A T E
OF
I R E L A N D.

*Of the Dependance of Ireland, on the Crown
of Great Britain.*

BRITAIN, in imposing commercial restriction on Ireland, has founded the exercise of this power on supposed rights, arising from conquest and colonization. The conduct of this country ought to be justified, in this extraordinary exertion, on two principles, viz. justice and policy; before one free nation should shackle and bind another, it should be certain of the right; and if this could be established, its exercise ought next to be proved expedient.

To give the right of conquest efficacy, it should indispensably possess three qualities. It should not be a wanton and unprovoked attack upon a country; otherwise it becomes a robbery—an invasion of the rights of mankind, instead of
B being

being the acquisition of any right. It should be an absolute and complete conquest, and not partial or confined. The effecting of a settlement in a country is very different from its final subduction.—And lastly, it should not be released.

How far these qualities subsist in the dominion which Great Britain has claimed over Ireland, I shall attempt to illustrate, by a concise abstract from the history of the respective countries.

England, influenced by the dictates of an unjustifiable ambition, attained her first establishment in Ireland, by supporting a * weak and tyrannical prince. Divided by the number of its independant and petty princes; distracted by intestine feuds, the Irish made little resistance against the intrepidity and military skill of the English. The immense force with which Henry the II. in person, afterwards, invaded the kingdom, terrified the Irish princes into an oath of fealty and allegiance.

It had been the policy of the Irish princes upon many occasions, to practise a political submission, when they either wished to avert the horrors of war, or thought resistance impracticable.—Thus when the king of Norway sent his shoes to one of the king's of Ireland, requiring him to carry them round his palace; the prudent prince complied: he did not put this little measure of disgrace to his own person in competition

* Dermot king of Leinster, expelled from Ireland for committing a rape.

petition with the safety and welfare of the kingdom.

Whatever right England might have acquired, by this unjust invasion, and her subsequent settlement in the kingdom, appears to me, to have been renounced, by making John Earl of Morton, the king's, youngest son, independent lord of Ireland. The appointment of a prince to govern a country, may possibly be in that instance, an exercise of sovereignty or dominion, but if it is granted without reservation, it is a pure allodial gift, and releases every future claim.

That John received and enjoyed this absolute gift, is evident from these circumstances. In the year 1187, Cardinal Octaviano, and the Bishop of Coventry landed in England, with a legantine power, from Pope Urban, to crown Earl John. The blind superstition of these times, would not permit this ceremony of investiture, without the consent of the Pope. Henry, however, being embarrassed by his Norman dominions, was obliged to postpone the coronation.

After the death of king Henry, during the reign of Richard the I. John continued to rule in Ireland, exercising every act of sovereignty. He even granted, in his own name, a Magna Charta to Ireland.

Ireland might thus have continued an independant kingdom, and his posterity might have reigned in it to this day, if on the death of Richard, he had not, in exclusion of Arthur, the
son

son of Geoffry his elder brother, seized on the throne of England. The accession of John, to the crown of England, will never re establish the right of conquest, if it ever possessed any existence: if his claim to England was founded on inheritance, his succession could not on any principle, alter or subvert the independance of Ireland; if it was a right of violence; the crown of England was acquired by force or conquest, and that by an Irish prince. The inference from this event, would in this case entirely reverse the proposition.

History abounds with instances similar to this disposal of Ireland by Henry the II. Charles the XII. released the right of conquest he had gained over Poland, by conferring the crown of that kingdom on Stanislaus. Sweden at this day, entertains no ilde claim over that country by a remembrance of her conquest. It has been the ambition and policy of the courts of France and Spain, in various instances, to acquire sovereignties for their younger sons; when they have effected these establishments, we have never heard of those crowns claiming a dominion over the countries which have received them for sovereigns.

Thus it manifestly appears, that the invasion of Ireland, was an act of the highest injustice; *
that

* Stowe mentions, that the Pope bestowed the kingdom of Ireland upon Henry the II. on condition that he would re-establish the christian faith, and taking especial care that every house should pay St. Peter's penny: at this day, it is to be presumed, little regard will be paid to this pious grant.

that altho' the Irish accepted of an English prince to govern them, this circumstance is not always a sign of conquest.—And lastly, that the right of England was absolutely, and without reserve, disposed of to this sovereign, ‡ whom the Irish obeyed.

The right flowing from colonization, is equally defective: and here we have an opportunity of remarking more strongly, upon the partial and confined conquest of Ireland. When colonization is called in, to support the claim of dominion, it necessarily presumes, that conquest is incomplete. || For if Ireland was conquered, the right of conquest § is the most absolute that can be acquired. It would have been, therefore, nugatory to have recourse to colonization, to supply the defect of conquest, when colonization itself will not warrant the power which is claimed. The right of colonization cannot be extended farther than the colonies. The English settlements on the coasts of America and India, were never supposed to bind the natives of these immense

‡ The kings of England were called lords of Ireland, till the reign of Henry the VIII. after his quarrel with the Pope.

|| Blackstone vol. I. page 100, founds the right of England upon conquest and colonization.

§ Sir John Davis in his book, entitled Reasons why Ireland was never conquered, shews that the native Irish, in the reign of Edward the IV. were entirely without the protection of the English law, and that it was not deemed murder to kill them. He shews that the English colonizers were a separate people in their government and laws until the reign of queen Elisabeth.

immense countries. Whatever may be the measure of obligation due to the parent state, for the nurture and protection she affords to her infant colonies, her claim cannot on any principle of justice, be stretched to the country at large, where they are permitted to reside.

I have attempted to give the outline of this argument, but let us grant the advocates for English dominion all they wish. Let us imagine that the war carried into Ireland by Henry the II. was founded on the strictest justice,—That the people of Ireland were collectively subdued,* and that the consequent rights of England, were never relinquished. The end of conquest is preservation and use, ‡ and not destruction; it is of little importance to a captive, should his life be spared in battle, if he is afterwards manacled and denied the means of existence.

The interests and rights of Ireland were maintained with great ardour and success by Sir William Molyneux. † This public question was debated

* Blackstone vol. I. page 199, denies the Norman right of conquest; the victory of William, he observes, was not over the nation collectively, but only over the person of Harold. The only right he acquired was to the Crown of England, and not to alter the Government.

‡ The injurious policy of Britain towards Ireland is diffused throughout the remaining essays.

† This gentleman came over to England, previous to the publication of his book, upon this subject, to consult the celebrated Mr. Locke, that able assertor of liberty, approved of the performance, and encouraged him in it's prosecution.

debated with a spirit and warmth which interested the nation. Parliament thought proper at last to interfere, and by an act made in the sixth of George the I. it was declared, "that Ireland is, and of right ought to be, subordinate to, and dependant upon the imperial crown of Great Britain; and that parliament hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland."

A declaratory law will not create a right, which had no antecedent existence. But here we must bow with respectful deference to authority. Between nations, there is no arbiter of dominion but the sword. From an appeal of this melancholy kind, I turn my eyes with abhorrence. A whole people are more patient of suffering, than prompt to avenge. The misfortunes of Britain, and the calamities of America, will prove an useful monitor to both countries.

The situation of Ireland will never excite her to rebellion * by the vain hope of giving birth to the grandeur of a rising empire. The territory of America, and the velocity of her population, turned the eyes of mankind to that æra, when by a gentle effort, she should stand disengaged from the shackles of dependence.

On

* Nothing but the persevering injustice of Britain can destroy the attachments and loyalty of the inhabitants of Ireland.

On the contrary, the fall of Britain would produce the mournful exchange of an imperfect liberty, for an absolute tyranny.* The murmurs of ill requited friendship, would be converted into the abject meekness of a trembling slave.

Ireland must then be content with the condition of a province of France or Spain, or if in the struggles of Bourbon greatness, by a surprizing phænomenon, she should be declared independent ; without colonies, without foreign settlements, without force to guard her commerce, or preserve herself from insult, she might remain, for a few years in this state of trembling existence, until wearied with her situation, she cheerfully threw herself into the arms of the first great power that would undertake her protection.

Of the Commerce of Ireland.

IRELAND has been a satellite attendant upon the superior orb of Britain. Would to Heaven ! that the latter reflected back a portion of the splendor she has so liberally received from that unfortunate kingdom.

England, ruled by a principle of commerce, has endeavoured to turn all her dependencies and

* Ireland I apprehend would receive from France a national liberty of commerce, with the miserable alloy of individual slavery.

and possessions into this channel of her greatness. She planted colonies in climes, where the quality of their products would afford a reciprocal advantage in the exchange of their commodities. But she should have considered, that Nature, in giving Ireland a soil and climate similar to her own, had established an eternal barrier against this policy. She should have observed, that Ireland, from situation, ought to have formed part of her aggregate empire in Europe. Instead of holding an oppressed and impoverished kingdom in her orbit by the precarious chain of power; she should have attracted it by the ties of affection, gratitude, and mutual advantage. A conduct of this kind would have rivetted that kingdom in firmer bonds than the incorporation of Parliaments. Ireland rendered happy, would be loyal—enjoying the rights of commerce would become strong, and thus would form one of the principal pillars in supporting the British Empire.

The arms of Ireland have been employed in promoting the commerce and extending the dominion of Great Britain. She hath fought for her on the torrid coast of Africa—she hath assisted in making the British name glorious in the East—she hath lent her strength in supporting the right of Britain in America, against the French. Yet what has been the extent of her commerce? Favoured by Heaven with every

natural advantage to command the most extensive trade, in what a miserable circle of traffic hath she been circumscribed? From Asia and Africa she hath been totally precluded—with America and the West Indies curbed and restrained in almost every valuable article of importation or exportation—the same restrictions have been extended to her commerce with every country in Europe.

England hath turned every valuable export of Ireland into her own hands, and she hath not permitted her to receive tea, sugar, tobacco, indigo, rice, coffee, and a multitude of other weighty articles, but from herself, and at the price she thought proper to impose.

In examining the policy of this general and unexampled monopoly, it has been aptly suggested, that if the trade of Europe consisted of twenty parts, and Ireland gained one part, there would be an equal loss of one-twentieth to the commercial countries of Europe. Now, if Britain possessed four parts, it follows, that four-fifths of the loss arising from the increased commerce of Ireland would be sustained by foreign countries. Thus France would feel severely in her woollen manufactures; and if the gain of Ireland is the eventual acquisition of this country, England would gain four-fifths of her own stock at the expence of the rest of Europe.

Having

Having thus taken a general view of the trade of Ireland, I shall endeavour to consider it in detail, in the following order; first of the exports of Ireland, and afterwards of the imports.

Of the first I shall make the following distinction—The articles that are exported, and some of those that ought to be exported. And first of the linen manufacture.

Of the Linen Trade.

THE linen* trade is the principal pillar of Irish commerce. In less than eighty years, the industry of one province of the kingdom, composed chiefly of Presbyterians, carried this manufacture almost to the last stage of perfection. At the beginning of the present century, the amount of the exportation of linen from Ireland, did not exceed six thousand pounds, and it has proceeded forward in a rapid progression,

* When Ireland, in the beginning of this century, relinquished her woollen trade, to gratify the sordid wishes of some English manufacturers, it was expressly stipulated on the part of England, that every encouragement should be extended to the Irish linen manufacture. This promise has been grossly broken and evaded: the restrictions on Irish printed linens, and her sail cloth was in direct opposition to it's letter and spirit. The encouragement given to foreign linen, has been also another instance of an ungenerous disregard to the interests of Ireland,

until

until in the year 1772, it's value was estimated at near a million and a half.

A trade of this extent did not, however, spring up the spontaneous produce of a luxuriant soil. A board of trade was constituted, composed of the principal personages of the kingdom, who were entitled the trustees of the linen manufacture. A system of laws was framed for the regulation of this trade, and the prevention of fraud, which for wisdom, penetration and an attention, which extended to the most minute articles, would do honour to the most enlightened country. Eighteen thousand pounds per ann. was intrusted by parliament, to the distribution of the trustees in premiums, for extending and encouraging the linen manufacture: * under this auspicious influence, it flourished, and grew apace, whilst every day new proselytes to industry were invited to take shelter under its benignant shade.

Ireland has the advantage of Scotland, its rival in the linen manufacture, in two essential articles. It is better adapted from the quality of its soil, for the cultivation of flax, and its water assimilates with a peculiar facility with the ashes used in forming the ly or wash for bleaching.

* The premium offered by the trustees of the linen manufacture, have been latterly so irregularly paid, that all invitation to the manufacture derived from them, has in a great measure abated,

The art of bleaching has been carried in Ireland to an excess of refinement, sacrificing sometimes, as I apprehend, the stability of the fabric to external beauty.

The linen trade is an object of immense magnitude, and its advancement or decline, involves the dearest interests of the kingdom so much, that I could wish it was in my power to suggest any hint that would tend to its improvement.

At this day, of universal distress in Ireland, the opening of new avenues of trade, will no doubt, revive the spirits of the inhabitants, and may possibly encourage some few adventurers to engage in those untried paths; but the advancement of the linen manufacture is immediate in its operation and permanent in its effect. I know but of two ways to attain this advantage. One is, by raising the material of the manufactures at home; the other, in the extending the consumption of the manufacture itself.

Under the first head I comprize the cultivation of flax, and the saving of flax-seed for sowing. The cultivation of flax at present labours under three obstacles: the uncertainty of the quality of flax-seed; the high price of foreign flax-seed, and the non-exemption of flax from tithes.

The interdiction of American commerce, together with other evils, threatened the extinction of the linen trade. Deprived by this fatal difference,

difference, of flax seed, the origin and spring of the manufacture, it seemed for a moment on the verge of ruin. The English Parliament indeed, with a provident eye had endeavoured to avert this calamity, by directing a bounty on the importation of flax-seed from the Baltic and the Netherlands, to be paid out of their treasury. Flax-seed, however, was poured into the kingdom in such large quantities, as amply to compensate for the interruption of the usual American importation.

The quantity annually consumed in Ireland is estimated at 30,000 hogsheads. The American flax-seed had been often held over, and sold in the ensuing season with the same success as in the year of its vegetation. Unhappily the Baltic and Netherlands did not possess this advantage. To a philosophic eye this difference in the principle of vegetation may be attributed to the vivifying ardent quality of the air in America, and the torpid humid climates in the northern European countries. In one year 5000 hogsheads of old and corrupt flax-seed were sold for sowing in Ireland, which entirely failed to grow. Although the seller had passed the most flattering encomiums on the fertility of the seed; yet on this melancholy occasion, whether from avarice and injustice as principals, or acting under orders as agents

agents to their correspondents abroad, all restitution was denied. The quantity of flax-seed sowed by each farmer or cultivator, on an average, is computed at about seven gallons. This, in one year, deprived 50,000 families of the chief spring of an indispensable but wretched and unfruitful industry.* The linen act had made some wise provisons for the prevention of this evil, and the trustees acting under its authority, inflicted penalties upon several of the principal importers. The framer of this act of Parliament had indisputably intended to grant to this summary jurisdiction a power of final determination without any appeal whatever; yet, I am informed, the merits of these judgments are now in the court of King's Bench of Ireland; and it is a principal question, whether this act of Parliament, by virtue of which, several persons committing offences named in the act, have suffered

* To give some general idea of this article and its produce, I offer the following calculation. A bushel of flax-seed will produce from 10 to 15, sometimes 20 stone of flax. The average product 12 stone, at 8s. average price, is 4l. 16s. per bushel. This value on seven bushels, the quantity on a hoghead amounts to 33l. 12s. the loss therefore occasioned by the failure of 5000 hogheads is equal to 168,000l. and this in the first instance only. Numberless families could not afford to purchase flax for spinning; and the public therefore lost, not only the material, but the value which would have been added to it by the labour of those unfortunate people.

suffered a capital punishment, is a private or public act. The trustees irritated at the interposition of the Court of King's Bench, (and possibly ignorant, that as no writ of certiorari was prohibited by the act of Parliament, that this court was bound to grant it on being demanded,) applied to Parliament, in order that this part of their jurisdiction should be withdrawn.

Thus did the nation lose the benefit of a summary remedy in the regulation of it's staple commodity. Since that period, numberless frauds have been committed in the sale of flax-feed. Every year produces immense failures, which dishearten the farmer, and ruin the inferior order of cultivators. There is one great remedy for this evil, which purifies the stream at the fountain head. All holders of flax-feed, in the months of August or September, should be compelled to sell what is then on hand for oil. Government should erect oil mills for this purpose, and the profits resulting from this manufacture would soon repay the expence of their establishment.

When flax-feed was imported from America, it was the most common return made to Ireland for its linen cloth, and the few articles Great Britain permitted to be exported. It generally sold at an average price of about 2l. 15s. per hoghead; since that kingdom has been supplied

from the north of Europe, the price to the farmer has been 4l. 11s. per hoghead, at an average. This price, on a consumption of 30,000 hogheads, amounts to the enormous sum of 136,500l. which the nation pays in the first instance for this article, and which must be deemed a burthen and pressure upon the manufacture of an immense magnitude. If we estimate the first cost of this seed at 50s. Irish, there is a loss to Ireland of 76,000l. being the whole amount of the trade. The ships employed in this commerce have never carried to Königsberg, Lucbec, Riga, or Ostend, a single article of the manufacture or produce of Ireland.

Parliament might abate the measure of this injury, by offering liberal bounties on the saving of flax-seed. This would heal two wounds which the manufacture at present endures. It would assure to the sower flax-seed of a good quality, and it would retain in the kingdom the alarming sum annually remitted for its purchase.

The third expedient I would point out in favour of the cultivation of flax, is allowing it an exemption from tithe. This would operate as a bounty upon the cultivation; and if those persons who would be affected by this step, should be held entitled to the consideration of

D

Parliament

Parliament, it might be easy to provide an adequate compensation.

The other head I proposed treating of, was extending the consumption. This great measure, more flattering than almost any other commercial advantage, depends on Britain. The consumption of England alone considerably exceeds the Irish exportation of linen cloth. This added to the West Indian, African, Spanish and American trade, offers an extensive and inexhaustable demand. This mighty trade might be secured to Ireland and Scotland, by an act of simple justice. It is no more than causing German linens to be rated at the custom-house at their real and not an obsolete and nominal value. This important step would be a necessary consequence of recurring to those principles of policy, which induced our ancestors to consider the encouragement of the manufactures instituted in their own dominions as the first and primary object of commercial regulation.

If England opened her ports for the introduction of French woollen cloth, would it not distress, if not totally ruin her woollen manufactures? The same policy that precludes all countries from exporting that article into England, should be, in some degree, extended in favour of the linen trade of Ireland and Scotland. I do not require that German linens should be taxed to a prohibition; but it would demonstrate

strate a judicious policy, to restrict an importation which is daily increasing, and which has proportionably impoverished the linen manufacture of Ireland and Scotland.

The linen manufacture, in the year 1772, received a violent shock from the failure of For-dyce the Banker. An entire cessation of public credit, not only in this kingdom, but in Ireland, caused it to languish for two or three years before it began to revive after that misfortune. The commencement of the American war alarmed the public with new apprehensions, and made them tremble for the safety of this staple article. To the astonishment of Ireland, the year 1776 produced no symptoms of that wreck and desolation which has lately overwhelmed the trade of the kingdom. Every countenance beamed with gladness, at finding the gloomy speculations of politicians at this crisis unfulfilled. Men, however, who looked beyond the glittering delusion of the present moment, still entertained fears for the event. They attributed the demand that prevailed for linen cloth, to the supply necessary for the Spanish fleet, which about that time sailed for South America. An extra demand for linen adapted to the printing manufactory at Manchester, was another cause to which the present spirit was ascribed: as they considered these causes as temporary, they prognosticated the same of the effect.

We

We have beheld these predictions, these apprehensions fatally verified. The linen trade, in the following year, once more became dull and languid. It still preserves an existence, but it is the decrepidness of old age, instead of the blooming appearance of manly health and vigour.

Of

The value of the linen cloth exported at this time from Ireland, cannot much exceed one million sterling yearly. There is also a considerable exportation of linen yarn from the towns of London-Derry and Sligoe: it is estimated at three hundred thousand pounds annually. This great quantity of yarn is entirely purchased for the Manchester traders. They procure the material on terms which English opulence could never afford to produce. They cause it to be wrought into Manchester printed linens, and linen and cotton manufacture. After it has received the accession of Commission to the factors in Ireland, freight from thence, insurance, weaving, printing, and a variety of other expences, together with the profit of the manufacturer, it is returned to Ireland with this accumulated expence, to be paid for by the Irish consumer. Manchester has been always inimical to Irish prosperity—May Ireland cease to contribute to the advantages of men so fordid—so unfriendly to the voice of justice and humanity.

I shall attempt to give an idea of the various stages of the linen manufacture, and their relative value. For this purpose I shall take a piece of yard wide linen, at 18d, which is the average price of linen exported from Ireland.

	£.	s.	d.
1 piece, containing 25 yards, at 18d value,	1	17	6
	£.	s.	d.
To 8 lb. of fine dressed flax, at 10d per lb.	0	6	8
To spinning 40 hanks of yarn, at 2½d per hank	0	8	4
	<hr/>		
	0	15	0

To

Of the Provision Trade.

THE linen manufacture is seated in the province of Ulster, and one or two counties in Connaught. The remainder of Connaught and the southern provinces of Leinster and

<i>Brought forward</i>	0	15	0
To the buyer of the yarn and profit on having it weaved	0	1	6
To the weaver, 25 yards, at 4d	0	8	4
To the buyer of linen for his commission on the purchase	0	1	0
To bleaching 25 yards at $2\frac{1}{2}$ d per yard	0	5	$2\frac{1}{2}$
To carriage to Dublin	0	0	6
To commission on the sale, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ d per cent.	0	1	2
Incidental	0	0	6
	<hr/>		
	1	13	$2\frac{1}{2}$
To the linen merchant for interest of money, risque of his factor, chance of bad market, &c.	0	4	$3\frac{1}{2}$
	<hr/>		
	1	17	6

Spinning is the business of women, who are obliged to work diligently, if they produce a hank of yarn in the day, of the quality necessary for the above linen. Two pence half-penny a day is a most scanty earning, but even this is sometimes considerably reduced when yarn is very low.

The labour of the weaver is more productive. With much assiduity he can weave two yards or two yards and a half per day of the above linen, which amounts to ten pence, or five shillings per week.

It appears from the above calculation, that the yarn is little more than one third of the value of the piece of linen when bleached and at market. From this some judgment may be formed of the injury arising from exporting yarn. When printing and the high price of English labour is added, the first cost of the yarn is multiplied at least five times.

and Munster, are utterly destitute * of arts and manufactures. This fine fertile and populous country, capable of raising every material to stimulate industry, has remained for ages in the first stage only of civilization. Like the ancient patriarchs and modern race of Tartars, the care of flocks and herds form the chief employment of the inhabitants. Immense tracts of country, extending as far the eye can reach, display a great assemblage of cattle, under the direction of a single herdsman, unconfined by marches or any visible boundaries.

A miserable hut, the residence of the tattered attendant upon these droves of cattle, occasionally relieves the eye from the melancholy unvariegated prospect. Nature, however, often in wild variety, affords a charming view of exuberant bounty in various parts of this country. The enchanting lakes, diversified with an infinite number of islands: the spontaneous groves, the majestic rivers, and the warbling streams, affect the beholder with a mournful idea of an ungrateful neglect and inattention, whilst Nature solicits regard by all the attachments of unbounded munificence.

The propagation of live stock is always destructive of population. By agriculture and manufactures we find it constantly promoted. This is

* I except Dublin in this observation, where sandry manufactures are supported on narrow wretched scales.

is evident from the example of China, Persia, the Indies, and even many countries in Europe. In the three first great empires, where the human race multiply with an astonishing rapidity, they depend for subsistence on the cultivation of their lands. In Europe we find Holland, by the mere force of industry and application to manufactures, subsist in the proportion of her territory, several times the population of Ireland. On the contrary, in America, Tartary, and other pasturage countries, the human kind are comparatively few, as it regards the extent of their country.

The application of lands to the feeding of cattle is far also from being productive. This appears from the most flourishing years of the export of provisions. Before the American war, the value of the beef, tallow, and butter exported from all Ireland did not amount to a million. The exportation of linen cloth from one province during the same period, amounted to nearly double the sum: besides, we include in this estimate an extensive exportation, chiefly of butter and pork, from Belfast, Newry, and Sligo, towns in the northerly parts of the kingdom.

The exportation of provisions to foreign ports is also casual and uncertain. France and Spain during peace, are almost its only objects, and
the

the jealousies and wars between Britain and these countries subject it to infinite distress, difficulty and disappointment.

An unlimited trade will open different views to the proprietors of lands. Manufactures will promote population, and a rising spirit of agriculture will subsist increasing people. Villages, and after them towns will erect their heads in those extensive fertile plains, where at present no habitation appears. The healthful villager, and the robust nervous artist, will salute the traveller, instead of the herdsman, or the unemployed half starved vagrant.

I shall now make a few observations on the state of this trade for the last four or five years.

In the first year of the American contest, this trade swelled into the richest stream of traffic that had ever been experienced in that branch. The immense orders from England—the supply of the troops in America, and the great demands from France and Spain, advanced this article fifty per cent. and for a moment dispelled the gloom arising from the loss of American commerce.

This pleasing prospect was soon darkened, by a proclamation, laying an embargo on the exportation of provisions to all foreign places. It has been affirmed, on the most incontestable evidence, that this fatal measure was the offspring of a
private

private interest. Ireland was sacrificed to the influence of a * few contractors in England, who having entered into contracts with government, for supplying the king's troops, were desirous of raising fortunes, at the expence of that unfortunate country.

If the provision trade continued, even unshook by the policy of English government, I should not wish it to be extended, or the lands of Ireland to be appropriated to pasturage. But until manufactures and agriculture are properly substituted, it was the only valuable exportation, except linen, from the country. Before ministry, by one act, deprived the people of Ireland of half their provision trade, they should have considered what compensation the injured inhabitants should have received for such mistaken policy : a nation, whose exports, at that time, were little more than from two to three millions, could not afford to have one third of it capriciously destroyed.

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* It is said that the inferior contractors in Cork, acquainted their principals in England, that unless an embargo took place, they could not fulfil their engagements. This produced an immediate application to government, who granted the request.

Mr. Gordon, the surveyor at Cork, has exerted a most unconstitutional power of granting liberty to ships, by his sign manual, to depart with provisions, or any other goods, without paying any duty. This unexampled suspension of an Irish act of Parliament, at the will of an individual, requires the most serious examination. He is armed, it is supposed, with a private order from government, but this should never protect the measure.

We have now before us one great source of the distresses of Ireland ; the farmer, the grazier, the landlord, all experienced a portion of this national misfortune : the holders of feeding or pasturage ground, could no longer sell their cattle ; the great market at Cork was glutted and over-stocked. Tenants could not pay their rents, the grazier was no longer able to make good his engagements, and the speculative merchant was undone.

The moment an account arrived in France, of the embargo on Irish provisions, orders were immediately sent to Denmark, Norway, &c. to furnish a supply for their West Indian commerce. In a little time the French markets were completely stocked. The Irish merchant murmuring and in despair, deeming the restriction illegal, took the oaths required at the custom-house, but unhappily found the market anticipated. As an aggravation of mercantile distress, many vessels from Ireland insured at a high premium, were taken by English ships, on their passage to France, and the insurers refused to be accountable for their value.

Provisions now sunk sixty per cent ; every market for small beef, was shut up from the merchant, and even a clandestine trade was precluded by the situation of the French markets.

If government intended by this measure, to abate the national expence of the war, at the cost of Ireland, little of this effect was produced. The small beef which suffered most in its price, was entirely unfit for the purpose of government. If they intended to distress an expected enemy, the event in a little time, too fatally proved, that France had abundant resources for provision, without depending on Ireland.

* The first embargo which government imposed on Ireland in February, 1776, prohibited the exportation of provisions from that kingdom to any foreign countries, without restricting England. This was a measure less malignant than the general embargo which followed in October in the same year; but at the same time, it was replete with the grossest partiality. Irish provisions, on this occasion, passed through the hands of the English merchant, whilst every motive which could spring from a supposed political necessity, equally inhibited both countries from exportation.

The first embargo originated in illiberality; the last was an act of national injustice. Government

* I acknowledge myself indebted for considerable information on this subject, to a pamphlet published in Ireland, entitled, "A Copy of a Report drawn up by a Committee appointed to enquire into that Trade." It is republished by Mr. Almon in his Remembrancer, No. 54.

vernment either offered up Ireland at the shrine of private interest, or they made a fruitless attempt to disappoint the military preparations of France, by devoting Ireland to an unmerited but inevitable ruin.

France has discovered in Denmark and the northern powers, a certain source of supply. Those countries are enabled, from the cheapness of their lands, to furnish cattle on easier terms than Ireland can afford. The * provision trade to France has been turned into a new channel, from whence it will never possibly be recalled.

Whilst we lament the misfortunes which have flowed from this national blow, may we not look up and examine the strength of that power by which this injury has been committed?

The Crown claims and exercises the high prerogative of suspending the laws of Ireland. In Britain, when the exigency of the state has required an immediate and indispensable remedy to be exerted by the crown, the necessity of the measure is pleaded for the breach of the

* The number of bullocks slaughtered in Ireland in the year 1775, amounted to one hundred and sixty thousand. Immense quantities of pork were shipped from Newry, Belfast and other towns, for Cork in the same year. Since the embargo the number of bullocks slaughtered, have, at a medium, not exceeded fifty thousand annually, and the demand for pork has entirely abated.

the constitution, and the minister comes to Parliament for an indemnity. This was practised by Lord Chatham in the year 1766, and by Lord Sandwich this year, when the Spanish declaration of war required an extraordinary exertion ; in order to man the fleet.

Upon what principle the Crown can exert a prerogative of this injurious tendency in Ireland, which it is not allowed to possess in Britain, I confess, surpasses my comprehension. It was thought necessary to give the legislative assent to the interdiction of the trade of Boston : shall a minister at pleasure exercise the extensive privilege of shutting up all the ports of Ireland by a proclamation ? If provisions can be restricted by this power, why not the linen manufacture ? If the Crown can impose new conditions for the exportation of any article, why not make duties on imposts ? A right of this kind—a power of this unlimited quality, would render a money bill of little importance. If an extension of trade is solicited, we are informed it belongs only to Parliament—We are told that it is not in the power of the Crown to grant rights ; but at the same time we are taught that we hold what we now possess, or may hereafter attain, as tenants at the will of prerogative. By this contradictory doctrine, the Crown can deprive the people

people of Ireland of their trade, but cannot bestow it : it reverses the amiable and just maxim of the law, that though prerogative, may always exercise humanity and mercy, it can never commit any injury.

Thus it appears, that the embargo on the trade of Ireland was as unconstitutional as it was impolitic. But as this power continues to be exercised, it is time that the great public question of it's legality should be decided. After * three years passive sufferance, some spirited gentleman should endeavour to have the temper of these commercial chains examined in an Irish court of justice.

The exertions of Mr. Ogle, an Irish senator, in the great cause of his country, were unhappily rendered abortive. This active and patriotic gentleman shipped a parcel of beef for Bourdeaux soon after the first embargo : it was seized by the shipping officer, against whom he immediately brought an action. The death of this person, when the cause was nearly at issue, disappointed Mr. Ogle's intentions, and gave universal concern to the kingdom,

Of

* The demand for beef in France amounted to seventy-five thousand barrels annually.

Of the Woollen Trade.

IN considering the trade of Ireland, from the situation of the country, the disposition of the inhabitants, and the affluence of the material, this would promise to rank in the first line of pre-eminence, as an article of exportation. A malignant peevish jealousy possessed the minds of the English, when they beheld the first dawning of this rising manufacture. Immediately after the revolution, they addressed a monarch to destroy this flower in its bud, whose recent establishment would not permit him to refuse a requisition so fraught with impolicy, and so replete with ruin to an unfortunate country.

Thus perished the woollen trade of Ireland. Since that melancholy period, it has scarcely merited the name of existence. Some efforts have been made indeed to cherish it's miserable remains, in the vain expectation of supplying the consumption of the kingdom.

There is a peculiar genius in some countries, united with local circumstances, which, altho' it may be combated by difficulties, will never be overcome. Analogous to the human mind, if Nature has implanted a strong disposition to the attainment of any honourable object, it may be depressed by misfortune, or it may be impeded by unkindness; but by a just and steady perseverance it will, at length, surmount every obstacle.

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The climate of Ireland is humid; and, altho' not subject to that rigorous air to which many northern countries are exposed, yet it's winter is sometimes severe, and always extended. Nature, liberal in supplying the various necessities of mankind, has covered the plains of this fine pasturage country with a profusion of the fleecy tribe. The inhabitants have not been inattentive to this gracious munificence. The austerity of the clime first instructed them to cloath themselves, the redundancy of the material furnished the means, and suggested the disposition of making it the subject of an extensive and beneficial commerce.

But these bounties have been poured out in vain!—the temper of it's industry has fruitlessly languished after the object of its wishes—Bound down by the fetters of an illiberal monopoly, this unhappy country has long been the object of the pity and contempt of surrounding nations. It has been pitied as the victim of English avarice and injustice—it has been condemned for a patience which no ignominy could arouse to resentment.

The conduct of England has been equally impolitic and cruel. It has been impolitic from two causes: first, because the depression of the commerce of Ireland is injurious to Britain;* and
next,

* England and Britain are put one for another in this pamphlet, and used as synonymous terms.

next, because the restrictions on this article in particular, have recoiled increased evil on it's envious framers.

The first reason I have assigned for considering the conduct of England impolitic, I have endeavoured to prove under the head of the commerce of Ireland. That which remains, being the principal object of this essay, I shall now attempt to illustrate.

The most judicious English writers on trade* have been of opinion, that opening the woollen trade of Ireland, would be of advantage to this kingdom. This they prove from the following obvious argument. France is the great rival of England in the woollen trade. She cannot carry on this important branch of her traffic without the assistance of Irish wool. The Irish are compelled to dispose of their wool to France, because the prohibition of England denies them the liberty of it's manufacture; therefore the conclusion is inevitable, that whenever the Irish are enabled to resume the right of Nature, they will manufacture all their wool, and the French will consequently be no longer able to procure it; this formidable competitor will have her industry relaxed, and England will at length discover, that Irish prosperity will rather irradiate than darken the glory and happiness of the empire.

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The

* Sir Josiah Child, Sir M. Decker, Postlethwaite, &c.

The confined limits of this temporary work will not permit me to prove in detail the various propositions of this argument, I shall content myself with a few cursory remarks, which, I hope, will tend to elucidate this subject.

When the plague raged at Marseilles, the demand for English woollen cloth, to supply the Turkey, German, Portugal and Spanish trades, was incredible, and afforded the most convincing proof of the large proportion of the consumption of these markets the French had been accustomed to share.

The wool of France is short and coarse, being, in the language of the manufacturers, neither fine in the thread nor long in the staple. This obliges them to have recourse to the wool of Ireland, which possesses both these qualities. Aided by a pack of Irish wool, the French are enabled to manufacture two.

The arm of vindictive penalty has been stretched out, and the coasts of Ireland have been guarded by English cruisers without effect, to restrain the exportation of Irish wool. There is a spirit in some articles of commerce, which disdains it's shackles. The hand of illiberal power may erect it's envious but unavailing mounds, the tide of traffic will still burst over it's feeble and impotent barriers.

Thus the wool of Ireland, in despite of these artificial entrenchments, finds it's way to enrich

put

our foes. England cannot manacle the trade of other countries; but if she cannot be unjust to all, she will be unjust where it is in her power. In exercising the sword of restraint against a friend, she opens an avenue to the market for a natural enemy.

It is by a cultivation of the woollen manufacture, and causing a market to be opened at home, that the French would be deprived of this important supply. It is the interest and natural rights of the people which set these laws at defiance, abate the measure of that interest, and the laws will be observed.

If England was the only country engaged in the woollen manufactory, policy might possibly direct the hand of restraint, whenever it could be exercised, in order to encircle this art, from the knowledge of the world. It might then have been preserved, with a monkish piety, as the only fountain, to which the various nations who are the object of it's demand, might resort for supply.

But the sting of calamity, must excite a more exquisite sensibility, when the injuries endured, by an unfortunate people, afford no real advantage to those professing friends, by whom they are inflicted.

Would not France, at the various foreign markets, feel the effect of the Irish woollen manufacture, as severely as England? would she not be more materially injured, as her cheapness frequently

quently compensates, for the want of stability in her woollen productions? would it not heighten her distress, if together, with this effect, she no longer could procure Irish wool to qualify her staple?

If there was a province in France, where the woollen trade could be conducted with extraordinary advantage, which would in it's effects curtail, if not, annihilate the woollen trade of England; what opinion should we entertain of the policy of that country, if to gratify another province, a few miles nearer the capital, it should be restrained, by royal edicts, from applying itself to industry, and peculiarly prohibited from engaging in a manufacture, for which, by nature, it was eminently qualified. Suppose this unhappy province remarkably populous, loyal, but perishing under the weight of the fetters, which had been imposed on it's industry, could we refrain from exclaiming at the partiality, the impolicy, the barbarity and ignorance of their government. Would not England triumph at a conduct, which seemed calculated for her particular interest? whilst she rejoiced at the imbecility and weakness of such a government, if she was not abandoned to every feeling of humanity, would not even the tear of pity darken her eye, at beholding a brave, but oppressed people, sacrificed at the shrine of provincial inhumanity?

Let

Let us reverse this picture, and see if the mirror does not reflect our own image. It is sufficient—it ought—it must awaken the good sense of this country.

When the ports of Ireland are opened for the exportation of her woollen manufacture, the next consideration is to revive the national spirit of industry in this branch, and give vigour and permanency to the manufacture.

For this purpose, two things appear to me of much importance, in producing this effect: first, that a board in imitation of the trustees of the linen manufacture should be established, by authority of parliament, with an ample revenue to be appropriated in premiums, for the encouragement of the manufacture in all its branches: next, that the seat of the woollen manufacture should be removed from the capital. It is a solecism in policy, to carry on such a manufacture in the metropolis. Dublin may be the market for its sale, but it should be the last place in Ireland for its production. The woollen manufacture of this country is established in York, the cheapest county in England. What would be the state of the linen manufacture, if it was dependant on the efforts of Dublin manufacturers? have we not seen the feeble remains of it, that once subsisted in that city, linger for a long time, and at last expire?

This observation is so obvious, that to pursue it farther

farther is almost superfluous. But I shall make a few other remarks. The manufacturers either have employment, or have not. If the woollen, manufacture has at any time felt a demand, these artificers become insolent, idle, and insist on higher wages : they work two or three days instead of five or six. They engage in illegal combinations, and grown frenzical by intoxication, make the city tremble for it's safety.

If they want employment, what a melancholy scene is presented to our eyes ! twenty thousand unhappy wretches, without money, or credit, perishing from want. The streets and roads covered with the feeble remains of some times decent, but miserable men, soliciting charity.

The linen manufacture is exposed to all the variety and fluctuation of demand, attendant upon commerce, but the direful effects we have described are not experienced in their full extent. The poor may receive less for their labour, or their web of cloth may return unfold from the market, but they have still an alternative from absolute want, in the produce of their little farm, or the supply of their garden.

If the manufacture was established in some cheap fertile country, the artisans would be detached from each other, they could no longer engage in those destructive combinations, which make the means of supply casual and uncertain,
and

and which dry up the fountain of national industry.

Vegetables, and many other articles, which the poor subsist on, are dearer in Dublin than in London; the advantage derived from the cultivation of their own vegetables, together, with a removal from the pernicious use of spirits, would render the manufacturers healthy and happy, instead of disgracing Ireland, by a display of wretchedness and inebriety, which is scarcely to be equalled in all Europe; the manufacture itself would reach a point of perfection and cheapness, which would recommend it at home without patriotism, and abroad without interest.

The consumption of Ireland alone, would employ about one hundred thousand persons.* This
observa-

* Suppose Ireland to contain two millions of people and an equal number of each sex.

One half males, at an average, 15 shillings per year £.750,000

The other at do. 4 shillings do. 200,000

Consumption of Ireland	950,000
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If we should also suppose that each person employed in the woollen manufacture, earns 10l. per year, the number of persons necessary to supply the consumption alone, would amount to ninety five thousand.

The whole produce of wool at present in Ireland, may be estimated at 500,000 stones. It is now at 9s. per stone, let us call it 10s. its value would then be 5,000,000l. a piece of woollen cloth, properly finished, is generally valued at five times the cost of its material, from the accession of labour. This would produce, supposing all the wool of Ireland to be manufactured, no more
than

observation alone, is sufficient to shew that Dublin cannot be the seat of the manufacture in a state of improvement, and therefore, as the first step towards it, let the manufacturer be invited into the country by national bounty.

The Irish woollen warehouse in Dublin, which has been happily converted from a retail shop into a wholesale market, will then require to have its bounds enlarged. The inhabitants of Dublin may not be altogether so numerous, but those who remain in it will be more prosperous and happy.

Of the Coal Trade.

IRELAND possessed of numerous coal mines, is indebted to England and Scotland for that necessary article. I * compute that one thousand sail of colliers deliver their cargoes annually in different ports of that kingdom; estimating each vessel to carry two hundred tons, and the average price sixteen shillings per ton; we have a sum of near two hundred thousand pounds, withdrawn in specie yearly.

A colliery has been opened many years at Ballycastle, a small town situated at the extremest northerly

than 1,250,000l. The surplus manufacture which remained for exportation, would therefore be no more than 300,000l. which even on this ground, proves, that England has little to apprehend from the Irish at foreign markets.

* In the year 1761, 121,994 tons of coals were imported into Dublin.

northerly point of the kingdom. The parliament of Ireland hath lent it's aid in vain, to give some spirit to this undertaking. The port is dangerous, at all seasons, and almost inaccessible in winter. The first vessel,* which some years ago, arrived at Dublin, laden with coals from this place, was received by the whole city with acclamations. They considered her as the happy forerunner of an influx of coals at a reasonable rate, and a preservative against the continued drain of the specie of the kingdom for British fuel. But the natural difficulties of navigation, having never received a complete remedy, this coal mine, together with several others in different parts of the kingdom continue to extend their influence within a narrow internal circle.

At Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, several coal pits are opened under the direction of a Mr. Du Carte. Possessed of a great mechanical genius, this gentleman undertakes uncommon things, with a surprizing appearance of ingenuity, but without always proving successful. A navigation had been projected, to convey coals from these mines to join the Newry canal; in the prosecution of this work, a hill intervened. A vulgar engineer would have either carried the navigation round the hill, or, like the Duke of Bridgewater, pierced through it; but Mr. Du Carte conceived an expedient of a different kind; he undertook to relinquish the aid of water,

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which

* From the year 1761 to 1763, 2731 tons of coals were imported into Dublin, from Ballycastle.

which lie left at the bottom of the hill, and attempted to raise barges, full laden with coals, by a particular mechanical force, upon rollers, to the summit of this elevation, and by the same contrivance, enable them to descend into the canal upon the other side. The great road to Dungannon passes along the brow of the hill, it was therefore necessary, to erect an arch for the ascent of the vessels, which the traveller could pass under on horseback. A great wheel, whose centrifugal power was intended to attain the measure of force for exalting the immense weight of his full laden vessels, the course by which they were to ascend, and all the rest of the apparatus of this unexecuted enterprize, continue to stand a monument of eccentric ability without foresight, and to deserve the appellation applied to it, by the country people, of being *Du Carte's Whim*.

He has not been, however, unsuccessful in all his undertakings. In the true parade of Irish inland navigation, he has erected an aqueduct for conveying the canal along a deep valley, through which a considerable river holds its course, composed of stone of a fine quality, quarried near this place. It presents to the eye a front, beautifully embellished, representing Egyptian marble. Here the barges are to glide
over

In the year 1750, a Committee of the House of Commons resolved, that the Collieries in the county of Tyrone, were equal to the supply of the consumption of Dublin.

over the aquaduct, whilst the river is running thirty or forty feet underneath.

These coal mines supply the neighbouring towns with this article, but until the navigation is completed, no benefit can be derived from them to the kingdom at large.

Ireland will never be able to furnish herself with coals, whilst the influence of England prohibits any taxation upon her fuel.* A coasting voyage is generally more tedious, as well as dangerous, than the run from Whitehaven to Ireland. The infinite application of mechanical force in England, from the superior opulence, or possibly the ingenuity and industry of the inhabitants, gives a permanent and extensive advantage over the efforts of the Irish in all works where great labour is required.

If Ireland had a spirit of industry infused into her people, by the enjoyment of a commercial liberty, she might soon be enabled to furnish herself with an article diffused throughout her own soil; she might also extend it to an exportation highly advantageous. It would found a nursery for seamen, increase her ship-building, and spread a general vigor thro' her manufactures.

Of

* I think a bounty of three or four shillings per ton, granted on the importation into Dublin of Irish coals, would be a judicious measure.

Of the Fishery.

THIS article should form one of the most splendid figures in the picture of Irish commerce. Parliament sensible of the immense value of this source of wealth, have been liberal in it's encouragement. Bounties have been granted to vessels of a certain tonnage, that continue on the herring fishery—when the fish arrive at market, the merchant is again invited to export them by another bounty, payable on receiving a certificate of their being landed, in any foreign place, or in any of our settlements.

These advantages have not been held out in vain, the great markets of the kingdom are supplied with herrings, on terms particularly favourable to the poor, who being chiefly Roman catholicks, are from religious observance, obliged to live the greatest part of the year on fish. Large quantities have been exported to the Madeiras and the West Indies.

These herrings, either from their rich luxuriant quality, or an imperfection in their cure, seldom continue long in warm climates, in a state of preservation. A contingency of this kind, where the outward freight exceeds the bounty, hath much restrained the adventurer; besides, in the West Indies, the planter giving a certain number of herrings to his negroes, derives an advantage

advantage from the smallness of the Norway herring, the number of each kind in a barrel, being generally in the proportion of five to seven,

The herring fishery carried on by the Dutch, at a considerable distance from their coasts, has been always deemed the principal source of their greatness. The industry, frugality and perseverance of this people, have surmounted the difficulties of situation, and enabled them to drain the liquid element of a treasure, which annually visits the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland with little advantage.

This great branch of traffic, which the Dutch have monopolized, amounts to many millions yearly. It finds ample employment for an amazing variety of different artisans, &c. the ship builder, the smith, the net maker, the cooper, and all the branches attendant on these occupations, are indebted to this extensive trade. It is the opulence of this commercial people, which enabling them to accept of small profits, carries them triumphantly forward in this tide of traffic.

The conduct of Holland at this juncture, would justify a speculation, that Great Britain will not always permit that country to continue to reign unmolested in this commerce. It is time she should shew a faithless ally, that she will not sacrifice a real benefit, for an unprofitable alliance. If Holland would expect the generosity, the friendship, the protection of Britain, she

the should endeavour to merit it by gratitude and affection.

If this trade should ever be relinquished by the Dutch, it would transfer to the Scotch and Irish, a stimulus to industry and exertion, that would highly enhance the property and power of these countries.

In Ireland, together with the immense shoals of herrings that appear on her coasts, she possesses also on the west side of the island a valuable cod fishery. An ignorance of the method of cure, confines the extent of this fishery to the internal consumption of the kingdom.

It will be worthy the consideration of an Irish parliament, desirous of applying a remedy to the distresses of their country, to consider of some expedients for the further extension of this trade. Premiums should be offered for the best method of curing fish. The cod fishery deserves particular attention, and a considerable bounty should be granted on the exportation of this last article.

A few years ago, a public company was instituted in Dublin, for the purpose of carrying on the fishery. I am not enabled to speak of the event of this undertaking, but as the plan was judiciously framed, if it has been executed with spirit and integrity, I entertain little doubt of the company's success.

Of

In the year 1762, the quantity of herrings imported into Ireland, amounted to 23,233 barrels; the exportation only to 5,101 barrels. This proportion has been much changed for some years.

Of Agriculture and Emigration,

AGRICULTURE should be the primary manufacture of every country. If the soil is not fertile, it ought to be cultivated for subsistence; if rich and luxurious, as the means of paying for the superfluities of other nations.

This manufacture waits for no precarious return, but carries in itself the labourer's reward. In the east, the policy of the country, makes the cultivation of the land an article of religion. The extent of population renders the exertions of an useful industry indispensable.

It was in the reign of Henry the IV. that the Duc de Sully introduced a general spirit of agriculture into France; that kingdom, from the vigor of this principle, acquired a population and wealth which enabled Lewis the XIV. to awe Europe. This monarch, famous for the temporary splendor of his reign, and for the ruin which a false ambition produced, supplanted agriculture for the sake of manufactures. Colbert actuated by the impetuosity of his nation, dazzled by the glare of the arts he established, suffered agriculture to languish in obscurity. A few years experience, undeceived the French nation. When famine in all it's horrors stalked amongst them, and the unhappy people

people clamoured for bread, the necessity of a different system was perceived and adopted.

It is but a few years since Ireland was dependant upon foreign countries for corn; each revolving year * brought with it either a real famine, or the melancholy apprehensions of want. The chief return from America, for her linen cloth was in flour; and in one year, Ireland imported corn to the amount of nearly half a million. This mighty burthen alone, was sufficient to crush a kingdom in the infancy of arts and manufactures; it was an evil so flagrant, as not to escape the public attention.

To a society,† whose generous efforts in behalf of their country, all honour and respect is due, the Irish are indebted for the rapid progress of a general cultivation of their lands. Premiums have been extended, with a judicious and munificent hand, to tillage, under their patronage. John Wynne Baker, an Englishman, carried on a course of experiments, with honour to himself, and advantage to the country. Machines for expediting manual labour were formed under his inspection. These were sold at a moderate price, and a general knowledge of the farming art was diffused, and enlightened the kingdom.

To a genius profound, subtle and penetrating, this gentleman possessed an industry which no difficulties could relax; he considered the task
appointed

* In the year 1729, the importation of corn into Ireland, amounted to near 200,000l.

† The Dublin Society.

appointed him, not as a dull round of duty which must be performed, but with a fervor of patriotism which would do honour to the founder of a state. His last cares were directed to the prosperity and welfare of the kingdom. This small tribute I willingly pay to the memory of a man, whose character from the mediocrity of his situation has not been sufficiently revered.

The great maxim which should regulate every undertaking, that comprehends the general industry of a people, is to provide a market for the efforts of their labour. One obvious, but wise expedient, has together with the causes we have enumerated, effected a wonderful revolution. The market of Dublin, by a simple operation, has been brought within the vicinity of each farmer, for sixty miles round. A bounty on the carriage of corn, from all parts of Ireland to Dublin, exceeding ten miles distance, like some potent charm, hath converted many a dreary uncomfortable waste into fields, cloathed with the rich produce of a bounteous harvest. Flour mills have been also erected throughout the kingdom; here the farmer, as his necessities demand a sale of his wheat, is sure to find a ready money market: his wants are even frequently anticipated by an advance of money, long before his grain is prepared for the mills.

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Thus a regular and permanent supply of grain has been at length established. The nation experiences the sweets of this improvement at the present hour of calamity : provisions of every kind are far from being dear ; it is to a stagnation of trade, which no longer circulates amongst the poor, the means of purchase, that their distresses are chiefly to be attributed.

When the American war commenced, the cultivation of grain, was then hastening to it's present perfection. The Irish nation should be grateful to the divine benignancy, which prepared the way for this great event, by exciting a spirit of industry which has preserved the kingdom from all the horrors of famine and consummate misery.

The advantages resulting from this important change, should counterbalance, it might be apprehended, many of the evils the Irish endure. At first sight this appears a proposition which could not be denied, but a little consideration will evince, that this great benefit has been attended with an injury, growing with its growth, and strengthening daily with it's increase.

About twenty or thirty years ago, the arable and pasture lands of Ireland were let at an average at five shillings per acre. The inhabitants were supine slothful and indolent ; their industry was not called forth either by the clamour of demand, or the invitation of profit. Ignorant
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of the art of cultivation, one miserable crop was followed by another, still worse, or perhaps by an entire failure. Thus the wretched farmer starved over a fertile soil. Spiritless, or precluded by poverty, he pursued the common track without deviation; with the bigotry of an irrational devotion, he depended on Heaven alone, for that produce which could only be derived from the efforts of a well directed labour.

On the first dawn of improvement, the value of lands rose apace; they were successively at ten, twenty and thirty shilling per acre: near the chief towns, their price advanced far beyond all bounds of speculation: six, eight or ten pounds per acre, is the usual price in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Men possessed of a small capital, speculated upon the purchase of lands, and great fortunes were thus acquired. The rent roll of Ireland was trebled in the course of a few years.

Many unhappy consequences have flowed from this sudden revolution. The farmer has been tempted by the prospect of an improvement, which at first seemed infinite, to undertake a rent, which he is unable to discharge: his poultry, his butter, his stock of all kinds, must go to market to satisfy an inhuman landlord; with a multiplied produce before him,
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he has the melancholy spectacle of beholding it pass thro' the hands of his family, whilst guarded by a dire necessity, they have not courage to partake of the bounty, which Heaven seems so liberally to have provided.

The landlord elated by an accession of income, which lifts him from a careful œconomy in the country, up to the splendor of a town residence, can no longer be restrained in the arrogance of his demands; his situation makes him vain, and his necessities tyrannical: if his miserable tenant, by the exertion of an unwearied industry, is able to pay his rent, in a few years he must increase it, or his land is advertised to be let, and secret proposals are solicited; terrified by the apprehension of being driven from the soil, which his family hath for many generations lived on, he ventures to meet the avarice of the landlord, but a few years experience reduces him to beggary, and he flies with his family, calling on Heaven to witness the cruelty of an unrelenting tyrant.

Some landlords unwilling to be the immediate instruments of torture, turn their tenants over to an abandoned set of men, called jobbers; these persons take a large portion of land into their hands, and let it out to a number of wretched people named cotters. In the breast of the principal, some drop of pity and commiseration might

might possibly be found, but these miscreants are steeled against every feeling of humanity. A hovel in which there is no chimney—the common residence of the family and their cattle, without apparel, except a few rags to cover their nakedness, their food potatoes, are the only accommodations which these unfortunate beings are admitted to reach.

At this place I shall beg leave to make some further reflections. The subject is important which comprehends the welfare and happiness of that valuable class of men who are employed in tilling the land.

In England, lands are very generally held by the immediate occupiers by copy of court roll. This is a valuable tenure, which assuring to the tenant and his posterity a certain possession, subject to particular fines, which are either ascertained, or reasonable, hath proved the surest stimulus to a useful industry. Where they are holden otherwise, as for term of years, or as freeholds not of inheritance, on the expiration of these estates, they are in almost every instance renewed on easy and moderate terms. The English landlord would despise the man who covertly and insidiously endeavoured, by the overture of a little additional rent, to deprive his neighbour of subsistence. He would behold with indignation the ungenerous

rous attempt to expose some venerable old man, like an ancient withered oak, to the tempest of the world, when bowed down with age and infirmity—To turn him and a numerous family, whom he had trained up to the virtuous labour of the field, to seek for some hospitable roof, who had been instructed to consider themselves in a possession, which a benevolent landlord would continue to their sons and daughters—But above all, he must detest himself, if he did not instantly spurn the mercenary wretch from his presence for ever.

These are the customs which have rendered the English yeomanry substantial and respectable. Farming is an honourable, because it is a lucrative employment. The wealth of the kingdom, like a healthful circulation, is not confined to the noble parts, but is universally diffused. The opulence of the husbandman enables him to apply all the power which ingenuity has devised to give vigour to the arm of industry.

It is to the tyranny, the inhumanity and the impolicy of landlords, that an emigration began in the north of Ireland, which threatened to depopulate the country. This industrious manufacturing people, invited by a clime, where liberty flourished, and where oppression had not yet taken root, continued to remove with their families,

families, with a silent but painful regret. Emigration languished for a considerable time. For the prospect of happiness abroad must be sure and immutable, or the anguish at home poignant and intolerable, when a man, with his family, give up their friends and connections—the attachments of youth and maturity—their natal soil—to venture into unknown regions, at an immense distance. But the moment arrived, when the streams, that murmuring descended over the rocks, should be changed into a mighty torrent rolling from the mountains.

About ten years since, a nobleman (Lord Donnegall) visited Ireland for the first time, in order to renew the leases of his estate, which, in general, had expired. When he arrived at Belfast, a spirited commercial town, consisting of above ten thousand inhabitants, he was received by peals of acclamations, as if some God had descended to bless the world. In his suite was a gentleman, a Mr. Talbot, who acted, as appeared afterwards, in the character of his minister.

When the first tumult of rejoicing was over, for their gracious arrival, the great business was entered upon, which had induced his lordship to visit this country. His immense estate was derived from an ancestor, Arthur Chichester, who had assisted in the original reduction of Ulster. This great and then happy town, part of

of Carrickfergus, famous for it's defence in the last war—together with an infinite tract of land in the counties of Antrim, Down and Donegall, composed the property of his lordship in Ireland.

A scene now opened itself, novel in it's appearance and singular in it's effects. The tenants were encouraged to bid against each other. A spirit of intrigue, apprehension, and jealousy was excited—fines were introduced—the little earnings of a struggling industry were now sacrificed to an insatiable avarice. In the space of a few months, Lord Donnegall drained that part of the kingdom in which his estate lay, of upwards of one hundred thousand guineas in specie. His partizan, Mr. Talbot, for his share, acquired in the same time, it has been affirmed, about twenty thousand. The income of his lordship's estate, by the various arts which had been exercised, was now increased near threefold.

I willingly acquit his lordship, and do not attribute to him any intention to ruin this fine country. It is upon Talbot's head I would pour the stream of execration—It is against him that I would direct the last burning sighs of the families who perished in the sultry swamps of Carolina.* Like some fiend, he skulked

* The emigration from the north of Ireland, was chiefly to South Carolina, where from the unwholesomeness of the climate great numbers died.

skulked from a people he had ruined, hugging himself in the fatal mischiefs he had occasioned; but followed by the stings of a conscience, which must prove an eternal accuser.

A spirit of turbulence and disaffection, for the first time, now showed its head in this province, since it was peopled by protestants. The town of Belfast was attacked by an enraged multitude. They burned the house of an eminent merchant who had taken a large portion of lands from his lordship; and they threatened devastation to many others. They were composed of persons who were either driven from their lands, or of those who had been compelled to promise more than they could render for them; they assumed to themselves the appellation of *Hearts of Steel*, and proceeded to take revenge on all whom they deemed their enemies. Every day brought advices of houses being burned—of compulsory oaths administered—and of some new disorders which had not been heard of before. Considered as zealots for liberty, and commiserated as the objects of a severe oppression, the law could not reach their crimes. In despite of the clearest evidence, they were constantly acquitted in their vicinity. At length, a law was enacted, whereby they might be arraigned and tried in Dublin. Even this expedient proved ineffectual: a spirit was excited in the

the capital in favour of the prisoners—they were held out as unfortunate people, who had stretched a just resentment beyond the verge of the laws; and who were now, at the expense of the constitution, dragged to Dublin, far from their friends and connections, in order to be sacrificed at the shrine of Tyranny. The evidence was full and conclusive against them, yet they were all acquitted. The populace considered this event as a victory gained over their enemies; and they were conducted from court in triumph.

At length the laws began to operate in one or two counties. The alarm now became universal—the spirit of emigration revived—the principals, their friends and connections hurried to the different ports of the kingdom.—Whole villages became waste and desolate; and this disposition, which commenced with criminals, extended itself on all sides, to the virtuous and industrious, as well as the idle and profligate. It was computed that, for several years after this period, not less than from twenty to thirty thousand souls emigrated from the north of Ireland annually. It was a common practice for the parish and its pastor, or clergyman, to embark in the same ship, to share in the same fortune.

Such was the temper and inclination of the people, when the American war commenced. This

This unhappy contest has, for a time, stopped the course of this mighty river ; but whenever peace is re-established, it will break forth with redoubled fury. In a country where the inhabitants sink under the weight of rigorous exactions ; where labour is not permitted to taste of the sweets of it's own toil ; this temporary restraint will strengthen the desire to emigrate, and the interdiction of America will be considered as the walls of a prison.

When the artificer and the husbandman, the farmer and merchant, withdraw from a country, I consider it as hastening forward to a sure destruction. These are the characters which constitute the substratum of a nation's prosperity ; and when they begin to remove, it's career of fortune is nearly terminated.

The depopulation of a country being the greatest calamity it can suffer, it might have been naturally expected, that it should have been the object of a parliamentary enquiry. This ruinous emigration continued for years to shake the public existence ; and the legislature, either stunned at the magnitude of an evil, which they thought without remedy, or awake only to a private interest, distinct from the public good, beheld with a shameful silence this distemper of the state every day become more stubborn and invincible.

If the cause of this political apathy had been enquired into, it would have appeared to have originated in the tyranny and impolicy of the legislators. The remedy was of a simple quality; but it clashed with the gratification of either their avarice or extravagance; it was by exercising a spirit of moderation and benevolence to their unfortunate tenants—it was by relaxing the rigor of the demand, and accepting rather what ought to be given, than what the ignorance and necessities of the farmer might invite him rashly to promise—it was by enabling the poor to live before the rich should be luxurious,—that emigration would have been restrained, and the prosperity and happiness of the people placed on an immutable basis.

If it has been proved, that the cultivation of land, comprehends the most valuable interests of a country; that the avarice, the inhumanity, the misconduct of land holders, not only impedes it's extension, but menaces agriculture itself with ruin: then the reason of human law steps in, which is to enforce by penalty, what is in vain prescribed by duty.

Money, that universal sign of property, has been restrained and prohibited from ascertaining it's own price—it has been found expedient in every country, for the laws to interfere between the avarice of the holder, and the distresses of the borrower; this limitation is narrowed or extended;

extended, by the affluence or political necessities of a kingdom. If this great principle of policy has been applied to money, with equal, if not greater reason, it should comprehend the use of land.

Why should laws be enacted for the regulation of bread, and not limit the immoderate price of land, which enhances the value of that essential article? * Why should laws subsist against forestallers, and regraters, and not interdict jobbers and the modern race of holders of rack rents.

It will be objected, that the value of lands being infinitely variable in quality, and dependant also upon a variety of local circumstances, precludes any uniform restriction; but this objection is obviated with facility. It is no more than to adopt the policy of our laws, when it is necessary, for the sake of some national benefit, to make a purchase of lands or houses. The illiberality of individuals, their sordid wishes, their thirst of advantage must bend to the public good, and submit to the value returned by the inquisition of an impartial jury.

A committee of the Irish parliament should be appointed, to enquire into the state of agriculture in that kingdom; to examine into the price of lands, the complaints of the farmer, the causes of the late emigration, and the means to prevent it in future.

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* Corn is dearer in Ireland than in England.

Of the Import Trade of the City of Dublin.

DUBLIN, the metropolis of Ireland, has been long ranked with the first cities in Europe, for extent, population and the elegance and splendor of it's private and public buildings; inhabited by near two hundred thousand souls, the seat of vice-royal government—of the courts of justice—of a biennial assembly of parliament—it might be expected that administering to the necessities and luxuries of so many individuals, should supply one great branch of an ample and beneficial commerce.

This city, some years ago, supplied the principal towns in the kingdom with teas, hops, sugars, wines, and foreign spirits. It was then a great market to which the traders in the different towns resorted for the purchase of these commodities, but a spirit of traffic having since sprung up in the chief ports of the kingdom, the merchants in these places importing directly, no longer purchase in Dublin but when a temporary exigence, or the fluctuation of an article holds out some particular inducement.

The trade of Dublin consists at present, First, Of the importation from Britain of woollen cloth, haberdasheries, silks, hardwares, &c.—Secondly,

ly, of teas, hops, sugar, rum, and porter, and to bacco, rice, indigo.—Thirdly, Of rum, &c. from the West-Indies—And fourthly, Wines, fruits, and brandy, from France, Spain, and Portugal, &c.

The shopkeepers in Dublin of the first class, are chiefly agents employed by the English, who are either allowed a commission on the sale, or are entitled to a small share in the advantage of the trade. Thus the very profit on the retail of British manufactures is remitted to England, together with the wholesale cost. The retail of her woollen manufacture is a business of little advantage in this city. The unfortunate traders in this branch are therefore permitted to struggle unrivalled in this miserable track. No Englishman envies this class of men, their long vigils—their distresses—their bankruptcies.

In the second class we find merchants who are in the import trade.

Tea is an article of immense consumption in Ireland. Every class and description of people in towns, down to the wretch who solicits alms, use this favorite commodity. England in pursuance of her commercial regulation, and countenancing the monopoly of the East-India company, has prohibited the importation of tea from all other places. In vain can bohea tea be purchased at Gottenburg or Dunkirk at 10d. per lb.

lb. for which the company charge from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d. or green tea from 22d. and upwards, for which they charge 4s. 3d. and 4s. 4d. and upwards, in the same proportion. Ireland is compelled by the long code of penal laws with which her statute book abound, to give a company in England, from which she derives no advantage, twice the value for a commodity of extensive and universal consumption.

This trade falls partly under the same observations we have made respecting the first class. It was formerly attended with a permanent and considerable profit to the merchant ; but large quantities of tea being sent on commission by the English speculators, who possessing an opportunity of adulteration—of substitution, and of the invoice advantage, they have been enabled to undersel the regular importer. To this may be added the indiscretion of the merchants themselves, who, by certifying as a wholesale trader, every little vender of spirits, every inconsiderable grocer, who makes an application for this purpose, produce a mongrel set of traders who disgrace commerce, and annihilate a reasonable mercantile profit. These men whom the merchant, in the dawning of their success, when the scale of fortune stood suspended, trusted with considerable risque.—Whenever it has declared a little in their favor—as soon as they are become

become safe customers, manifest their gratitude by immediately becoming importers. Thus uniting their retail profit with a wholesale advantage, they distress their fellow shopkeepers, cover their smuggled teas, and leave the merchant to deal with the unfortunate and needy.

Almost every merchant who has pursued this miserable trade on his own account, has become a bankrupt. A sale without profit, at an extensive credit, to a suspicious and dangerous class of men can have no other termination but bankruptcy and ruin.

The observation we have made on the grocer importing tea, will in some measure apply to hops. This article some years ago afforded the Dublin merchant a tempting object of speculation. Increased in it's value two-fold by the arrival of a London mail, many merchants, by a judicious foresight, or the contingency of the season, have amply improved their fortunes. The supply for many years has however been too liberal to enhance the price from a temporary Irish scarcity, and when the London markets advance to a certain height, an illicit importation of Flemish hops, restrains a proportionate rise, and will not permit it to ascend to it's proper level.

The articles of sugar and rum we shall reserve for our remarks upon the Irish West-Indian trade. We shall only observe, that the liquor ge-

nerally exported from London under the denomination of rum, is a combination of a corn spirit distilled at home, with a small proportion of West-Indian rum. For some years the Dublin market for genuine rum suffered much from the obtrusion of this spurious fraudulent liquor. The discredit into which this article has fallen for some time from London, has happily, in a great measure, prevented the importation. The out ports have not been equally disgraced by this avidity for gain, which does not scruple at adulteration and fraud to effect its wishes.

Porter I shall take notice of under the head of raising the revenue. I shall dismiss this subject with observing, that in this article also some London brewers employ their agents in Dublin for it's sale.

The three articles of tobacco, rice, and indigo, the production of the southern colonies in America, have been monopolized by Great-Britain. Glasgow and Whitehaven supplied the Irish with tobacco, and London with rice and indigo. The northern part of Ireland hath contributed largely to the colonization of South Carolina. The most valuable part of her subjects have gone forth to people a country with which she was not permitted to have any other intercourse.

intercourse but that which tended to her destruction.

Thus the only provinces in America worth fighting for were interdicted. The valuable part of that great continent produced no more commercial advantage to Ireland, than the colonies of France or Spain, or the dominions of the Chan of Tartary. Whilst Ireland was thus treated as an alien, she was compelled to be the instrument of enhancing an advantage which she was prohibited from enjoying. She has been obliged to accept of these commodities at the price imposed by Britain, deprived of the miserable consolation of procuring them possibly at a cheaper European market.

Is it in this manner France treats any part of her dominions? Are any, even of her conquests, prohibited from trading with her settlements? the dull ey'd Spaniard has at length laid aside some of his prejudices, and opened to other ports beside Cadiz, the trade of South America.

Ireland hath beheld a country, to which nature hath been remarkably frugal, assume a new aspect. Enriched by a commerce from which she has been inhibited—the barren wilds—the niggard rocky soil—the humble cots of Scotland have disappeared, to be happily exchanged for sumptuous palaces—spreading groves—and the rich verdure of a blooming cultivation.

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The merchants in Glasgow have multiplied their capitals in tobacco ten times since the commencement of the American war. From 2d $\frac{1}{2}$ per lb. the usual price of that commodity, it has risen to 22d. and 2s. If we suppose the stock in Scotland to have been worth 200,000l. at the beginning of hostilities, they have enhanced its value to two millions. France, Spain, and Holland, by the operation of the war, no longer had occasion to resort to Scotland, but found this valuable article flowing into their ports at an easy price. Ireland prohibited from purchasing at their markets, has been the dupe of Scotch avarice. She has been almost the only customer to the Glasgow merchant, and has given a clear profit on every 100l. of her immense consumption of 90l. : this sacrifice to the interests of Britain, will appear no inconsiderable cause of the present national distress of Ireland.

We have now to speak of the Irish West-Indian commerce. The beef, butter, herrings, and linen cloth of Ireland, are commodities peculiarly acceptable to the West-India islands. These articles are often bartered at the Madeira for their wine, which gives the Irish merchant an additional favorite article for the West-India market. The only return permitted by Great-Britain for the produce of these weighty commodities, is rum, The mahogany and py-
mento

mento of Jamaica are too inconsiderable to deserve notice.

In the long train of restrictions on the trade of Ireland, I know of none more illiberal, fatal, and unjust, than the prohibition of sugar. These are some of the consequences of this narrow malignant system. It affords the West-India merchant either a cause or an excuse for his delay in remitting produce. Rum is too dear, or is not to be procured. A whole year elapses, and in the interval the Irish merchant either struggles with the disappointment, or sinks under it's weight. If rum is forwarded to the Irish market, he finds it overflowing with an immense importation, which either precludes a sale, or if constrained by necessity, he forces one—he loses on the home adventure half the first cost.

Sugar comes to the Dublin market loaded with a commission, with the various expences of warehouse-room, carriage, &c. ; together with a new freight, insurance, &c. on it's importation from Britain. All this is saved to the British manufacturer of refined sugar ; aided by a liberal drawback, he deprives the Irish of the wretched privilege of preparing sugar for their own consumption.

Ireland claims a removal of this restriction upon every ground of justice and policy. The approaching enlargement of their trade must comprehend

comprehend this article, or it will appear that England trifles dangerously with the spirit and good sense of that kingdom.

We shall close our remarks upon this subject, by observing, that almost every merchant who has adventured largely into the West-India trade from Dublin, has failed. He is on his first essay in this path amused with a liberal profit and a quick return. The practice of a sharper is thus exercised on the unsuspecting trader, who elated with his good fortune, extends his views, enlarges his risque, until, to his utter astonishment, he is suddenly overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. In vain he hath invoked the humanity, the justice of the West-India merchant, to make him some return for his property. Deaf to every consideration, but the call of private interest, he wraps himself up in his legal safety—and turns the perishing merchant's fortune into a more profitable trade, with the Spanish main.

The Irish attribute this shameful disregard of honour and integrity to the contagion of the climate, and manners of the people. Some of their countrymen, who have maintained a fair reputation at home, on removing into this seat of vice and profligacy, have become equally corrupt, and wanting in probity, even as the natives.

The northern ports employ the captains of their vessels to dispose of their cargoes, or send
out

out supercargoes; and this expedient has, in a great measure, preserved them from this calamity.

Of the importation of French wines and brandy, we will make some remarks, when we treat of the effect of the present mode of raising the revenue. The wines of Portugal and Spain, being in general the return for our manufacture and produce, ought to be encouraged. The introduction of port wine into general use in Ireland, would destroy the vanity of that scandalous class of men, who indulge their pride and passion for inebriety, by drinking five bottles of claret every evening. The trade with these two last countries might be much enlarged in the linen branch. The division of a piece of Irish linen into three parts, neatly lapped, is a facile method to encourage it's sale in Spain.

The Dublin trade supports one or two ships in the Mediterranean, and the same number in the Dutch trade. Fruit and oils from Leghorn, being a return for Irish raw hides, and some linen cloth, constitute the principal materials of the former trade. With the Dutch an injurious trade is carried on for their geneva, manufacture of toys, &c. and flax-seed. This people, whose unremitting industry extracts the wealth of every country, take no article of the produce or manufacture of Ireland. Every discouragement consistent with the necessities of the kingdom,

dom, should therefore be extended to so ruinous a commerce.

On the whole then, these conclusions may be drawn. The trade of Ireland labours under many severe and injudicious restrictions. When public credit enables the merchant to engage in commerce, the narrowness of it's channel crowds adventurers into the same track—they clash—they rival—they ruin each other. They have recourse to various arts, when their property is annihilated in protracting their fall. At length the failure of a principal link of the chain dissolves this artificial system. The banks are alarmed—they refuse to discount, and now unceasing bankruptcy takes place.

Trade now seems to draw towards a final extinction. The few merchants that remain, with little property, and an unstable credit, think themselves happy, if by avoiding all mercantile undertakings, they can make good their engagements.

Such is the situation of this unfortunate city at present. Her deserted harbour carries no other sign of traffic, than the black and gloomy assemblage of English colliers. Commerce tempted by the delightful situation of this country, it's fertility, it's harbours, looked with wistful eye for that moment, when invited by freedom, she might make it her residence; but wearied with expectation, disgusted at her hardships,

ships, she seems at length to have taken a final, but reluctant farewell.

Of the Effect of the present Mode of raising the Revenue of Ireland, on the Manners and Happiness of the People.

THE revenue of Ireland is chiefly derived from the customs on tobacco, wine, and spirits imported, together with the excise on the latter manufactured at home. Tobacco, altho' generally used as a luxury, is not pernicious in it's nature. In this it stands reversed to spirits. The one is a succedaneum to the mind, engaged in the laborious offices of life—the other, whilst it opposes industry, distracts the understanding, and enervates and destroys the body.

Spirits have been so productive an article to the exchequer of Ireland, that the legislature have never ventured into any liberal measures, to restrain their baneful effects. They have perceived manufactures languish—combinations amongst artificers grow head strong and turbulent—sloth and indolence attend the meagre wretches, consumed by the depravation of constant inebriety, and have never yet applied a remedy to so ruinous a disorder.

One third of the shops in Dublin are venders of spirits. The earnings of the multitude are

L carried

carried to these poisonous fountains, and here they barter their health, and what should be the support of their families, for a temporary madness unfitting them for labour.

The great profits resulting from the sale of this article, entices the most respectable shopkeepers to be instruments in debauching the manners, and vitiating the constitutions of their customers; they are the only persons in general, who grow opulent, and some of the greatest mercantile houses in Ireland, have taken their origin from the infamous profits of retailing spirits.

The advocates for this pernicious practice, requires us to point out a tax of substitution. Perish the ungenerous emolument that erects its head upon the health and happiness of a whole people! but the argument will receive a more decisive answer. If on the sale of spirits * amounting to one shilling, government receives

two

* Rum is generally sold in Dublin at the following wholesale prices :

Jamaica from	5s. 0d. to 5s. 3d. per gal. stand.	} duty 2s 2d pr. gal.
Antigua	4s. 4d. to 4s. 8d. ditto	
Barbadoes	4s. 0d. to 4s. 2d. ditto	
Grenada	4s. 8d. to 4s. 10d. ditto	

These rums are generally retailed from 8s. to 12s. per gallon.

French brandy from 6s. 8d. to 7s. 6d. per gallon wholesale.

Whisky from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. per gallon do.

If a tax of twenty or thirty pounds yearly was laid on all persons retailing spirits, before eight o'clock in the evening, might it not check this pernicious practice?

About 6000 puncheons of rum, and the same quantity of brandy, have been consumed yearly in Ireland.

two pence, and the intoxication arising from this exportation, is a day of idleness; a loss ensues from what the artificer would have afforded on that day's produce, equal to an additional tax; besides the immense profit of, from fifty to one hundred per cent. which the retailers enjoy.

Why should not a wholesome malt liquor take the place of this malignant article? The Irish have malt uncommonly good and plentiful, and hops are nearly as cheap as in England; the latter article, for several years, has been at an uniform and easy price, offering the brewer all possible encouragement. But the cheapness of hops, and the low price of corn, has made no alteration either in the quality of their beer or its price: their two-penny beer continues as before, spiritless, loaded and sweet, without any invitation, whatever, to the palate. With the advantages the brewers possessed in a moderate excise, and the cheapness of the two principal ingredients, it might have been expected, they would have manufactured a liquor, at a little additional expence, that would have weaned the common people from their attachment to spirits. But the quick return of a beer, that in a week after brewing was put into a course of consumption, superceded public expectation, and left no hope in their spirit or generosity. *

Thus

* There has been some late attempts to encourage the brewing

Thus spirits, aided by their cheapness, the force of usage, and the momentary happiness in which they wrap the miserable, continue to walk uncontrolled, spreading a general devastation over this unhappy country.

The quantity of English porter consumed in Ireland is prodigious. It is sold generally at four pence, and sometimes five pence, per quart. In a country where labour is cheap, a price like this, must preclude the inferior ranks from enjoying the benefit of a liquor, originally intended for their use. Some efforts have been made to produce Irish porter, but an opulent rival, conducting his business on an immense scale, is not to be affected by the efforts of a competitor hazarding a new undertaking, inexperienced in the process, and destitute of a liberal capital: even the Scotch insult the Irish with large exportations of their porter. Some attempts have been made in the Irish parliament to restrain this excess of importation, in order to encourage their own manufacture. But the influence of Britain continues to secure the monopoly; she refuses her consent to the taxation of a favourite manufacture, without regarding the measure of benefit which would accrue to the Irish from such an expedient.

The brawny laborious porter, and the robust and healthy artisan of England, carry in their aspect,

aspect, a certain indication of a salubrious air, and a wholesome course of living; contrast them with the emaciated artificer of Dublin, with long and hollow visage, whose trembling hand can scarcely receive the alms which his miserable appearance extorts from the humane and charitable, and a just conclusion may be drawn of the necessity of some immediate and effectual remedy.

Dr. Smith in his natural history of Dublin, has shewn, that within the last fifty years, since the introduction of spirits among the common people, that the number of females born, have considerably exceeded that of the male; the contrary before that period prevailed—the contrary subsists in every northern country, that is unse-duced by debauchery, or the pretended arts of refinement.

The consumption of spirits should, therefore, be restrained and abridged, whilst that of malt liquor ought to be advanced and enlarged—the one should be made agreeable to the people, and placed within their reach; the other enhanced in it's value, and rendered inaccessible; in short, the present order should be entirely reversed.

Having dismissed the lower ranks, let us look a little upward. The hospitality of the Irish has been a copious source of panegyric. Several causes may be pointed out for the exercise of this
truly

truly aimable quality: I call it aimable, however, in a sense which cannot be extended to the general usage of that country. I think the hospitality of Ireland may be traced to these causes: indolence—little intercourse with strangers—cheapness of provisions and liquors—and lastly, a love of dissipation.

The two first causes will be readily admitted. Whether the native Irish inherit from their Milesian ancestors, a tincture of Spanish pride and languor, or their want of application is a defect of opportunity, and a proper stimulus to industry, I will not determine. The low price of French wine, favours the dissipation of the middling and superior ranks, in the same degree as spirits have depraved the common people.

French wine pays no higher duty in Ireland than Portugal or Spanish wines. The consumption of the former is therefore very great. Almost every merchant in Dublin is either wholly or partially in the wine business. This is another, but an artful spring of hospitality. The wine merchant who relies upon the integrity and candor of his dealing—the quality of his wines, and the moderation of his prices—will soon discover that he has been flattered by a delusive expectation. He must, if he intends to prosecute this line with success, entertain his friends and acquaintance to the utmost stretch of extreme debauchery. Possessed of a strong head, the
wine

wine merchant fills bumpers, permits no person to flinch his glass; and having at length drank his company into a state of utter inebriety, they are conveyed home; and if in the morning they recover without a violent head ach and fever, they applaud the wine, give credit to the hospitality of the merchant, and as an instance of their gratitude, order a parcel of his old claret, with which they may get drunk with the same success. No man acquires a fortune in the wine trade, who has not ruined a good constitution.

French wines, from the smallness of their spirit, can be drank in large quantities. This devotes the whole evening to the charms of the table. It is very seldom that any mercantile business is transacted after dinner. The humidity of the air, and incessant rains, makes home delightful. It is in vain then to attribute to * hospitality

* I hope I shall stand excused from condemning a friendly, generous, rational reception, when I decry the inconsiderate and injurious hospitality which prevails in many parts of Ireland. It is in Connaught that this excessive festivity predominates; and it is well known, that the gentlemen of that country are oppressed with debts, refuse justice to their creditors, and set the law at defiance. If industry was once established, this vicious extravagance (which is often considered as a virtue, extended a little beyond it's limits) would soon be exploded, and liberality, tempered with discretion, substituted in it's place. Justice to creditors would not then be sacrificed at the shrine of improvident generosity. Many of the principal merchants in Dublin have become bankrupts, occasioned by this spirit of dissipation and extravagance. Their annual expenditure

lity, what is plainly derived from the natural temper of the people, and the facility with which it is gratified.

The interest of the legislature in countenancing their own vices, must be the true cause of their indulgence to claret. The immense value of that article, and of French brandy, is almost entirely discharged by bills on London. They export nothing to that country but, in time of peace, some cargoes of beef. The miserable peasants of Ireland subsist chiefly on potatoes and salt, in order that the beef, with which that fertile country abounds, may pay for the wine of France, and regale their tyrannical landlords. One of the best measures that could be devised for the benefit of Ireland, would be an additional duty of ten or fifteen pounds per ton on claret. This measure during the war is indispensable. Every hoghead that is now received in neutral vessels, is a dead balance against that country.

The taxes in Ireland are moderate, if industry was awakened, and she had a proper field for exertion. There is one, however, repugnant to liberty, and oppressive in it's exercise. This is

expenditure was usually half their principal. The misfortunes of the last two or three years have, however, introduced a spirit of œconomy and attention, which may shed a gracious and vivifying influence on drooping commerce.

the

the tax upon hearths.* A tax which gives a right of entry into the inmost recesses of the house; and which alarming the unfortunate cotter, as if a foreign enemy was at his door, hurries him into the fields with the few moveables he can convey from the relentless collector. William the III. abolished this odious tax in England, upon his accession. It would have been a judicious measure, if this benefit had been extended to Ireland.

The late stamp duties, introduced under the administration of lord Harcourt, have been very unpopular. I remember they were estimated at fifty thousand pounds, but they did not produce much more than half that sum. News papers were a luxury to a people naturally indolent, and who consequently looked for news, with a proportionate avidity. They are besides, repositories of knowledge, for the middling and lower ranks. They could not without regret, behold these favourite vehicles, trebled in their price. And the news paper editors dragg'd from their asylums, re-echoed the murmurs of the multitude. I do not wish this part of the stamp duties to be increased. An impartial news-paper is a fountain of liberty and knowledge, which I desire to behold always accessible to the lowest of the people.

* It amounts to about fifty-five thousand pounds annually.

Of the Revenue of Ireland.

ON this subject I shall be extremely concise. The fallen revenue of Ireland is the comment of every news-paper.

Before the accession of his present majesty, Ireland was nationally opulent. She was like a prudent man, possessed of a small income, who manages it with œconomy and frugality. Almost exempt from debt, her exchequer, if not rich, was never exhausted. The surplus of her revenue invited new appropriations for the improvement of her manufactures and commerce. Thus her linen trade sprung up like some flourishing oak, which aided by the hand of attentive art, arrived at an anticipated maturity. The Dublin society, the coal mines of Ireland, the charter school, and a number of other public objects, partook of the munificence of parliament.

Since the last peace, this unhappy country has been the melancholy subject of a boundless rapacity and extravagance, which cannot be beheld without concern and indignation. Viceroy's have been sent over, as to another Roman Sicily, to repair their ruined fortunes, and gratify their partizans with the choicest spoils * of the

* In the long train of those gentlemen, Sir John Blackquiere, secretary to the late lord Harcourt, is remarkable. He placed on the pension list, his mistresses and his partisans; he enjoys

the kingdom. Tax has followed tax every succeeding sessions, whilst the debt of the nation continually accumulated.

The pension list * intended to be the roll of public merit, has been converted into a wasteful provision for the worthless and undeserving. The army has been augmented in a time of profound peace, upon a broken condition of the whole of it's force being kept in the kingdom for it's safety and defence. Places have been multiplied, and created for the purpose of procuring or preserving a venal majority in parliament.

The trade of the kingdom labouring under heavy and unnecessary restrictions, has been checked even in this confined state, by the most fatal impolicy. The provision trade annihilated by an embargo, the linen manufactory curtailed and depreciated by the American war, the consequent decline and bankruptcy of the merchants presents one view of the state of the kingdom, and it's revenue. The high price of tobacco, which has lessened the consumption of that article nearly two thirds, and the cessation of the importation of rum and foreign spirits; two ar-

enjoys the office of Alnager of Ireland, worth about a thousand pounds per year; and obtained a grant of a large portion of the Phoenix park, which had been before appropriated for the recreation and health of the citizens of Dublin. Together with these advantages, he is supposed to have amassed a large sum, from the emoluments of his situation. Whilst he was in office, almost every appointment was set up to a political auction.

* Two years ago, it amounted to upwards of 100,000l. annually.
 ticles

ticles the most considerable in the customs, lead us to another obvious source of a reduced revenue.

The establishment and national expence of Ireland, is nearly a million annually. The revenue to defray these charges, was formerly approaching to and sometimes meeting that expence, but is at this day only about half this sum. The national debt is now nearly two millions.

Such is the simple outline of one of the most alarming and sudden revolutions, in finance, which is to be found in modern history. If war had desolated the country—if an enemy had blocked up its ports—if a rebellion had raged in the kingdom—These are causes which must naturally and without exciting astonishment, produce this ruinous effect. But that the whole superstructure of the policy of a country, should be founded upon such miserable and disjointed materials, as to perish under their own weight, exhibits a mournful spectacle to the present age, and will possibly prove a useful lesson to posterity.

The voice of patriotism has often sounded in ministerial ears, without success, this dreadful moment of national calamity. The pensioner—the placeman, the lawyer, the land holder, the merchant, are all equally involved in this universal wreck. The misfortunes of the kingdom have

have given a common cause, and patriotism now springs from the unhallowed soil of venality itself.

As the revenue has taken it's origin with commerce, and has perished with it—it is only by the revival of the latter, that the former can be restored. The Parliament of Ireland have justly considered a free trade as the first step towards alleviating the distresses of their country. It will however require much zeal, patriotism, and attention to its commercial objects, to render it flourishing and happy.

The following is a short state of the national expence and income.

Dr.

From 1751 to 1753.

	£.	s.	d.
Civil list	—	143,705	0 8½
Military	—	762,571	7 7
Sundries	—	110,426	10 5
Paid of the national debt contracted in the preceding years	}	120,000	0 0
Balance to credit of the nation		332,747	19 8½
		<hr/>	
		1469,450	17 10

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
By balance in the exchequer	253,044	17	8½
Nt. Revenue	1216,406	0	1½
	<hr/>		
	1469,450	17	10

In the year 1759.

Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
To civil list	181,969	15	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Military establishment	820,384	14	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sundries, concordatum, pension list, &c.	279,551	4	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>1,280,899</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10$\frac{1}{2}$</u>
Balance in the exchequer, to } credit of the nation	84,396	7	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
	<u>1,366,296</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
By balance in the exchequer, in 1757	249,422	15	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Neat revenue	1,116,873	6	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>1,366,296</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>

Note, In order to put the nation in a state of defence, a vote of credit passed for raising 300,000 at four per cent. if found necessary.

From 1759, to 1761.

Dr.

	£.	s.	d.
Civil list	202,352	19	4
Military	997,072	5	3
Sundries	281,888	4	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Exceedings	18,622	3	1
	<u>1,499,635</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

Cr.

	£.	s.	d.
By balance in the exchequer	84,396	7	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
N. revenue	1,191,800	7	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
National debt	223,438	17	18 $\frac{1}{2}$
	<u>1,499,635</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9$\frac{1}{2}$</u>

From 1761 to 1763

Civil list	—	221,365	12	4
Military	—	1124,743	1	8
Sundries	—	332,934	7	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
National debt	—	223,438	17	11
		<hr/>		
		1902,481	19	0 $\frac{3}{4}$

Cr.

		£.	s.	d.
By Nt. revenue	—	1381,320	3	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
National debt in 1763	—	521,161	16	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
		<hr/>		
		1902,481	19	0 $\frac{3}{4}$

Thus in every sessions, the different branches, of national expence have been advanced, with the most unguarded profusion, and the national debt constantly increased. Notwithstanding every sessions since 1763, except the last, new or additional duties have been imposed.

The national debt in the present year :

	£.	
In the last session the national debt	1061,000	} this account taken from the public prints
Loan and tontine	460,000	
Deficiency of last 2 years supposed	600,000	

Present national debt 2121,000

The national establishment should be brought back to it's state in 1753, when the revenue was equal to it's present produce, and all future exceedings in favour of the nation, should be applied to the discharge of the national debt, and the promotion of trade and manufactures.

In 1763, when the national debt began to appear alarming—in- stead of diminishing unnecessary expences, the commons resolved “that no money would be granted for the encouragement or sup- port of any particular trade or manufacture whatever.”

The present national expence is supposed to be 865,000*l.* annually, which exceeds the establishment in 1759 232,050*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* and in 1753 near 560,000 annually.

Of

Of a National Bank.

CIVILIZATION carries with it, as it's inseparable characteristic, the use of money. Wherever it is introduced, we may suppose the state to have arrived at a considerable degree of refinement. The learned Montesquieu observes, that the cultivation of lands, that important stage of improvement, has always produced a sign of value.

The ordinary intercourse of mankind, for the supply of their immediate personal wants, is sufficiently answered by those common signs of value in all nations, gold and silver. But the transmission of these metals from one kingdom to another, having been found dangerous and inconvenient, and a property in them at home, casual and hazardous, bills of exchange have been invented for the purpose of a facil and safe conveyance, and paper to assure a certain and portable possession.

Paper being the representative of a sign, it presumes it's value to be lodged in some safe depository, to which access can be always attained, for its exchange. These receptacles are either private or public.

When an individual has acquired the reputation of extensive property, whether it is real or
ideal,

ideal, this acknowledgment of value is a sign, that it subsists with him; and it is accordingly received with a current faith and confidence. To this reposal of trust we owe the origin of private banks.

A public bank differs from a private one in this important instance, that it's capital is known and assured. In this, the utmost faith is placed, for it is the public, which, in a particular degree, trusts itself: as it's material negotiations, it's profits and it's losses, are disclosed and avowed, each individual may possess the knowledge of a partner, and know the stability of the basis on which his property rests.

Private banks, in the enjoyment of public confidence, and the consequent possession of it's wealth, have been tempted by views of profit, to embark in great and extensive speculations; they have extended their engagements beyond the pale of discretion and safety; their private expences have been profuse and extravagant, or, their original property confined and insecure.

England has experienced a series of misfortunes from the misconduct of private banks, in all these several instances. The apprehensions of individuals, extending their fears to all indiscriminately, these private repositories have tottered to their foundation.

A public bank, conducted upon liberal and enlarged principles, stands upon a firmer ground. It is immutable as the state itself. Shook by no danger, but when the public existence is at stake, in the hour of private calamity, it affords a sure refuge. The passing gale which disturbs the unpillared edifices of private banks, serves but to strengthen this mighty rock which upholds the public prosperity.

In every country where commerce flourishes, we find public banks. England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Venice, Genoa, and many other commercial places have early adopted this national surety for their national wealth. They have experienced it's animating warmth—the vigour it communicates to commercial enterprizes—and the flowing opulence which it introduces.

When Lewis XIV. desirous of destroying the Dutch republic, was near the gates of Amsterdam, the public faith continued so great in that celebrated depositum, that those persons, who, on the first alarm, had crowded to the bank, now returned the money they had received, as to the safest asylum in that moment of danger.

The commerce of England has been increased three-fold since the institution of it's national bank: it's paper is to the private Banker in this country, what cash is in Ireland.

Ireland, which has had the example of England before her—which has sustained the most violent

violent shocks from the failure of her Bankers—which has witnessed their pride—their insolence—their private views—their weakness, has never undertook the establishment of a national bank. Her indolence and want of spirit would provoke our indignation, if we did not commiserate her distress.

In Dublin, there is, at this time, four private banks. The house of Latouches, is equal, perhaps, in opulence to any private bank in Europe. The family is composed of men of the strictest integrity and the most amiable qualities. It is not my intention to investigate characters; there are valuable and worthy men, I believe, in all those banking houses.

But no valuable qualities in individuals will be an atonement for their public inconvenience, or their collective conduct. The paper of these banks hold the same rank in payment as the notes of the bank of England in this country. The demand on a Banker in Ireland is for cash. He must discharge his outstanding notes with specie, or he is insolvent.

The principal object of the banking trade in Ireland is the business of discounting. If we suppose the capital of a house to be any given sum, with which they propose to discount, it is obvious, that if they only employ this capital, they can have no other advantage than the legal interest of their fortune. This might be attained

ed many ways, without the hazard and numerous expences of this undertaking. But as Bankers possessing the public confidence, they preserve at home a certain quantity of specie, which they deem sufficient to answer the ordinary demands upon them and keep in a course of circulation, four or five times their capital. It must be evident from these premises, that no Banker pursuing this branch of his business, is literally equal to his engagements. He may be possessed of landed property, of other Bankers notes, of government debentures, but none of these articles can be offered in payment, whilst he preserves his credit.

In the year 1772, public credit in England communicated the shock it underwent at that period to Ireland, and produced a run on the banks in Dublin. The house of Sir George Colebrooke and Company, in that city, failed, and another house, Finlay and Company, of whose fortune and integrity I have a good opinion, was reduced to the necessity of paying in government debentures; and at length, of having their notes indorsed to strengthen the security.

Besides those which are properly called Banking houses, there have been others of an inferior class, who have for a time occupied a certain portion of public confidence. Of the last were the houses of Hugh Hen. Mitchell and Richard Under-

Underwood, Esqrs. These gentlemen who were eminent land agents, issued notes, in which they promised to be accountable on demand. The former succeeded his father in this path, and although Mr. Mitchell was some thousands deficient at his father's decease, he continued for many years to enjoy a considerable degree of trust. Mr. Underwood, from an obscure origin, by the efforts of an indefatigable industry, had raised himself to a seat in the House of Commons, and possessed as an agent a lucrative income.

Mr. Mitchell had long struggled under the difficulties arising from his original embarrassments; when at length, in the beginning of last year, he failed. At this time, Mr. Birch, a man of infinite enterprize, who, from keeping a grocer's shop, was become a member of the House of Commons, in possession of the Kingsland estate, of the estate of George Ogle, Esq;—in short, who had a rent roll of twelve thousand pounds a year—had, notwithstanding all this semblance of greatness, been long connected with Mr. Mitchell, for the purpose of a mutual support. Unable to make good his engagements without this secret aid, his failure immediately followed that of Mr. Mitchell's. This great bankruptcy, which amounted to near two hundred thousand pounds, once more alarmed the public for the safety of the banks. They immediately pressed
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that bank which had appeared weakest in 1772; and notwithstanding the efforts of that house to obtain cash from England in time, to answer the terrified holders of their notes, it was after much struggling, compelled to stop payment. At this period Mr. Underwood also failed.

An entire cessation of discounting ensued. Those who had lodged money in the Banks, thinking it no longer secure, caused it immediately to be withdrawn. The bankers ceasing to be an object of confidence, were unable, or unwilling to extend it to others. An universal distrust prevailed. Merchants who had embarked their fortunes in unsuccessful pursuits, who were deficient, or who relying on their reputation for integrity or fortune, had ventured into engagements, upon an expectation of discounting, continued to fail, and each to spread an additional ruin. Money was not to be obtained for the common occasion of circulation. The most opulent experienced the embarrassment of discharging their debts in specie, when cash alone was in use. Commerce reverts to it's first narrow and circumscribed circle—the business of the merchant is no more, and with him perishes the spirit and welfare of the nation.

Let us suppose the notes in circulation issued by the bankers upon the credit of the merchant and money holders, to have amounted to half a million, and that four parts of this sum in the course

course of a year, has been withdrawn, the effect of this event upon manufactures and commerce, must appear pregnant with ruin. *

The history of these commercial events, is sufficient without any argument, to prove the expediency of a national bank in Ireland : as suspicion can never here awake, this institution can never be subject to the violence of alarm. The private banks would also experience the shelter of it's wide spreading branches. The paper of the national would be in the place of what specie is at present. Whilst the private possessed debentures and good mercantile paper, the national bank, zealous for the public safety, would never suffer them to fail.

We have seen the private banks riding in the tempest, we have beheld their wreck, and the numerous disasters which have flowed from their misfortunes, let us next examine them when the sky is serene, and the sea calm and unruffled.

The business of Exchange is one great source of a banker's profit. This the wealthy bankers can raise or fall at pleasure, it is no more than to enlarge or restrain their discounting, to enter into secret agreements to take or not to take bills upon the exchange. Thus the interests of the merchant and the community, are sacrificed to the convenience and profit of a few individuals.

Governed

* The circulation of the bank of England paper, is supposed to be sixty millions.

Governed by secret and unknown motives, instead of allowing the merchant a safe and certain navigation, with which for a time he is deluded, he is suddenly and without any apparent cause driven on shoals or rocks, where he perishes without a hand stretched out to his assistance. The caprice of a partner, the pretended settlement of their accounts; the dread of an approaching linen market, the failure of some merchant, causes them without any notice to forbear discounting.

The anxious merchant turns over his bills, places the best uppermost, and like some unfortunate criminal dragged to execution, approaches with a palid cheek and trembling hand, the counter of the banker—he watches his eyes—he examines his countenance, as if the dye of life was about to be cast; and now he either revives in all the transport of happiness, or sinks into the gloomy vale of dejection and despair.

The converse of the merchants of this unfortunate country, is not an enquiry into new and untracked channels of profitable commerce; a mutual information of the wants and necessities of foreign kingdoms, of the cheap and advantageous commodities of different countries, but whether the banks *are doing any thing*, an intimation of their private distresses, an exchange of their notes, information of private discounting and bitter reflections on the calamity of the times.

Such

Such is the picture I draw of the consequences of the present mode of banking in the Metropolis of Ireland. I shall be happy if a representation, not overcharged, should produce any beneficial effects.

Of an Absentee Tax.

I Shall endeavour to establish the following proposition, viz. That a tax upon all lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Ireland, the proprietors of which do not reside six months in the year in that kingdom, is just and expedient.

The justice of this tax I shall attempt to prove from two considerations: First, that every man enjoying property in a country is bound to defend it; and next, that every person ought to contribute a part of his property towards the expence of that government, by which the remainder is protected.

The original title to lands was the right of occupancy. Absence implying an idea of an abandonment of that occupancy, which in this case is the whole title, would warrant either a forfeiture of the possession, or at least a quantum of it for preserving the rest. The introduction of the feudal system, established as a fundamental maxim, that the king was supreme lord of all the lands in his dominions, and that every man's possessions were derived as a gift from him on

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condition

condition of rendering feodal service. The honourable and essential part of the service required under this tenure, was that the tenants should be prepared, not only to *defend* their *own property*, but that of the whole kingdom. The policy and wisdom of this constitution appeared in the immutable footing the Feudists gained wherever they once settled.

Independent of the feodal principles, which are the basis of our policy, the right of calling on each individual to give his aid in preserving that state from which he derives his property, is evident from natural reason. It cannot for a moment be supposed that any person is obliged to hazard his life in the defence of that which the owner does not think proper to defend, and which possibly he ignominiously deserts in the hour of danger. The presence of the proprietor is frequently necessary from two causes, to resist internal turbulence, or oppose external hostility. If he neglects his duty under either of these circumstances, I shall not affirm that his property ought to be entirely forfeited, but the inference is undeniable, that a certain portion of his property in that country ought to be demanded, in order to provide for the general preservation.

The Greek legislators carried this principle much farther ; they supposed every man to owe an indispensable duty to his country, which in
times

times of public emergency would have rendered him infamous, if he had not exerted himself in it's defence. As in civil commotions the safety of the state was endangered, Solon the Athenian legislator enacted, that whoever was neuter on these occasions should have his property confiscated. It was deemed an impiety of the first magnitude to be an inactive spectator of any evil which threatened to overwhelm the state. It is from this principle that American confiscation, I presume, has been adopted.

On the whole, Ireland has internal foes and external enemies; those whose situation will not allow them to appear in it's defence, or who shrink from the prospect of danger, *ought with cheerfulness* and gratitude to contribute to the national strength.

The other consideration on which the justice of this tax rests, is equally conclusive. Society was instituted for the protection of the lives and properties of it's members. It is essential to it that there should be a power lodged somewhere to enact laws, and to carry these laws into execution. This power we call government, and it's establishment requires a certain contribution from each individual for it's support, which is named the revenue; and therefore, if any individual refuses to contribute his aid toward that establishment by which his life or property is preserved; he puts himself out of the protection
of

of government, and his possessions ought to be seized. The learned Montesquieu defines public revenue to be a portion that each subject gives of his property, in order to secure and enjoy the remainder.

Absentees do not contribute to that establishment by which a large military force is supported to preserve the kingdom from foreign enemies; they give nothing towards the support of those laws by which their property is secured from private invasion. Instead of appearing personally as the champions of their country, they sap the foundation of it's strength. It is to them that Ireland must attribute her present feebleness and imbecillity; they have relaxed all the springs of commerce and industry, by draining the kingdom of it's specie. They have left no other resource to the unfortunate and injured inhabitants but their arms and native intrepidity, against the hostile designs of the house of Bourbon.

Having considered the justice of this tax under these two heads, I shall attempt to take a view of it from another station.

What are the general motives which induce the absentees from Ireland to reside in another kingdom? They are evidently these three. To gratify their luxury, or their ambition—or because they have large possessions in England. No person for a moment will argue it to be just
that

that the inhabitants of Ireland should be wretched, even literally starved, for the purpose of administering to the voluptuous appetites of any opulent individual in England. All the real blessings of life may be enjoyed in their utmost extent in Ireland. Instead of being overlooked or contemn'd in the immense vortex of wealth with which he is surrounded in this kingdom, a grateful tenantry in Ireland would behold him with a respect approaching to adoration. This would be an ambition worthy of a generous, an upright, and a sensible man. If however he should prefer the vain and desultory hopes of arriving at power by an abject attendance on court favorites or political revolution; his expectations must compensate for a tax, to which this motive for his absence cannot possibly be any claim for exemption. The third and last motive which I have assigned, may be answered with facility: in all well regulated governments, the taxes should be imposed in proportion to the degrees of property. The very argument that in this case might be offered against this tax is the strongest* that can be urged in its favor: It is a tax which, being founded on the great claim of society, that each individual should contribute

* At Athens these persons who possessed no more than the necessities of life were not taxed, it was only on such as enjoyed the superfluities of life that taxes were imposed.

contribute to its support, falls happily on those who, by their own acknowledgment, are the proper objects of all taxation—the *rich* and *opulent*.

The justice of this tax being now I hope firmly established, I shall have little occasion to dwell on it's expediency. In general whatever is just, is also expedient.

A tax should be imposed on absentees, because the revenue of the kingdom has sunk beneath even it's necessary establishment; and this is the only tax which ought to pass at this period of national distress, as it assists the revenue without being any burthen to a people who are unable to support the taxation they at present endure. It ought to pass, because it will arrest a portion of that current incessantly flowing out of the kingdom for the support of absentees, which has debilitated the kingdom, and been one principal source of her present misfortunes. It should be enacted, in order to check the increasing spirit of absence from that country, and to prevent the whole rent roll of the kingdom from being in the hands of absentees and East-Indian nabobs.

This impartial tax, on which the prosperity of Ireland so much depends, was proposed in the Irish House of Commons in the year 1773, with the consent of administration in England. The celebrated Mr. Flood, who had been a patriot for twelve years, came over to government that session. He supported this measure with all that force

force and energy of argument for which he had been so distinguished. His principal antagonist was the eloquent Mr. Burgh, then named Mr. Hussey the present Prime Serjeant of Ireland. It required the utmost stretch of his captivating oratory to colour this fatal opposition. The tax was lost by a small majority. The public had been deluded with an opinion that this just and necessary tax was only a prelude to a general one on lands. Prepossessed by this notion, they rejoiced at the rejection of a tax which had been the favorite wish of the people since the days of Dr. Swift.

The true cause of it's failure proceeded, however, from two circumstances. Government content with not opposing a wise and salutary measure, left it's success to it's intrinsic worth, without any particular recommendation to it's dependants, and all the immense * weight of the actual absentees, or those who apprehended, they might be in that predicament, were thrown into the scale to balance its justice, its necessity, its expediency.

If this tax should be now proposed in Ireland, this interested, but therefore formidable opposition, will vanish. The hardiest veteran in dissipation, the most luxurious, or the most sordid absentee, would not dare to give it either public or private resistance. The distressed of Ireland
arms

* The following Lords were the most distinguished in opposing this tax in 1773, Devonshire, Rockingham, Bessborough, Milton, and pUpur Offory.

arms it with an energy, which sophistry will never encounter, and which avarice (although it) may inwardly sigh at it's triumph) will not have courage to attack.

I shall hazard an opinion here, which has just suggested itself. The state ought to be enriched by the opulence of it's subjects, and not begin with impoverishing the people, to fill the exchequer. This tax ought then to be rather appropriated to the advancement of manufactures.—Suppose that the tax arising on the absentees from each county, was applied in premiums for the encouragement of it's trade. This would also be an act of justice, because some counties may have infinitely more wealth drawn from them by absentees than others. One hundred thousand pounds expended in this manner, would in one year, improve the revenue, perhaps double its amount.

The rent roll of Ireland is computed to amount to about four millions. Of this one million and a half, is supposed in the hands of absentees. A tax of 2s. in the pound, would therefore produce 150,000 l. a year.

Appeals to England from the Irish courts of Law, have been fraught with injury. Ignorant of the customs of that kingdom, decisions are made in the English House of Lords, which frequently militate against justice, equity, and the general interest of Ireland. Of this, a remarkable instance occurred in the last sessions. This was a case, where, upon a lease for lives renewable for ever, with covenants to pay a certain fine at the dropping of each life, the Lessee had been relieved in Chancery in Ireland, from the legal claim of the Lessor, for a breach of the covenant. The Lessor had made no demand upon the tenant for these fines, upon the demise of the lives. A great part of the lands of Ireland are held under tenures of this quality, and they have been always considered as perpetuities. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland decreed a compensation to the Lessor, founded upon the value of a life, which he computed at seven years. This was the decree which Lord Thurlow, aided by two or three Peers, reversed. This determination has shaken the whole property of that kingdom. It has destroyed an immense number of small estates of 100l. or 200l. a year, which have been absorbed by some great Absentees.

A SKETCH

A

S K E T C H

OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL

POLITICAL CHARACTERS

IN THE KINGDOM OF

I R E L A N D.

*The Right Honourable Mr. Prime Serjeant
Burgh.*

NATURE, in forming this gentleman, seems to have collected all her strength, to give to the world the most accomplished orator of the age. Possessed of a graceful person—a countenance marked and expressive—a voice, rising from the most harmonious melody, to the manly dignity of animated vehemence—language, flowing gentle as the silver stream, or rolling with the thunder of the torrent, enriched with the buoyant pearl of the most beautiful figures, have enabled Mr. Burgh to command the respect, the admiration, and the most profound attention of the House of Commons of Ireland.

The speeches of this gentleman, on the most important occasions, have seldom exceeded an hour in delivery. They are methodical and happily arranged. In general, when he opposed
P administral

administration, he argued with much ability and logical acuteness, relieving his audience with flashes of refined wit; or dazzling the imagination with the brilliancy of some happy metaphor.

He was advanced to the dignity of Prime Serjeant on the first arrangement of the Buckingham administration. At the same time he was sworn one of his Majesty's Privy Council of Ireland. Mr. Burgh is the principal minister and the real director of the Irish House of Commons. Sir Richard Heron, the Viceroy's Secretary, is a silent auditor in the house.

The elegant talents of Mr. Burgh appeared very early, and produced some poetical flowers, when he was a student at Trinity college in Dublin. After the usual course of study pursued at that seminary of learning, he continued for several years to live as a retired country gentleman, upon an estate of about six hundred pounds per year. A taste for conviviality and dissipation, which had somewhat embarrassed his fortune, returned to the world this distinguished character.

At the age of thirty or upwards, he applied himself to the study of the law. The first opportunity Mr. Burgh possessed of displaying his talents at the Irish bar, was occasioned by those unfortunate persons, called *Hearts of Steel*, who, in the year 1769 or 1770, were brought to Dublin, by virtue of an express Act of Parliament,

ment, to take their trial, for crimes committed in the northern parts of the kingdom. The reputation he acquired by his able and pathetic defence of those unhappy people, laid the basis of his subsequent success as a lawyer.

About this time also he was brought into Parliament by the late Duke of Leinster, to oppose the administration of Lord Townsend. This was the grand scene where Mr. Burgh's abilities shone each day with increased lustre. During the administration of Lord Harcourt, his eminent qualities placed him deservedly at the head of the Minority. His eloquence, an opinion of his integrity, and a peculiar complacency of disposition, contributed to give him the pre-eminence of his party, and rendered him the idol of the people.

When Mr. Burgh ceased to be a patriot,* he did not relinquish the good opinion of the public. Upon defections of this kind the people had been accustomed to convert the fervor of esteem and admiration into the utmost transports of anger and resentment. They at length had learned, that opposition is, in general, rather political than sincere. The most dispassionate and sensible even presaged happy consequences, from a man of integrity and talents having been taken into the direction of government.

In

* He came over to the present Administration in Ireland.

In this hope they have not yet been disappointed. No new taxes were imposed the last sessions of Parliament, and in the opening of the present, Mr. Burgh stands the friend of government; at the same time, to his immortal honor, a lover of his country and an honest man.

*The Right Honourable John Scott, Attorney
General of Ireland.*

AT the commencement of the Townshend Administration in Ireland, Mr. Scott was a young lawyer, without fortune or family-connection. That success, which great legal knowledge and an exalted genius, have often sought after with unavailing assiduity, Mr. Scott attained, by the possession of one singular, tho' an unamiable quality. This was an intrepid assurance and a matchless effrontery, which it was impossible to abash. It had been the wish of government to introduce some character on the political theatre at that time, who might ridicule when he could not convince; who might enliven some dull argument, by a certain promptitude for occasional repartee; and who, standing himself invulnerable, either from insignificance or the hardihood of impudence, might assail, dishearten,

hearten, and confound the patriotic warriors of that memorable period.

The government of that kingdom, to whom Mr. Scott was recommended, as a gentleman fully qualified to perform this political character, in a little time discovered, they had abundant reason to applaud their choice. Modesty is generally the companion of merit; but on this occasion, great and unexpected talents were united with a dauntless intrepidity of countenance, and an assumed ferocity of manners. Mr. Scott laughed, bullied, and argued with great advantage to ministry. He supported the friends and terrified the opponents of government. Dr. Lucas, the late famous patriot in Ireland, stood then a conspicuous figure, a Goliath of patriotism, against whom he levelled an incessant discharge of the arrows of ridicule and sarcasm. The old man's tremulous broken voice, which frequently resembled the shrill croaking of a cock *—his decrepid emaciated person, resting upon crutches—his first occupation as an apothecary, afforded Mr. Scott an infinite field for exercising those satirical talents, with which he was so eminently endowed.

These exertions in favour of government, were not intended by Mr. Scott as a free-will offering from

* The crest of Dr. Lucas happened to be that of a cock crowing.

from which he was not to expect any reward. Sensible of his importance as a pillar of ministry, his application for preferment was unceasing, and his temper would not suffer him to be disconcerted by the awkwardness of repulse. In a few years, he has risen through all the various stages of the law, to the eminent dignity he now enjoys, of being his Majesty's Attorney-General of Ireland.

The novelty of this ministerial career, exposed him at first to the most indignant lash of patriotism. That characteristic quality which first called him into the political world, they abused, by applying to him the vulgar and reproachful appellation of Copper Face. Public resentment is frequently equally capricious, transient, and temporary, as it's admiration.

The ungraceful gloom which hung over the valuable parts of Mr. Scott's character, from the original peculiarity of his situation, has gradually dissipated, and displayed to the world, a masculine understanding, great legal knowledge and an unbounded generosity.*

For

* Mr. Scott has not been ashamed to be grateful. Whoever had rendered him any service in the early part of his life, received a tenfold reward. One gentleman, who had assisted him when a student at the Temple, meeting with some misfortunes, Mr. Scott appointed him receiver to an estate of 400*l.* per year, with an injunction to apply the rents to his own use for life.

For many years he has quitted the path of ludicrous and degrading ridicule, to walk in a track more solemn, respectable, and better adapted to the high rank he has arrived at in his profession.

Perhaps no man has ever been a greater favourite of Fortune. At a period when many eminent persons have scarcely emerged from obscurity, we find him soaring from almost the pinnacle of legal preferment.*

Mr. Scott is a robust athletic figure, of a brown complexion—his countenance broad and expanded—his features strong, and correspond with that forcible, sonorous and vehement delivery, which he is accustomed to exert at the bar and in the senate.

*The Right Honourable Henry Flood, Vice
Treasurer of Ireland.*

FOR twelve years, Mr. Flood blazed a star of the first magnitude in the political hemisphere: all his competitors in the path of liberty stood eclipsed by his superior glory. The frowning terror of his brow, and the deep hollow

* The late Attorney General's income was estimated at 10,000l. per year. Mr. Scott's professional abilities enable him to make nearly as much; and he is supposed to be under forty years of age.

hollow of his voice, struck government with dismay. His arguments, strong, logical, and conclusive, were delivered with a fortitude and manly vehemence, which, like the violence of some raging tempest, overwhelmed every adversary.

His long probation, to which he often appealed for his sincerity and the rectitude of his heart—his fortune, which although not extensive, yet was independant—gave a firmness and an establishment to his character, which it did not seem in the power of Fortune to disturb.

On the eve of the meeting of Parliament, in the beginning of the Harcourt Administration, the patriotism of Mr. Flood began to wear an aspect of suspicion. This great tergiversation was at first displayed to the public with an air of doubt and hesitation, calculated by its suspense, to abate the violence of the first paroxysm of national resentment. Attempts were even made in the daily prints to defend this desertion of the public cause. The intended Administration of Lord Harcourt was coloured with all the brilliancy of fancy, and held out as a golden age, when every blessing of a good government would be shed over them, to render the kingdom completely happy.

Mr. Flood, whose ministerial appointments were at length publicly announced, continued during the Sessions, a silent supporter of government.

ment. This respect to the people, and to his former sentiments, raised him a little in the public opinion, from that abyss of contempt into which he had so unhappily fallen.

The only public subjects in which Mr. Flood took any part, were the Absentee tax and the Corn Act. The former he supported with incontrovertible force, although from secret intrigues it unfortunately miscarried. The Corn Act has been the saviour of Ireland from absolute famine: it owed it's existence to his efforts when in opposition, and he now appeared it's patron on his arrival at power.

Whatever may be the measure of his disposition in behalf of the public, his interest in his native country expired with his popularity. The freeholders of the county of Kilkenny, whom he had for many years represented, refused at the last general election, to return him for their representative.

In the present sessions he seems to have disrobed himself of his ministerial garb, to resume once more that manly intrepid character, in which he hath appeared with so much honour to himself and advantage to his country.

The coolness with which Mr. Flood has been received by the British Administration, on his late conference with them on the situation of Ireland, would appear ominous to the present glow of Irish expectation, and would prognos-

ticate, that a Vice Treasurership of that country will soon be vacant.

The Right Honourable John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College in Dublin.

THERE is an inordinate ambition in some men, which, as it climbs the thorny ascent of power, instead of being repulsed by the peril, anxiety, and solicitude of it's course, seems even amidst it's pangs, to find a new stimulus to further exertion.

Mr. Hutchinson was bred to that favourite path of Irish study, the law. In a short time, after his being called to the bar, he was introduced into Parliament; where he soon distinguished himself as an opponent to Administration, and as a graceful orator. The slave of an illusive ambition, he has reached various stages of promotion, with a facility which ought to have soothed into happiness a mind, the desires of which were not insatiable. But those glittering prospects of human felicity, which are not founded upon virtue, in the moment of fruition, either prove tasteless or insipid; or, leave behind them the sting of an exquisite calamity.

The patriotism of this gentleman originally overleaped all bounds of moderation. The fortunate

nate resounded with the love of his country—appeals to his integrity, his disinterestedness. To day the clamour of opposition rung in the ears of ministry—they were rapacious—profuse—the ruin of the nation was predicted, with all the fervor of a heated imagination—with all the success of a smooth and flowing eloquence.—In the next, such was the disgraceful immodesty of his conversion; he became the friend and firmest advocate of that ministry he had so loudly condemned.

After this defection from the public cause, Mr. Hutchinson's passion for preferment could not be restrained within the pale of decorum—No place, however foreign to the line of his profession, whether vacant or expectant, could escape the vigilance of his attention. He has aimed at and actually appeared in the most contradictory characters. In the law we find him promoted to the rank of Prime Serjeant of Ireland—he was next Alnager of that kingdom, and a Major on the Irish establishment. About this time also it has been said, he applied for the Archbishoprick of Tuam. He also procured the reversionship of secretary of state, expectant on the death of the late Mr. Tisdall; a place which he now enjoys, together with the provostship of Trinity College in Dublin.

There is an intemperance, a warmth in the disposition of this gentleman, which frequently
has

has betrayed him into the most rash and unguarded conduct.

An enmity had long secretly subsisted between him and the late Attorney General of Ireland, the grave, phlegmatic, but intelligent Mr. Tisdall, one of the representatives of the College of Dublin. On Mr. Hutchinson's advancement to the Provostship of the College, an entire disunion in their parliamentary views and interest in that seminary, fanned their latent resentments into a blaze; which, from the irascible temper of the Provost, hurried him to the brink of apparent inevitable ruin. Enraged at some cold but sarcastic observation from the Attorney General, the Provost, forgetting he was in a court of justice, unmindful of his own character, or that of his adversary, raised his hand, and challenged the infirm old man to fight a duel. This attack, as it was called, upon the life of a privy counsellor, his Antagonist prepared to punish with that slow but steady resolution which marked his character. An information was moved for against the Provost—his conduct was represented to the Privy Counsel, and application, it is said, was made to the Ministry in England. It was expected he would have been punished by the Court of King's Bench with a heavy fine—that he would have been struck off the list of Privy Counsellors—that he would have lost his reversionship of Secretary of State—and

and that, by the statutes of the College, he would have been disqualified for the office of Provost.

At this dreary moment, when the impending thunder seemed ready to burst upon his head, these lowering terrors suddenly vanished, and prosperity again beamed upon his fortunes. The unexpected death of Mr. Tisdall in Germany, dispelled all these gloomy apprehensions. This event was rendered still more important by his succession to the Secretaryship of State, worth 1500*l.* a year.

The dignity of the provostship, so flattering to Mr. Hutchinson's ambition, seemed, from the hour of his elevation, to have opened the source of endless misfortune. The cares incident to government were unsheltered by the wing of prerogative.

The College could not, without some indignation, behold the ungracious obtrusion of a Provost, who might be learned as a lawyer, without being qualified to preside at the head of this venerable seminary. The dispensing power of the Crown had also been exerted to overcome the incapacity arising from the statutes of the College, which required all its members to be in a state of celibacy.

Under those unfavourable circumstances, men, possessed of more precaution and moderation, would have exercised a gentle hand of government,

ment, until they were firmly established, and those unfriendly dispositions had subsided.

In opposition to this simple and obvious policy, a new system of College discipline was immediately introduced. A majority was secured at the board of Fellows of the College. Every thing wore the aspect of change, of novelty, of party.

Desirous of having the nomination of the College representatives, every effort, every expedient for the attainment of this great object was exerted. These are some of the consequences resulting from the spirit which now pervaded this seminary. A sentence of deprivation is passed on a Batchelor of Arts—attacks are made on the Provost's conduct in the most licentious language, in every newspaper—he quarrels with one of the junior fellows*—his eldest son, an amiable young gentleman, thinks it incumbent on him to challenge a counsellor Doyle. This dispute

* Mr. Duigenan, a Doctor of Law. This gentleman, whose passions are nearly as high as the Provost's, accepted the first overture of a compensation for his fellowship, for the purpose of withdrawing himself from Mr. Hutchinson's power, and having an opportunity of gratifying his resentments. The mode he adopted for this end was somewhat singular. He wrote a book, in octavo, containing 500 pages, with a great share of learning and ingenuity; the whole subject of which was, to display the misconduct of the Provost, in the government of the College, and the ill usage he himself had received.

dispute ends in duels, fought by Mr. Doyle with both the provost and his son.

Such has been the long train of evil which followed these ill-concerted measures. By stretching his power beyond all reasonable limits, he even failed in the expected representation of the College. A spirit of resentment was roused amongst the electors, which enabled them, by a petition to Parliament, to defeat even the election of his son.

Possessed of an exquisite sensibility of temper, and harrassed by the most violent and incessant attacks in the public prints, his health and happiness seemed to sink under the weight of this unrelenting devastation.

For some time he has relinquished the bar; and the turbulence of animosity and party begins at last to decline. The eye of the public is now watchful on every political character. The Provost, who in his family has many excellent qualities, may possibly become once more dear to the public, by acting as a patriot and a friend to his country.

Dennis Daly, *Esq.*

THE character of this young gentleman would have reflected honour on Rome in her days of purest heroism.

In

In the bloom of life, * possessed of a fortune, sufficiently ample to administer to every luxury of the times, he seems to soar above the dissipation and depravity of the age. In his political course he acts with a sincerity, unimpeached by the remotest suspicion: he stands the pillar of opposition, and is deservedly ranked, from fortune, ability, and integrity, at the head of the friends of Ireland, in the House of Commons.

There is an air of elegance and majestic beauty thrown over the Herculean symmetry of Mr. Daly's person. His voice is deep, persuasive, and manly. He possesses a peculiar quality of placing his most interesting arguments in a variety of the most striking and unexpected lights. Mr. Daly does not argue with the logical exactness of a lawyer; but he warms the mind—rouses the imagination—and flashes conviction on his auditors.

It has been affirmed, that government has not overlooked this formidable opponent: but it is not in the net of ambition or venality this young man will ever be enthralled. When virtue, aided by wisdom, presides at the helm of government,

* He is about thirty or thirty-two years of age; and his fortune, which is expected to increase very considerably, is about 8,000l. per year. Mr. Daly, like the Duke of Richmond, dresses very plain, and never appears in a carriage.

vernment, Mr. Daly, I willingly believe, will require no allurements to discharge his duty.

Mr. Grattan.

THIS gentleman came into Parliament last session, under the auspices of Lord Charlemont. A few years ago he practised as a barrister; but from some unaccountable fatality, which frequently attends genius, he was almost entirely overlooked.

In the political line, if it has produced him no emolument hitherto, he has established the reputation of a sensible, lively, speaker, and an active opponent to government. The patriotism of a lawyer * is become rather problematical in Ireland. The observation is general, and is not meant to convey any singular imputation on the zeal which animates Mr. Grattan.

If Nature has been liberal in her mental endowments to this gentleman, she has been uncommonly parsimonious in the qualities of his person. Perhaps, for so young a man, a more ungraceful parliamentary orator has scarcely ever been exhibited. Mr. Grattan is of a low size, crooked and distorted in his shape—his visage

R

long

* There are upwards of eighty lawyers in the Irish House of Commons.

long and unmeaning—his head placed on the back of his neck, whilst his projecting chin forms a large obtuse angle with his breast. His voice is shrill and inharmonious. With all these natural defects, Mr. Grattan, by the force of a good and prompt understanding, united with a pleasing subtilty of wit and occasional repartee, makes one of the most considerable figures amongst those who lately opposed the measures of government in Ireland.

George Ogle, *Esq.*

A Judicious and rational œconomy gives vigor to a spirit of virtuous independance, and is frequently it's basis. Dissipation may make her claims to the possession of this quality, but will seldom, with men of discernment, find credit for her assertions. She is as insatiable, almost, as ambition, and is equally neglectful about the means by which her desires are to be gratified.

In the political world, when extravagance and indiscretion discharge the thunder of declamation at ministers, we are apt to consider such men as actors, who perform their assumed characters with extraordinary force and lively colouring. We are often obliged to have recourse to the habits and conduct of private life, to conduct

conduct us through the mazes of political exertion. The generous disdain of every sordid and mercenary consideration, is urged with equal force by the dupe of a usurious contract, the undone and ruined rake, as by the accumulating miser. The profusion of government may be held up with infinite ability by some unfortunate spendthrift; but our indignation at national indiscretion is frequently arrested and suspended, by our admiration of the unfeeling temerity of the orator.

These observations do not meet the character of Mr. Ogle in every point of contact. This gentleman, possessed of a large estate, plunged into the excesses of the gay world, with such unhappy success, that he found it expedient to dispose of all his estate, reserving a considerable life annuity.

His conduct in Parliament has been uniformly an honourable, spirited, and eloquent opposition to government. Few gentlemen deliver more zealous, lively, and entertaining speeches in the Irish Parliament. He is sometimes, indeed, hurried through the stock of ideas instantly in possession, and a momentary pause is required, to recruit the vigour of his imagination. It is much to be regretted, that Mr. Ogle's impoverished fortune has made him less respectable in opposition, and gives a certain distrust

distrust to the otherwise solid rock of his patriotism.

Sir Edward Newnham.

IN the beginning of Lord Townshend's administration in Ireland, Sir Edward possessed the place of collector of excise for the county of Dublin; the duties of this office he discharged with an activity, zeal and ability, that received many flattering encomiums.

The general disgust which that nobleman's measures excited in Ireland, gave birth to a violent and incensed opposition: unfortunately Sir Edward signalized himself upon this occasion. He did not appear insensible to the inevitable danger, to which this conduct would expose his employment; he seemed even to provoke the resentment of government, by daring them to deprive him of his office, for performing his parliamentary duty with integrity. Unfortunately for Sir Edward, these intimations were not extended to a ministry, whose souls were sufficiently capacious to overlook the ebullitions of party or patriotism in the necessities and wants of the man.

They ungenerously dispossessed him of an office, which he had purchased with almost the whole

whole of his fortune. Sir Edward by this illiberal and unworthy revenge, was thrown, with a large family, on the bounty of a lady, to whom he is heir, for support. *

This sacrifice to Sir Edward's principles, altho' it met with the contempt of cold hearted prudence, procured him a large share of popularity. He has, at this time, the honor of being one of the representatives of the county of Dublin, in parliament. His opposition to those acts, which he has deemed injurious to the true interests of his country, has been uniform and vehement.

Sir Edward has been considered rather as a zealous than an able speaker; he is attended to by one side of the house as a friend, and by the other, regarded with an indifference approaching to contempt.

Animated by private injury, and public calamity, he is sometimes betrayed into an intemperance in parliament, which moderation and prudence must condemn. Of this a late instance occurred on the debate in the Irish house of commons, to address the King for a free trade; when he made use of the unguarded expression: "that there was force enough in the kingdom to dethrone any tyrant."

Sir

* Mrs. O Callagan, who is possessed of an estate worth about six thousand pounds per year,

Sir, Edward has two defects which must be deemed considerable obstacles to the acquirement of parliamentary reputation; these are, an imperfect hearing, and a voice uniformly inflated, in order to render it audible.

N. B. There are many other characters of importance in the Irish house of commons, but the design of this pamphlet will not permit me to enter further upon this subject.

F I N I S.