THE

PRESENT POLITICS

OF

IRELAND:

CONSISTING OF

I. The Right Honourable MR. HUTCHINSON'S Letter to HIS CONSTITUENTS at CORK.

II. PARLIAMENTARY DISCUSSIONS of the IRISH AR-RANGEMENTS; by

Meffrs. CONNOLLY, GRATTAN, and FLOOD, Againft them.

FITZGIBBON, MASON, FORSTER, HUTCHINSON, For them.

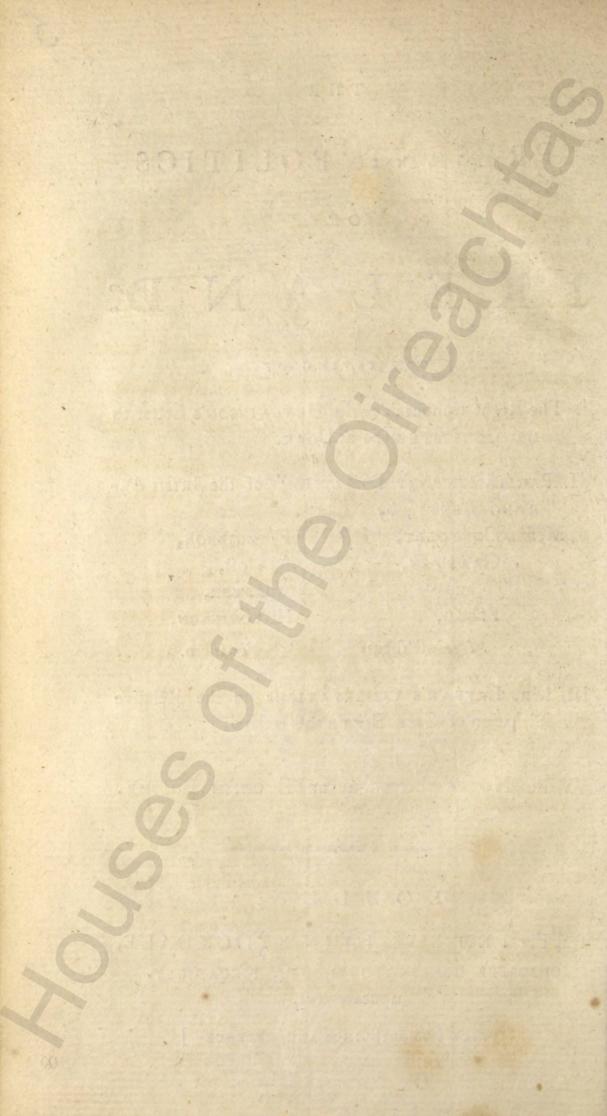
III. MR. LAFFAN'S OBSERVATIONS on the Relative Situation of Great Britain and Ireland;

With Notes thereon by an ENGLISH EDITOR.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON HOUSE, PICCADILLY. MDCCLXXXVI.

PRICE TWO SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE.



ADVERTISEMENT.

ited laws. And thele fpeeches he has now

IV ADVERTISEALENT.

THE following Letter of the Right Honourable J. H. HUTCHINSON, to his Confituents of Cork, being much afked for, the Publisher prefumed to think he could not do a more useful service to the Public than to print it in this form. The subject of this letter is furely of very great importance to the suffer kingdoms: and the argument is treated with an ability, which has been acknowledged even by those, who do not admit themfelves to be convinced.

Had any formal anfwer been published to this celebrated performance, the Publisher, from the same defire of conveying candid information, would have equally printed it with the original letter. But he has never heard of such an answer. And, in order to supply this defect, he has now subjoined the principal

iv ADVERTISEMENT.

principal fpeeches in the Irith Houfe of Commons on Mr. ORDE's motion for leave to bring in a Bill to carry the Irith arrangements into laws. And these fpeeches he has now printed page for page against each other, rather than in the order wherein they were spoken, that the reader may more conveniently judge of the fasts and of the reasonings, without much regard to characters and names.

London, 20th Dec. 1785.

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A LETTER

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LETTER

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FROM

J. H. HUTCHINSON, Eso. TO THE MAYOR OF CORK, &c.

DEAR SIR,

Mentioned to you, during your magistracy, my in-L tention to address you on the subject of the Commercial Bill. My letter, of the fame date and tenor with that which you will now receive, was prepared, but not fent to you. Reflecting that I had declined to debate the commercial part of the Bill, till our merchants and manufacturers should have had an opportunity of laying their evidence and observations before the Houfe of Commons, I doubted whether the fame reafon did not then conclude against my declaring any opinion or entering into any argument. On a subject of great importance and complication I with for every poffible information. The Address from the late Sheriffs and Grand Jury Jury of Cork, has fince determined me to deliver my opinion; and, having been cenfured for not affigning my reafons, I think I fhould no longer withhold them from my fellow citizens, and that my letter, as originally written to you, will fully explain my fentiments. I am an advocate for truth alone; and fhall be as readily difpofed to acknowledge, on conviction, any error in my fentiments, as I am firmly determined not to furrender up my reafon to unmerited reproach.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obedient fervant,

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JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON. Knocklofty, OEt. 14, 1785. To James Morrison, E/g.

A LETTER, &c.

DEAR SIR,

I Have fent you printed copies of the Bill for effectuating the Intercourfe and Commerce between Great-Britain and Ireland, for the information of my conflituents; and think it my duty to address them, through their Chief Magistrate, on a subject of such general importance, and in which the merchants and traders of the city of Cork are peculiarly interested. My object in this letter is not so much to influence their opinions, as to rouse their attention to the different parts of this Bill; for the purpose of informing their judg-

judgments and my own. When I fee in some of the public prints the groffeft mifrepresentations of this measure, and statements of several particulars as contained in the Bill, which are not to be found there, but are contrary to the whole tenor of it; I confider those attempts as tending directly to alienate the affections of Ireland from Great-Britain, and to diffurb that mutual concord, fo effential to the happiness, ftrength, and fecurity of these two fister kingdoms. If these execrable attempts to promote difcord and difunion tended only to misrepresent and calumniate individuals, I should have suffered them to pass with filent contempt; knowing that these shafts have but momentary effects, and that every man's character will finally find its own level, and be appreciated by his fellow-citizens according to the tenor of his conduct.

Though the public has been affured by authority, that the Bill, brought in this feffion for a commercial arrangement between the two kingdoms, fhould never be revived if not called for by the public voice, yet attempts are ftill making to difturb the public mind, as if this meafure were to be carried through againft the fenfe of the nation. An arrangement of commercial intercourfe between Great-Britain and Ireland is generally defired, or our Houfe of Commons was miftaken in its unanimous Addrefs at the clofe of the laft feffion. The interval between this feffion and the next fhould be employed in the inveftigation of this fubject; the Bill fhould be difpaffionately and carefully read; the objections to it fairly ftated, and the advantages likely

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to arife from it, candidly confidered. I prefume it will not be thought inconfiftent with the character of an honeft man for any of you to do this, though this is the crime objected to fuch of your reprefentatives, as thought that the Houfe of Commons fhould have taken the very fame courfe. For the man who afferts, that those, who voted for the introduction of this Bill, had by fuch conduct declared in favour of any particular clauses in it, is ignorant of the course of Parliamentary proceedings, or wishes to misrepresent.

The objections to this Bill were partly of a conflitutional and partly of a commercial nature. On the firft the introduction was principally oppofed; and the great ground of argument for eftablishing the objections on conftitutional principles was taken from those parts of the Bill, which relate to the trade with the British colonies and settlements; to the four enumerated articles from the United States of America; the grant of the furplus of the hereditary revenue; and the trade to the East-Indies.

By this Bill we fhould have taken the Britifh colony trade on the fame terms with Great-Britain herfelf; rum excepted, which we had many years fince obtained liberty to import from the Britifh colonies, and had imported, on lower duties ftill to be continued. She gives her colonial produce a preference to fimilar articles from other countries; for, having the monopoly of that produce, fhe always thought it just to encourage it by fuch a preference, and expects that we, as equal partners in that monopoly, fhould do the fame. To To this principle we have conformed fince we obtained the trade. If we fhould at any time diflike any of the terms, we may by this Bill refufe to abide by them, and determine the agreement. Those colonies are British property; she has a right to grant them on what condition she pleases; she now grants them to us in the same manner she holds them herself, with the exception before mentioned, which is in our fayour.

On these terms, but without any exception, our House of Commons, in the year 1779, gratefully accepted the grant of this trade, in the following refolution of the 20th of December in that year :-- " Refolved, nem. con. That a liberty for this kingdom to trade with the British colonies in America and the West-Indies, and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, in like manner as trade is carried on between Great-Britain and the said colonies and settlements, will be productive of very great commercial benefits, will be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great-Britain to our distresses, and will give new vigour to the zeal of his Majesty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, to ftand forward in support of his Majefty's perfon and government, and the intereft, the honour, and the dignity of the British Empire." But the British Act of that session, passed subsequent to the refolution last mentioned, having required equal duties and drawbacks, and the fame duties, regulations, and reftrictions, only in fuch part of the trade between Ireland and the British colonies in America, the

the West-Indies, and British settlements on the coast of Africa, as was not enjoyed by us previous to that seffion, our Acts of Parliament followed this diffinction. In the first of these * there is the following clause :--- "Whereas such part of the trade between this kingdom and the British colonies in America, the West Indies, and British settlements on the coast of Africa, as was not enjoyed by this kingdom previous to the present session, can be enjoyed and bave continued so long and in such case only, as the goods to be imported from the faid colonies, plantations, or fettlements, shall be liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and be subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions, as the like goods are liable and subject to upon being imported from the faid colonies, plantations, or settlements, into Great-Britain, or exported from thence to fuch colonies, plantations, or fettlements respectively."- And this clause, copied from a British Act of that session, is to be found in every Irish Act from the year 1780 to this time, including the present fession 4.

These terms were enjoined by the legislature of Great-Britain as the condition of the grant, which the legislature of Ireland has uniformly recited and performed in every material article. The enjoining or complying with this condition was never thought a

* 19th & 20th Geo. III. chap. 11.

+ See 21st & 22d Geo. III. chap. 5. 23d & 24th Geo. III. chap. 5. and 25th Geo. III. chap. 4.

violation

violation of our conflitution; it was a condition annexed to the commencement and continuance of the commercial grant of the colonies; it is a condition, which this Bill still annexes to the fame grant, and also to the new grant of the British markets. The nature of the new grant has made it neceffary, that the condition should be expressed with more clearness and precision; but its principle is in no respect varied. The fame liberty of performing or not performing the condition would still remain; because the national faith is not pledged by the agreement of 1779, or the bill of 1785, to adopt any British law. The condition was not obligatory to Ireland; it is not now proposed to be obligatory : it did not violate the constitution from 1779 to 1785: it does not violate the conftitution now.

On one of the laws of this period, introduced by fome of the great fupporters of our legiflative independency, and paffed in the year 1782 * after the reftitution of our conflictional rights, the prefent Bill in the parts that relate to legiflation is founded, but is not carried fo far. A law, formed at fuch an important æra by men of fuch high characters, well deferves our most ferious attention, when we are confidering the propriety of uniformity of laws or concurrence of legiflation. It recites as a fact, " that it is the earness and affectionate defire of his Majesty's fubjects of this kingdom," and lays it down as a principle, " that it

* 21ft & 22d Geo. 111. chap. 48.

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is their true interest, that a fimilarity of laws should at all times subfift between the people of Great Britain and Ireland ;" and with this view it enacts, " that all fuch claufes and provisions, contained in any flatutes theretofore made in England or Great Britain concerning commerce, as import to impose equal restraints on the fubjects of England and Ireland, and to entitle them to equal benefits, should be accepted, used, and executed in this kingdom-provided always, that all fuch statutes, so as aforefaid concerning commerce, shall bind the fubjects of Ireland, fo long as they continue to bind the subjects of Great Britain." By the latter part of this law we give to the British legislature the power of repealing laws of Ireland, the duration of which is referred to that legiflature; and from this claufe a probable intention may be inferred of adopting fuch laws as should be made in Great Britain in the place of the laws fo repealed, provided the reftraints and benefits were equal in respect to both countries. The opinion of the legiflature at that time is express, that uniformity of commercial laws would promote the interests of both kingdoms; and, if that advantage

could not have been obtained without injuring the independency of Ireland, that opinion would not have been advanced at the moment of its eftablishment.

Compare that act and the prefent bill. The act eftablifhes the British commercial laws, which contain equal benefits and restraints as laws in Ireland, with a recrospect of 290 years; and extends the idea of fimilarity

larity of laws between the two kingdoms not only to feamen, but to commerce generally. This Bill makes it a fundamental condition of the proposed agreement, that the fhips and feamen of both countries fhould, by the laws of both, be fecured in the fame privileges, advantages, and immunities ; but, as to commerce, reftrains the fimilarity of laws to that commerce only which confifts of British property, and arifes to Ireland from British concession, or is immediately and necesfarily a part of that fystem ; and even there binds the British legislature to the rule of equal restraints and equal benefits, of which the Irifh legiflature being alfo to judge, a concurrence of legiflation would have grown out of this fystem, in the exercise of which the fentiments of both nations must have been confulted, and the confequence would have been an enlargement of the objects and power of Irifh legislation, and certainly no diminution of dependency. By the operation, of this bill, the fubject of every law proposed for our adoption would be diffinctly confidered either during its progress, or soon after it passed in Great Britain; but by the act of 1782 the acts of near three centuries were adopted in one heap. If the bill is unconftitutional, the act is infinitely more fo. But neither is fubject to that imputation, because fimilarity of laws is a just and constitutional principle, if neither of the countries can be bound without the affent of its legiflature.

The justice of the rule, that Cujus est dare ejus est disponere, was never questioned ! But Great Britain C offers

offers to relax this rule in favour of Ireland, and to engage to give herself no benefit in her own colonies that fhe does not give to her fifter kingdom ; to impofe on her no reflraint in that commerce which fhe gives, that she does not impose on herself; and to make Ireland in fome measure a joint legislator with herself over a part of her own empire. It is and ever has been a part of the British colony fystem, to favour the produce and manufactures of her colonies against the interference of fimilar articles from foreign colonies and flates. She expects, that, as long as you choose to enjoy the benefit of this fyftem, you fhould do the fame, and that these fimilar articles should be made fubject to the fame duties on importation in this kingdom as in Great Britain. To this we have hitherto conformed without objection or inconvenience. The fame principle applies equally to the like articles imported from the United States of America; and therefore to four of these articles, namely rum, peltry, whale-bone fins, and oil, of which the British colonies can furnish a complete supply, the same condition is annexed. That this was confidered as part of the colonial fystem, and not founded on any intention to regulate the trade of Ireland by British law, is manifest from this-that motions made on this occasion in both Houses of the British Parliament, to regulate our trade with the States of America in fome articles unconnected with the colony fystem, were rejected on this avowed principle, that Great Britain had no power to regulate any part of our foreign commerce. If by this agreement

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ment Ireland were to retain the liberty of importing from other countries produce or manufactures fimilar to those of the British colonies, she would not take the colony trade on the same terms with Great Britain.

It is true, the British act of 1780 allows Ireland a felection ; but we framed our import duties from the year 1779, purfuant to the refolution of our Houfe of Commons in that year, and followed the British laws; and, as by the proposed agreement we were to have the liberty of importing British colonial produce from this kingdom into Great Britain, fhe thought it neceffary to annex it as a condition to this agreement, that we fnould subject fimilar articles from foreign countries to the fame duties, regulations, and reftrictions, as in Great Britain ! because otherwise we might import those articles, as the produce of the British colonies, into her ports with little probability of detection, and fubvert her whole colony fystem. This argument applies equally to the four enumerated articles from the American flates.

But whether we adopted British colony laws in a fmaller or greater number of articles, makes no difference in the conflicutional principle. If it violated our independency in one case, it would be equally a violation of it in the other. But it is a violation of it in neither. The objection, that if we refuse to adopt the British law we shall lose the benefit of this agreement, applied with more weight to the condition of 1780, because Great Britain gave us then more than she has now to grant.

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When I reflect, how long Scotland had endeavoured to obtain from England the protection of her navigation laws and the benefits of her colony trade; that what is now offered to be permanently granted to Ireland, without any infringement of her rights of legiflation, could not be purchased by Scotland without the furrender of her legislative fovereignty; when I reflect with what effusions of public gratitude we received that very boon, which fome of us feem now to difdain and fpurn ; and how carefully and affectionately it had been cherished by our legislature in the acts of every fucceeding feffion; I view with amazement the wonderful revolutions of human fentiments, and confider the conftitutional jealoufy arifing from the proposed system of colonial legislation, as one of those popular delusions, which have too often inflamed the paffions and mifled the reafons of men.

A further conflicutional objection has been made to that part of the Bill, which grants in perpetuity the furplus of our hereditary revenue above 656,000l. and to the fupport of that grant by a fuppofed perpetual Revenue Bill. As to the grant, it is neceffary to obferve, that the guarding the feas had been a heavy expence to this kingdom, as early as the reign of King Charles the Firft *. At the Reftoration fpecific duties were granted, and granted in perpetuity, "for the better guarding and defending of the feas againft all perfons intending, or that may intend the

* Stafford's Letters, vol. I: p. 68, 152.

disturbance

disturbance of the intercourse of the trade of this your Majefty's realm, and for the better defraying the neceffary expences thereof, which otherwife cannot be effected without great charge; and for increase and augmentation of your Majefty's revenue +." The probable amount of the proposed grant for many years to come would be far inferior in value to one year's amount of the duties granted by that act, and granted in the first place for this specific purpose. This part of the Bill would provide for the fame fervice with more œconomy, and with much better. effect. When I fay with much better effect, I speak from experience. In the late war frigates were ftationed off the coast of Scotland to protect the trade of that country. I prefented a memorial from Cork to the then administration of Ireland, praying, that the fame attention should be shewn to the southern and western coasts of this kingdom. I was not able to prevail. But when this navy becomes the navy of the empire, to the support of which Ireland contributes, it would be Irish as well as British ; and there could be no longer a foundation for any diffinction. Our contribution would center among ourfelves, and would encourage our industry, by the investment of our quota in our own manufactures.

As to the fecond objection to this part of the Bill, the fact has been mifapprehended. It is no part of the Bill that this grant fhould be fupported by a perpetual Revenue Bill. It would have been fup-

+ 14th and 15th Ch. II. chap. 9.

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ported with good faith; but, like the reft of our revenue, by annual bills in aid of the acts of excife and cuftoms, which are now perpetual.

It has beeen objected in a neighbouring kingdom, that the grant of this furplus is a diminution of the royal power and property. It certainly is fo, and has juftly and liberally been conceded, to ftrengthen the whole empire by a great commercial adjuftment between thefe two countries. But to ftate this part of the Bill as an incroachment on the rights or power of Parliament, or as weakening or limiting the freedom of the conflitution, is a ftrange perversion, of the most obvious tendency and effect, of a regulation calculated to promote the manufactures, protect the commerce, ftrengthen the conflitution, and provide for the defence of the nation.

As to objections made, on conflicutional principles, to those parts of the Bill that relate to the British East-India Company, I shall confider them more fully when I come to the commercial parts of the subject, to which they properly belong. I will only fay in this place, that I confider those parts of the proposed agreement as an exchange, by mutual confent, of a commerce which exists in theory only, and which may never be productive, for a certain immediate and advantageous commerce to a great empire in that part of the globe, and to Great Britain; neither of which we can acquire without such an exchange; and, this possible commerce being re-assumble at our pleasure by parting with the confideration given given for it, and as we barter commerce for commerce, and not commerce for conflictution, that no objection of a conflictutional nature can justly apply to those paragraphs of the Bill.

I cannot difcover in any of those instances the fmallest particle of legislative power gained by Great Britain or loft by Ireland. The former has always made laws to regulate the trade with her colonies and fettlements in Africa and America; by this agreement she is to continue to do fo. The Irish legislature now follows those laws, and has declared by feveral of her statutes, that it is reasonable to do fo. After this agreement, fhe will continue to follow them as long as she thinks it reasonable. But, when this event shall have taken place, Great Britain in making those laws must confider, what regulations appear equal to the Irish legislature, or she hazards the continuance of this agreement. What legiflative power is Ireland to loofe? When a Bill shall be brought into either of our Houses of Parliament, relative to the British colonies, or to the four articles from the American states, shall we not have the fame power over that as over every other Bill. Can we not amend any part, or reject the whole? Can we not fay, the restraints and benefits are not equal, or, though they are equal, they are not wife, and they shall not be the law of Ireland? But then you rifk the agreement - fo would the British legislature, if she made any law relative to her colonies and settlements, which the Irish legislature should think unjust. But

But the determination of the agreement would not neceffarily follow our varying or rejecting their Bill; for by the proposed agreement the diffatisfaction of the British legislature must be first declared. If our conduct should be founded on just grounds, it is not improbable that no fuch diffatisfaction would be declared, but that wife and moderate men might fuggeft fome expedient, or advife fome middle course that would be agreeable to both countries, and that the British legislature would vary or change its law. But, it is faid, you could not originate the Bill. In refpect to the British colonies and settlements, no man can be fo unreasonable as to defire it; as to foreign colonies and the four enumerated articles, our right to originate would be unquestionable. I speak of the right, not of the exercise of it, the prudence of which must depend on the occasion.

If Great Britain neither gains nor Ireland lofes any power of legiflation, where is the injury to our independence? Where is the bridle that is to be thrown, it feems, over the neck of the high-fpirited fleed? It is held out, not by those who offer, but by those who would fcare him from his provender.

I therefore thought and ftill think, that there was no good reafon on conflictional grounds againft the introduction of the Bill, for which introduction I voted. Confidering the fubject in its true light, as merely commercial, I thought that there were ftrong reafons to induce even those, who objected to fome of the commercial regulations of the Bill, to vote for liberty to bring it in. A commercial

mercial settlement between the two kingdoms is acknowledged by every reasonable man to be much wanted; and how this can be obtained, without temperate difcuffion, and the communication to each other of the points in which they agree, and of those in which they differ, I cannot comprehend. In the accomplishment of the British union many delays and differences in opinion had arifen. Though the commissioners, appointed for that purpose under the authority of the Parliaments of both kingdoms, had on both fides figned and fealed the articles of union, yet the Scotch Parliament made many important alterations, which were adopted by the English Parliament. In the proceedings to establish a commercial union between Great Britain and Ireland, difficulties and differences in opinion must necessarily have arisen among men of the best intentions. Our Propositions have been altered by the British House of Commons; their Resolutions have been altered by the Lords of Great Britain; and these alterations were adopted by the House of Commons of that kingdom. In the progress on the Irish Bill the fullest dicuffion was intended : every objection would have been heard, and every well-founded objection doubtless must have been allowed, and every proper alteration made. Nothing final during this feffion was ever in contemplation. A great length and variety of examination must have preceded the fettlement of the schedule of duties and regulations. This schedule must have been laid before our two D Houfes

Houfes of Parliament in the next feffion for their approbation; and, after all this had been done, nothing could have been concluded, until the Irifh Parliament had declared its fatisfaction in the acts of the British legislature.

The Bill offered to Ireland many commercial advantages of the most important nature. It fecured for ever the linen trade of this kingdom. The agreement, effectually to favour our manufactures, would have been of great value to us. The encouragement, which it gave to our failcloth manufacture, would have occasioned an annual profit to a very great amount. The perpetual fupply of rock falt would have been useful to our victualling trade and fisheries; of bark to our manufacture of leather; and of coals to all our manufactures. The perpetual exemption of this last article from duty on the export to Ireland, would have been a great and peculiar advantage to our manufacturers. The inhabitants of Great Britain pay for their own coals, from port to port, 5s. the chaldron. An intention has been mentioned not long fince to tax this commodity at the pit. If this Bill had paffed, the tax would have been drawn back, and this kingdom fecured against any imposition, which the necessities of Great Britain may induce her to lay on the export of this neceffary article. If Great Britain had not given of late years the strongest proofs, that she is not disposed to look to times of lefs liberality, for precedents to govern her conduct in respect to her fifter kingdom, it

it would not be prudent to mention, that English coals came formerly to Ireland under a duty of 4s. the ton, imposed on the export by an English act*.

I also thought the circuitous colony trade from Ireland to Great Britain would have been highly useful to this kingdom, and particularly to the city of Cork. I thought the opening of the British markets to our manufactures would be, in one refpect, of the utmost importance to this kingdom; I mean by the re-exportation of Irith manufactures from Great Britain with a dtawback of all duties; and, if this opinion is well founded, we should confider the advantages of having our manufactures exported to all parts of the world, by the capitals and credit of Great Britain. By this affistance our linens to a great amount are re-exported from England; and this affiftance has ever been one great source of the prosperity of that manufacture. Under the proposed agreement, all our other manufactures would have been re-exported from thence equally free from duty.

That the British markets would have produced confequences fo extensive in favour of Ireland, as her principal manufacturers affirmed, it is not my opinion. That Ireland would have been materially benefitted by it in fome of her manufactures, I entertain no doubt. And, whenever Great Britain can lighten the taxes on her manufactures and on the

* Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. i. p. 84.

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materials

materials of them, which must naturally be one of her first objects when her circumstances permit, this part of the proposed agreement would effectually open the best, the nearest, and the most certain markets in the world to Ireland; and would promote the most beneficial of all trades, because the whole profits would belong to the fubjects of the fame empire, and because a capital employed in a home trade, which this may be justly confidered, may be fent out and brought back many times, before the capital employed in a foreign trade has made one return; which must be peculiarly advantageous to a country deficient in capital, and would at the fame time be attended with all the advantages of foreign trade, by increasing the quantity of specie and the number of ships and seamen. The reexport of our manufactures from Great Britain ensures their admission wherever British are received, and baffles the ungenerous policy of Portugal.

In all those particulars the advantages are on our fide; and, if we hefitate whether to accept or not the colonial and domeftic markets of Britain on terms equally beneficial with herfelf, I will venture to tell you, that no nation in Europe, which had no colonies of her own, would follow your example. If this part of the fubject admitted no doubt, the queftions then for the confideration of our Houses of Parliament would have been, whether they thought it reasonable and just to agree to the parts of the Bill, that related to the East-India trade, and to the

the preventing of any prohibition of the export of our yarn to Great Britain. The first of these confiderations have depended on the evidence of our merchants, as to the parts of the East which were open to us: for no European settlement there would admit us : whether we had fufficient capitals to carry on that trade: and whether any probable future. advantages (for prefent there are none, as we have never fent a ship there, though at full liberty fo to do during the last fix years) were of sufficient weight to prevent a commercial settlement between the two kingdoms, in which Great Britain offers you access to all her markets foreign and domeftic, on the fame terms with herfelf; with a covenant on her part effectually to favour every article of your growth, produce, or manufacture, materials from foreign countries excepted, which are to be imported in both kingdoms duty free; and in which the offers an export of your manufactures, with all duties drawn back, through the medium of her Company, to her East-Indian territories, by which channel alone she can convey her own manufactures thitherthe benefit of whatever revenue shall arise on India goods fent to' Ireland, or a drawback on the exportation from Great Britain, which would give them to us free of all duties-and an equal trade with Great Britain in her posseffions in India, in the event of a diffolution of the Company; in which Company, during its continuance, you have an equal right with Britons, of becoming adventurers; and from

from which you can purchase the produce of the East in an open market and at a public auction, on the same terms with your fellow subjects of Grea Britain, and on cheaper terms than at any othe market.

These feveral circumstances appeared to me to have been worthy the confideration of the House of Commons; which, after having been fully informed on this subject, would have been more competent to determine, whether we should of should not, in favour of the British East-India Company, and in confideration of the other commercia benefits proposed to us, impose this limitation or our commerce, determinable at the differention of our two Houses of Parliament; which, while we allowed it to continue, would have placed Ireland in precifely the same circumstances with every part of Great Britain, London excepted.

Had this part of the agreement been found injurious to the probable hopes of our rifing commerce, it ought to have been and unqueftionably would have been rejected. If it had appeared, that, without prejudice to ourfelves, we could have ftrengthened the ftaff on which our fifter kingdom leans in the day of her adverfity, what generous Irifhman would have with-held his concurrence? But if this part of the Bill, inftead of imaginary prospects, in the place of commercial visions, offered us fome immediate, real, and substantial benefits, the choice would not have been difficult to make.

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The agreement not to prohibit the exportation of our yarn would be an engagement not to relinquish a beneficial and profitable part of our commerce; beneficial and profitable to the whole kingdom, but to Munster in particular; it would be an agreement not to do what we shall never do, though no fuch agreement existed. When it is confidered that Ireland gains by this export above 340,000l. yearly*, that it is a manufacture, though an imperfect one, which employs great numbers of our people, for whom it would be difficult to find any other employment; it feems to be a proposition almost felf-evident, that the exportation should never be prevented by any other means, than by giving every poffible encouragement to our own people to manufacture it at home, the only rational and effectual means of preventing the export.

But it is objected, that Great Britain prohibits the exportation of her yarn, and that there is no equality in our agreeing not to prohibit. I answer, that the policy of that nation in this refpect has been condemned by perfons of great commercial information; that these prohibitions were laid on to gratify the manufacturers of that country, who have been sometimes much mistaken in their opinions on this fubject. In 1698, they petitioned, that the importation of all worfted and woollen yarn from Ireland fhould be prohibited, and represented, that the poor of England were perifhing by this importation; and * At a medium of feven years, ending 25th of March, 1784, it amounted to 348,927l. 5s. od.

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in 1739*, they petitioned against taking off the duties on those articles from Ireland to England; but now they infift that it should be made a part of this agreement that the exportation from Ireland to Great Britain should never be prohibited-a caution to manufacturers not to be too confident in their present opinions, and to the public, not to give way to fuch opinions without hearing proofs or reafons. As to equality, it is to be estimated by the fum of advantages on each fide, and not by a comparison of each article separately. Thus Britain gives bounties on Irish linen exported from her ports, but we give none on British exports from ours. In yarn the inequality is merely nominal. In coals the equality is but nominal, and the whole advantage is in the Irifh scale.

In these and other articles the exercise of the legislative power would be reftrained in this kingdom during the continuance of the agreement; and in many articles fimilar reftraints would be imposed on the British legislature; but without such reftraints no commercial agreement could ever be framed between two independent legislatures. Reftraints of the fame nature made a part of our Propositions, which were almost unanimously agreed to, and were never confidered as subversive of constitutional rights. Limitations, which arise out of the power of the Legislature, and depend for their duration on the fame power, are not arguments against, but the * English Comm. Journ. p. 115—Commercial Reftraints.

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clearest proofs in support of legislative independence. Agreements to direct the channels in which trade shall flow, or to commute the barren speculation of a possible diftant trade, which is open to us, but which we are not now able to enjoy, and perhaps may never be worth our having, for a beneficial trade which is not open to us, and which we may acquire by the fufpenfion of an ufelefs right reassumable at our pleasure, would not be a relinquishment, but an enlargement of commercial freedom, and a just and constitutional exertion of legislative power for falutary purposes. Let us apply this reasoning to the East-Indian commerce. You have no liberty of trade with the British empire in Great Britain offers you an export of India. your manufactures to those countries from Great Britain and Ireland, on the fame terms with her own, through the medium of her East-India Company, to which she limits herself. She offers you at the fame time her own markets in the fame manner that she enjoys them herself; but to this she annexes a condition, that while you think proper to enjoy those benefits, you should agree not to trade to the few hospitable shores that will receive you between the Cape of Good Hope and the Streights of Magellan; and that, when you choose to relinquish that profitable liberty of trade which she offers, and which you have not, you may then reaffume that unproductive liberty of trade, which you have now in theory only.

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Some of the commercial regulations of this Bill have been mifunderftood; I mean those which relate to bounties, and the breweries.

As to the first, the Bill directs, that all bounties, except fuch as are in the nature of drawbacks or compensations for duties paid, on any articles to Great-Britain, shall cease, with an exception of corn, malt, flour, and biscuit; that no bounty to or from a British colony or settlement, or to the East-Indies, shall be payable in Ireland, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great-Britain; with an exception when fuch bounty is in the nature of a drawback or compensation for duties paid. The bounties to her own settlements Great Britain has a right to regulate. The cealing of all bounties on articles from Ireland to Great-Britain is followed by her bill as to bounties from Great-Britain to Ireland, to prevent a war of bounties, which would be hurtful to both countries. The bounties, payable in this kingdom to encourage the fale of our manufactures in our own markets, or on exportation to foreign states, not British colonies or settlements, are in no fort restrained.

The parts of the Bill relative to bounties, which are highly advantageous to Ireland, have been perverted into objections against the Bill. A proof of the great utility of those regulations is to be found in the fate of the fail-cloth manufacture. It flourished before the British bounty. It was ruined by that bounty. It will flourish again by the withdrawing ing that bounty; and, by the preference given to it by this Bill over foreign in the British navy, by the other encouragements which it is to receive in the out-fit of British and colony ships in being confidered as British, and by the export to India, will flourish in a far greater degree than at any other period, and

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will become one of our most important branches of manufacture. In refpect to the breweries, we fhould have been

gainers by the proposed agreement, as the duty on British beer, now 45.1d. would have been then 55.4d. the barrel.

I thought those commercial matters were proper fubjects for investigation; that the Bill, which related to them, should be brought in and printed, and difperfed through the kingdom; that our merchants and manufacturers should be examined to every part of it; and that not a ftep should have been taken in it, without feeing our way clearly, and without the concurring fense of the trading part of the nation. I did not think myfelf at liberty even to debate the commercial parts of the Bill, before the commercial evidence of Ireland was heard; but I am forced by the most unfounded and malicious misrepresentation to mention my prefent fentiments, with the readiest disposition to change any of them on better information, but with the firmest difdain of groundless clamour.

On those principles I voted for the introduction of the Bill. Had it appeared, on the introductory ftate= E 2

ftatement of it, to have contained any thing derogatory to the independence of our legislature, or that could have justly raifed a doubt of that kind, I would have voted either against the introduction, or for the immediate rejection of it.

Many of my fellow-citizens petitioned against the Resolutions of the British Parliament. I stated their petition more fully than petitions are ufually stated. I was not called upon to give my opinion on those Refolutions. As to the legislative rights of Ireland, the Address of the British Lords and Commons to the Throne has declared their fense; and the Bill of the British House of Commons has spoken most explicitly and decidedly on that subject. The Irish Bill differs materially from those Resolutions, and contains many new provisions in favour of our constitution and commerce. I speak of that Bill for the introduction of which I voted; and on the ground of that Bill I will maintain this polition against any man : That it neither furrenders nor impairs, nor promises or engages, or tends in any refpect to impair, the independence of the legislature of Ireland; but that, on the contrary, it expressly referves to this and all fucceeding Parliaments the full exercife of legislative rights, in all acts of legislation whatever; and gives to our Houses of Parliament a greater power than any Houses of Parliament ever had before, by placing in their hands, without the Royal affent, the repeal of a legislative agreement. Had is appeared, on the virt

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Confider the present state of the British empire. Survey your own country, with an honeft pride, as a most important part of that empire; conscious of your own weight in the general scale, be not too prone to suspect, that any English Ministry would be mad enough to invade your liberties, or to impair either your commercial or constitutional rights. What is now the neceffary object of British councils? To strengthen and connect the remaining parts of the empire. What are the principal means of effecting this? Multiplying the refources, increasing the wealth, promoting the population and industry, and establishing the tranquillity and contentment of Ireland. No two countries on the globe are more neceffary to the happiness of each other than these two islands. The man who confiders them as adversaries, and not as partners in commerce, is not a judicious friend to either. The man, who attempts to ferve one at the expence of the other, would injure both. What is the obvious wifh and intereft of the enemies of the British empire? To separate thefe two kingdoms: first to weaken and difunite the British empire, and then to subvert it. What would become of the liberties of Ireland then? Counteract your enemies, co-operate with your friends, and confolidate the strength of the two kingdoms on fuch terms, as shall appear to be of equal advantage to each.

Let me aik any of my fellow-citizens some few plain questions. Have we fince 1779 to this time followed

followed British laws, by laying the fame duties on all colonial produce, foreign as well as British? Have you felt any commercial or conflictutional prejudice by this? Do you think it reafonable, that Great-Britain should allow you to bring into her ports the produce of foreign colonies, whilft the prohibits herself from doing so? Have not her colonies been the great fource of her fuperior, commerce and maritime strength? Would you promote the trade and navigation of Great-Britain, and in effect of Ireland, or of foreign nations? Would you strengthen the fleet which protects, or that which may be destined to invade you? Is there any country, the trade to which is more valuable to Ireland, than her trade with the reft of the world? Is not Great-Britain that country? Can more effectual means be devised for promoting your trade, than by extending the most valuable part of it? Was not this the object of our Propositions, and is not this the object of our Bill?

What would you have? To remain as we are. How, would you have Britons keep their markets fhut againft you, whilft you keep your markets open to them? Shall they fupply you with colony produce, and refufe to receive it from you? Is this equality of commerce or conflictution? Give us fimilar prohibitions or prohibitory duties. Are you inclined to bring your linens within this rule, and can you juftly expect that Great-Britain fhould encourage your ftaple manufacture, with prejudice to her

her own in other countries, if you discourage hers? Are you aware, that every protection to a manufacture by a duty, which excludes a better or a cheaper manufacture of the fame kind, is, to the amount of the difference in price, a tax on every other manufacture, and every other man in the community who buys the protected manufacture? Do you prefer a fystem of mutual prohibitions, that tends to protect idleness or ignorance in both kingdoms, to a system that fets up the industry and skill of each nation as an example and rival to the other? You certainly feel no dastardly repugnance to this noble emulation. Do you prefer exclusion to comprehension; reciprocal reftraints, prohibitions, perpetual jealoufies, and ill-will, to the mutual intercourse of kindness and encouragement, which bids the mixing commerce of the two kingdoms roll in one common flood?

There is no kindnefs, you fay, in the attempt to exclude us from a trade to the Eaft *. Is there none in offering you a trade to her extensive dominions there? Does fhe give greater liberty to the inhabitants of Great Britain? Which is most valuable, the trade she offers, or that of which she proposes to you still to suffered the exercise? If the exchange is in your favour, is there any thing dif-

* The most valuable part of that trade, which confiss in teas, we have already relinquished in favour of the British East-India Company, without murmur, though without any equivalent. We are now offered an equivalent, for what we have, in effect, already conceded without any.

honourable

honourable in accepting of it? or any thing indecorous in proposing it? Would you have her violate her national faith, and diffolve her India Company? No, you fay, that expectation would be unreafonable and unjuft. Tell me then what can she offer more than she now proposes to you, either whilst that company exists, or in the event of its diffolution? I ask you but one question more. Does Great-Britain posses in any one part of the globe any one article of free commerce whatever, in her power to participate, which she does not open as freely and beneficially to Ireland as to herfelf? And then confider, my fellow-citizens, what nation upon earth has the widest and best-regulated range of commerce.

In confidering the Bill, examine the fundamental principles in the first place. What are they? Ist, To encourage and extend as much as possible the trade between the two kingdoms, on permanent and equitable principles. 2dly, That the inhabitants of each should trade to and from the British colonies, fettlements, and dominions, in every part of the globe, now or hereafter to be planted, made, or acquired, on equal terms, both directly and circuitoufly. If you disapprove of the principles, reject the Bill; if you approve of the principles, go into the detail of the Bill; approve, or amend, or reject, according to your judgment, applied cooly to every diffinct and separate part of this comprehensive system. In this you will act with that wildom and temper which become a great commercial city. Confider whether any

any claufe or expression in it can have the most remote tendency to injure your constitution. If you find any fuch, reject it, whatever commercial benefits the Bill may offer. But pray, let the claufe be first read, and a little confidered, and a little understood. Judge of it from the plain words of the text itself, and not from the brilliant paraphrase of eloquent commentators; and let not every man, who thinks proper to beat on the spirit-stirring drum of the constitution, make you start and tremble, and frighten you out of your wits.

I certainly confider myfelf accountable to my conflituents for my parliamentary conduct; but on great national queftions it is my duty to think as well as to act for them. I defire only that they will read the Bill, make themfelves, as I have endeavoured to do in respect to myself, masters of the many important and complicated fubjects which it comprehends; and shen fay, whether a Member for the first trading city of Ireland, who was not unverfed in fubjects of constitution and commerce, would have acted as became him, if he had voted that a fubject of this nature fhould not have been confidered. I have voted only that it thould be confidered; and was never more thoroughly convinced, that I never gave a vote of more beneficial tendency to the city of Cork; and have no doubt that my conftituents will hereafter view my conduct in this light. I affectionately regard my fellow-citizens, and there is nothing I value more than their efteem, except the lafting intere fts F

terefts and happiness of them and their posterity. I defire only that they may judge for themselves, and of the Bill itself by its own merits; and not view it through the medium of misrepresentation, which so many men in both kingdoms have, or think they have, an interest in placing between the public and the real subject for their consideration.

The great principle of this Bill, namely equal freedom in each kingdom to the merchants and manufacturers of the other, has been long my decided opinion *. When for your fervice I endeavoured to give some light to this subject, I pointed out this inequality as one of the just grounds of our commercial complaints. Are my fellow-citizens, after twenty-five years experience of my conduct as one of their representatives, so little acquainted with my character, as to suppose me capable of expressing to the public the warmest feelings on the subject of their former oppressions in trade, and that I should now have any defign to renew those grievances, or to impair those constitutional rights, which alone can protect them in the enjoyment of commercial freedom ! Apply all the exertions of your knowledge and experience to this subject; its importance deferves them all. Shew your veteran, and, let me add, faithful Representative, that any part of the measure injures your rights as merchants, manufacturers, or freemen, and then fee whether any man

* See Commercial Restraints of Ireland, Letter 9.

will

will use more vigorous exertions for your fervice. But confider it with that temper and good fense with which the conduct of my fellow-citizens has been usually marked; and do not fuffer it, before it has been read or understood, to be encountered by violence and outrage.

I have the honour to be,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful,

And obedient fervant,

JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON,

Palmerston, 5th September, 1785.

ON Friday, the 12th of August, 1785, Mr. Orde made his long expected motion, for leave to bring in a Bill—" for effectuating the Intercourse and Commerce between Great Britain and Ireland, on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries." Mr. Orde explained the nature of the Bill in a speech of three hours continuance : and, in confidering an important subject, he beseeched every member of the House, " to divest himself of what he had already heard, to throw aside all prejudice, and to discuss a measure, so interesting to all, with tempers free from any bias, and with minds open to conviction."

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Mr. CONNOLLY, Againft.

Mr. Connolly faid, he had before declared the business to be intricate and mysterious; he now found it to be extremely delicate. Inftead of conciliating, and as he had faid, dovetailing the two countries, it would in his opinion, have a contrary effect; it would take away their conflitution, and leave them no commerce at all. He had the day before faid, he would move a long adjournment, and propose an address to his Majefty to explain the reason of it, but his idea was now totally changed: Having heard the Bill, he would object to the motion for leave to bring it

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

He began by calling for the Refolution agreed to unanimoufly on the 20th of December, 1779, which was read, and was in thefe words :

"Refolved, Nem. Con. that a liberty to trade with the British Colonies in America and the Weft Indies, and the British Settlements on the Coast of Africa, in like manner as the trade is earried on between Great Britain and the faid Colonies and Settlements, will be productive of very great commercial benefits, will be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to our diftieffes, and will give new vigour to the zeal of his Majefty's brave and loyal people of Ireland, to ftand forward in fupport of his Majefty's perfon and government, and the interest, the honour, and the dignity of the British empire."

I will assure the Right Hon. Gentle-

Mr. CONNOLLY, Against.

it in. The Bill bartered away the conftitution of Ireland. It was well known he had been no advocate for the attainment of that conftitution ; but that House having afferted the conflication, and the conflitution having been recognized, he had no right to give his confent to alter or relinquish it, nor had any member of that Houfe any fuch right, and the kingdom he was perfuaded, would never fubmit to fuch a facrifice. The Bill propoled to be brought in by the Right Hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding the mazes and the labyrinth into which he had endeavoured to lead the Houle with a view to difguife and gloss over its real purport, it was evident, was in substance and effect, the fame with the Bill upon the table; the Bill brought into the British Parliament, by the minister. It ought, therefore, to be opposed in the first instance. They had better not fuffer the Hydra that threatened ruin to both kingdoms to grow up; let them meet the mifchief in its infancy, and strangle it in the cradle. He had voted for the original Propositions, because he thought a permanent fystem for the benefit of the two countries; but the Bill now opened to the House by the Right Hon. Gentleman, instead of dovetailing and uniting them, could tend only to their mutual difcontent and feparation.

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

Gentleman, (Mr. Connolly, that I did not in any fort allude to any thing which ha fallen from him ; but fince he has done me the honour to interrupt me, I shall probably be induced to allude to him before I fit down; and the Rig Hon. Gentleman having calle my attention to him, has claim upon me for precedence, I shall therefore in the first instance dismis him. The Right Hon. Gentleman has stated that this is a fubject of fo much delicacy and intricacy. fo much envelope in difficulty and mystery, that it is nearly incomprehenfible. And in the fame breath he announces the whole fystem to be injurious to the trade and commerce of this country, and subversive of its legiflative independence. The Right Hon, Gentleman calls out for time to enable the people to understand the fubject, and will not confent to the introduction of a Bill which is to point out to them what they are to understand. The Right Hon. Gentleman will not confent to the introduction of a Bill which he has never read, and which he professes his inability to underftand, becaufe it is a Bill which he afferts to be ruinous to the trade, and fubverfive of the conftitution of Ireland.

Poffibly I may have miftated the argument. I do not think however, that I have miftated it; however, if my Right

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

Right Hon. friend feels any thing like uneafinefs at the repetition of his arguments, or at any obfervation which I have made upon them, he knows my refpect and regard for him to be fo great, that I never can proceed in any thing which may give him one moment's pain. I am fatisfied he acts upon every occasion, to the best of his judgment for the advantage of this country. I shall therefore proceed as I had intended when I first rose.

Mr. GRATTAN, Against.

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I can excuse the Right Hon. Member who moves you for leave to bring in the Bill, he is an Englishman, and contends for the power of his own country while I am contending for the liberty of mine; he might have spared himself the trouble of flating his own Bill. I read it before, I read it in the twenty Refolutions, I read it in the English Bill, which is to all intents and purpofes the fame; and which he might read without the trouble of reforting to his own. His comment is of little moment; a Lord Lieutenant's Secretary is an unfafe commentator on an Irifh conftitution: the former merit of the Right Hon. Gentleman in preffing for the original Propolitions and contending against the prefent, which he now

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

As my Rt. Hon. friend (Mr. Grattan) alluded to the memor. able æra of 1779, I thought it neceflary to remind him of the unanimous fense of the House and the Nation upon the fubject at that time, and to remind him, that the grant of the Colony trade was at that time deemed an act of liberality, which ought to attach us warmly to Great Britain. I thought it neceffary to remind him of his language and conduct at that time, that the emulation of that day was, who should ftand forward to express his gratitude to Great Britain, and his admiration of the unexampled ability and address with which Lord North had conducted the cause of Ireland. How it has happened that the extension and permanent eftablifhment of the principle, which

now supports, may have been very great, and I am willing to thank him for his past fervices; they may be a private confolation to himfelf. No more____I differ from him in his account of this transaction. He was pledged to his eleven Propositions; his offer was the Propositions, our's the taxes; he took the latter, but forgets the former. I leave both, and come to his fystem. Here it becomes neceffary to go back. a little-I begin with your free trade obtained in 1779; by that you recovered your right to trade with every part of the world, whofe ports were open to you, fubject to your own unstipulated duties, the British plantations only excepted; by that, you obtained the benefit of your infular fituation, the benefit of your western fituation, and the benefit of your exemption from intolerable taxes. What these advantages might be, no man could fay, but any man who had feen the ftruggle you had made during a century of depression, could foresee, that a spirit of industry operating upon a state of liberty in a young nation, must in the courfe of time produce fignal advantages - the fea is like the earth, to non-exertion a wafte, to industry a mine; this trade was accompanied with another, a plantation trade; in this, you retained your right to trade directly with the British plantations

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

which at that time was the fubject of overstrained applause and gratitude, has now become a topic of popular clamour and discontent. How it has happened that a voluntary and precarious grant of the Colony trade, in 1779, was confidered an affectionate mark of British liberality, and that an extended and irrevocable grant of the fame trade. in 1785, is confidered as an infult and an injury :--- How my Right Hon. Friend will reconcile his conduct and his language in 1779, to his conduct and his language on this day, by what twift of argument he will be able to reconcile to the nation, opinions fo violently contrasted and inconfistent, 1 am free to acknowledge 1 want fagacity to difcover.

That I may not incur the hazard of contradiction, when I ftate what was in 1779 conindered perfect freedom of trade, I will recur to the words of a Gentleman now in my eye (Mr. Flood), delivered in this affembly on the 20th of December, 1779: "What is a Free Trade? I was one of the first and most decided in using the term. It is a trade to the whole world, fubject to the restraints of your own legiflature, and that of the country with which you trade; confequently in Britain, and the British Colonies, subject to the restrictions of the Britilh

tions in a variety of articles, without a reference to British duties; by this, you obtained a right to trade with the Britifh plantations directly in each and every other article, subject to the rate of British duty; by this, you obtained a right to felect the article, fo that the general trade thould not hang on the special conformity; and by this, you did not covenant to affect, exclude, or postpone the produce of foreign plantations - the reafon was obvious, you demanded two things, a free trade and a plantation trade; had the then minister infifted on a covenant to exclude the produce of foreign plantations, he had given you a plantation trade instead of a free trade, (whereas your demand was both) and his grant had been inadequate, unfatisfactory, and inadmiffible-thefe points of trade being fettled, a third in the opinion of fome remained; namely, the intercourfe with England or the channel trade-A fuccessful political campaign, an unfuccefsful harveft, the poverty of not a few, together with the example of England, brought forward in the year 1783, a number of familhing manufacturers with a demand of protecting duties; the extent of their demand was idle, the manner of conveying that demand tumultuary, but not being wholly refifted nor yet adequately affisted, they laid the

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

tifh legislature. This, fays he, is a principle as clear as the fun, which thines upon our reviving empire, and wide as the univerfe, if the univerfe were wider than it is." This, Sir, is the Honourable Gentleman's definition of a Free Trade; and upon his own principles, clear as the fun, and wide as the universe, I meet him upon the prefent queftion. From 1779 to 1784, we rested satisfied upon the subject of trade; but in 1784, it was discovered that the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland was unequal; that the poured her manufactures in upon us, and shut our manufactures out from her markets. But above all, it was complained that by the construction which she put upon her navigation laws, we were prohibited from importing into England the produce of her colonies, whilit the claimed a right, and we acquiesced in the claim, to import into this country, from England, the produce of the whole world. The remedy proposed was, to commence a war of Prohibitory Duties, but the good fense of the House faw how destructive fuch a measure must be, and rejected it by as respectable a majority as ever appeared within these walls. An Honourable Member then thought it neceffary to move an address to the Throne, that the fervants

Mr. GRATTAN, Against.

the foundation of another plan, which made its appearance in 1785, opposite indeed to their wifnes and fatal to their expectation; this was the fystem of reciprocity, a fystem fair in its principle and in process of time likely to be beneficial but not likely to be of any great prefent advantage, other than by ftopping the growth of demand, allaying a commercial fever and producing fettlement and incorporation with the people of England; this fyftem was founded on the only principle which could obtain between two independent nations, equality, and the equality confifted in fimilarity of duty: now as the total abatement of duties. on both fides, had driven the Irifhman out of his own market, as the raifing our duties to the British standard had driven the Englishman out of the Irish market, a third method was reforted to, the abatement of British duty to the Irish standard: but then this equality of duty was inequality of trade, for as the Englishman with that duty against him, had beaten you in the Irifh market, with that duty in his favour he must keep you out of the Englifh: fo that under this ar. rangement the English manufacturer continued protected, and the Irifh manufacturer and the continued exposed, abatement of duty was no more than difarming the argument of retaliation. Had the arrange-

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

vants of the crown might be directed to employ the interval between that time and the prefent feffion in digefting a plan of commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, upon equitable and liberal principles. I have heard Gentlemen fay, they confidered that address as alluding to Protecting Duties, but 1 will not pay their memories a compliment at the expence of their understandings; it is impoffible they could have underflood that this address alluded to Protecting Duties; the words of the address speak the fenfe of it very plainly; and Protecting Duties had been just rejected, as a wild and nonfenfical project.

A fyftem of commercial intercourfe therefore was called for, by the Parliament of Ireland, and I truft I shall not hear it again afferted, that this has been a subject obtruded upon the nation. The unanimous address of the Commons gives the lie direct to that affertion; accordingly the outline of the fystem which had been called for, was fubmitted to the Houfe in eleven Propositions, early in this The leading features feffion. " That the of it were, markets of both countries fhould be open to the manufactures of each other upon equal terms; that therefore no new prohibition or additional duties should be im-G poled

Mr. GRATTAN, Against.

arrangement stopped here, it had been unjust indeed, but as Ireland was to covenant that fhe would not raife her duties on British manufactures. England on her part was to covenant, that fhe would not diminish her preference in favour of Irish linen, and the adjustment amounted to a covenant, that neither country in their respective markets would affect the manufacture of the other by any operative alteration of duty; however, the adjustment did not ftop at the home manufacture, it went to plantation produce, and here you ftood on two grounds, law and justice; law, because you only defired that the fame words of the fame act of navigation fhould have the fame construction on one fide the Channel as they have on the other; how they had ever borne a different one. I cannot conceive, otherwife than by fuppofing that in your ancient state of dependency you were not intitled to the common benefit of the mother tongue; the answer to this argument was unfatisfactory, " that England had altered the law," but if England had fo altered the law, it ceased to impose the fame reltrictions and confer the fame advantages, and then a doubt might arife whether the act of navigation was the law of Ireland, fo that you feemed entitled to the construction or free

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

posed in either country upon the manufactures of the other: that Great Britain should fecure and make permanent to us, the grant of the colony trade, which by the fettlement of 1779, as my Right Hon. Friend has termed it, was precarious and revocable ; and that the thould relax her navigation laws in our favour." For the prefent I fhall not go into the detail of this fyftem, but I must remind Gentlemen, that England by this agreement binds herfelf to fecure to this country the monopoly of her market in the article of linens. And I must remind them also, that a Gentleman of the first abilities, a leader of English opposition, did state emphatically in the British Senate, that Britain, by fo doing, gave up her best protection against the future caprices of this country.

As to the liberty of fending our manufactures to the British markets, 1 freely own I have not very fanguine expectations of advantage from it. But, Sir, 1 prize the advantages of a relaxation in her navigation laws very highly. I think that without fuch a relaxation we have little prospect indeed of any foreign trade : because, if the Irish merchant has not the certain iffue of the English markets for foreign commodities, he has no fpur to enterprize and speculation. But

free from the act; now it is of more confequence to England that you fhould be bound by the act of navigation, than to Ireland to have the benefit of the fair conftruction of it. But you flood on ftill better ground, *juftice*; was it juft that you fhould receive plantation goods from England, and that England fhould not receive them from you? here if you don't find the law equal, you may make it fo: for as yet you are a free Parliament.

I leave this part of the fubject; equality of duty but no present equality of trade. come to that part of the adjustment which is inequality of both; - and first, the part which relates to the primum of your manufactures. When the original Propositions were argued, Gentlemen exclaimed, " England referves her Wool, and Ireland does not referve her Woollen Yarn," it was answered, " Ireland may if fhe pleafes," what will those Gentlemen now fay, when England referves both ;---the primum of her manufactures, and of yours; and not only woollen yarn but linen yarn, hides, &c? To tell me that this exportation is beneficial to Ireland is to tell me nothing; the question is not about ftopping the export, but giving up the regulation, in inftances where England retains the power of regulation, and the act of prohibition. To tell me,

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For. But if England relaxes her navigation laws in our favour, fhe has a right to expect that we shall protect and cherish the fhips and mariners of the empire, as the has protected them. She has a right to expect that we will follow her in a code of laws, which have been the fource of her commercial opulence, the prime origin of her maritime ftrength, and therefore it is folly to fuppofe that England will ever conclude any treaty of commerce with any nation on the earth, without ample fecurity for the protection and encouragement of British ships and mariners, and for the protection and encouragement of her own plantations. This fecurity the has a right to expect from us, and without it, it is vain to hope that fhe will ever conclude any treaty with us, and I must remind Gentlemen, that our trade with England is of greater value than our trade with the reft of the world. If we were to lofe it, in fix months, you would not have gold in circulation for the

common occasions of life. This is the outline of the fystem, proposed and approved of almost universally, early in the session of the session of the any man to shew me where the principle or spirit of this fystem has been departed from in the English Propositions, or in the Bill introduced by the English Minister.

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me, that this exportation is neceffary for England is to tell me nothing, but that you are material to England and therefore should have obtained at least equal terms. I own, to affist the manufactures of Great Britain as far as is not abfolutely inconfistent with those of Ireland is to me an object; but still the difference recurs, the is not content with voluntary accommodation on your part, but exacts perpetual export from you in the very article, in which fhe retains abfolute prohibition-" no new prohibition"----every prohibition beneficial to England was laid before---none in favour of Ireland. Ireland till 1779 was a province, and every province is a victim, your provincial state ceased, but before the provincial regulations are done away, this arrangement establifhes a principle of uti pofsidetis, that is, Great Britain shall retain all her advantages, and Ireland shall retain all her difadvantages. But I leave this part of the adjustment where reciprocity is disclaimed in the outset of treaty and the rudiment of manufacture; I come to inftances of more ftriking inequality, and first your fituation in the Eaft. You are to give a monopoly to the prefent or any future Eaft-India Company during its existence, and to the Britifh nation for ever after; it has been faid that the Irifhman in

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

But it was neceffary to combat the prejudices of the Britifh manufacturers, and the opposition of a party, many of whom do, 1 am fatished, oppole any extension of the trade and commerce of Ireland upon principle, and therefore it is, that the British Minister, and the men who supported him, were forced into the detail of this fubject in their Refolutions -- A detail, which must necessarily have followed, even if the British Parliament had kept clear of it in this first stage of the business.

God forbid that I should impute wrong motives to any man; I am fatisfied that it is the principle of fome of the leading men of the prefent oppolition in England, not to extend the trade and commerce of this country. And if I did not chuse to keep this subject clear of any thing which might look like a question of English party, I would prove to the conviction of every man who hears me, that the weight of Ireland in the scale of the empire mult for ever prove an obstacle to the great object of their political career.

With respect to the East India trade, I must inform the Right Hon. Gentleman, that it is a question, in my mind, of no doubt or difficulty, that we have by a law of Ireland confirmed the monopoly of the East India Company; and therefore, so long as their charter

in this is in the fame fituation as the Englishman, but there is this difference, the difference between having, and not having the trade; the British Parliament has judged it most expedient for Great Britain to carry on her trade to the Eaft, by an exclusive Company; the Irish Parliament is now to determine it most expedient for Ireland to have no trade at all in these parts. This is not a furrender of the political rights of the constitution, but of the natural rights of man; not of the privileges of Parliament, but " of the rights of nations," --- " not to fail beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan," an awful interdict ! Not only European settlements, but neutral countries excluded, and God's providence fhut out in the most opulent boundaries of creation; other interdicts go to particular places for local reafons, becaufe they belong to certain European States, but here are neutral regions forbidden and a path preferibed to the Irifhman on open fea. Other interdicts go to a determinate period of time, but here is an eternity of reftraint, you are to have no trade at all during the existence of any Company, and no free trade to. those countries after its expiration; this refembles rather a judgment of God than an act of the legiflature, whether you measure it by immensity of

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

charter lasts, we are bound by it. And were this charter expired, I believe our prospect of a trade to India, even if it were the interest of this country to interfere with Great Britain, is very remote indeed.

The Right Hon Gentleman has faid, that we gain but a fpeck of advantage in the permission granted to East India ships to touch at Irish ports in their paffage out; and yet this was one very great caufe of the clamour raifed in England against the fystem; for WIr. Wedgwood, and two other men, who were examined upon the fubject, at the bar of the House of Lords, did not hesitate to declare, that glass, and fome other articles, were likely to be exported from Ireland to the East Indies, and in fuch quantities as would prove extremely injurious to the manufactures of England.

As to the East India trade, the Gentleman is much miftaken. Whenever the charter of the Company shall expire, Ireland will, upon the fame terms as the subjects of Great Britain, be enabled to trade with all the British possessions in the East, as to British colonies, and to all the independent states without restriction. -The Right Hon. Gentleman is totally and radically mistaken, and there cannot be a ftronger argument for the introduction of the Bill than he has furnished; for it now appears. Mr. GRATTAN, Against. of space or infinity of duration, and has nothing human about it except its prefumption.

What you lofe by this furrender, what you forfeit by giving up the poffibility of intercourfe with fo great a proportion of the inhabited Globe, I cannot prefume to fay; but this I can fay, that Gentlemen have no right to argue from present want of capital against future trade, nor to give up their capacity to trade becaufe they have not yet brought that capacity into action, still lefs have they a right to do fo without the fhadow of compensation, and least of all on the affected compensation which, trifling with your understanding as well as interest, fuffers a veffel to go to the West, in its way to the Eaft. I leave this uncompensated furrender -I leave your fituation in the East which is blank-I leave your fituation in the East which is the farrender of trade itfelf; and I come to your fituation in the Welt which is a surrender of its freedom. You are to give a monopoly to the British plantations at their own taxes; before, you did fo only in certain articles, with a power of felection, and then only as long as you pleafed to conform to the condition, and without any ftipulation to exclude foreign produce. It may be very proper to exclude foreign produce by

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

appears that he is altogethe mistaken in his idea of the fundamentals of it. He ha objected to this fystem, that we stipulate not to trade with the colonies of foreign states Now I request of gentlemer to attend to this objection. 1 is modeftly defired on the par of this country, that Grea Britain should grant irrevoca bly to us a right to trade with her colonies and plantations and leave it in our difcretion at any time, to trade with foreign colonies and plantations to the prejudice of Britain and British plantations; nay more it is defired that England fhould open her ports to re ceive the product of the Wef Indies through the medium o Ireland, and truft to the fcrupulous honour of Irifh merchants not to deceive her, by impofing the produce of foreign colonies upon Great Britain ir her own markets, to the utter ruin of the British plantations, But can any thing be more just, if we are to share with England her colony trade, than that we fhould give to her colonies a monopoly of our market? It has been infinuated, that we could trade to more advantage with the colonies of foreign states; but what foreign states will allow us to trade with their colonies? Who is to protect us if foreign states shall refuse to do us juffice? or who is to affert our rights if they shall be violated ?

by your own temporary laws, and at your own free will and option, but now you are to covenant to do fo for ever, and thereby you put the trade out of your own power for ever, and you give to the Eng. lifh, Weft as well as Eaft, an eternal monopoly for their plantation produce in the taxing and regulating of which you have no fort of deliberation or interference, and over which Great Britain has a compleat fupremacy. Here you will confider the advantage you receive from that monopoly, and judge, how far it may be expedient to fet up against yourfelves that monopoly for ever; there is fcarcely an article of the British plantations that is not out of all proportion dearer than the fame article is in any other part of the Globe, nor any one article that is not produced elfewhere, for fome of which articles you might establish a mart for your manufactures. Portugal, for inftance, capable of being a better market for our drapery than Great Britain; this enormity of price is aggravated by an enormity of tax, what then is this covenant? to take these articles from the British plantations, and from none other, at the prefent high rates and taxes. and to take them at all times to come, subject to whatever further rates and taxes the Parliament of Great Britain shall enact.

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

lated? But admit for a moment, that we could trade with the colonies of foreign flates, in exclusion to the colonies of Britain, would not this be an act of open hostility, and call for retaliation ?

The Right HonourableGentleman is miftaken as to the fettlement of 1779---it was a voluntary grant, revocable at pleafure; and one great argument in favour of the prefent fettlement is, that by it that grant is rendered irrevocable.

I now come to the great argument of those who oppose this fystem-the argument, if it deferves the name, which has been trumpeted forth by the enemies of Ireland in both countries, to inflame her pride, and to prejudice her against this settlement. It is afferted again and again, that this treaty is an infult to Ireland that it ftrikes directly at the independence of her legiflature. This is the first instance in which Ireland has ever treated, and it is a new idea to me, that England, by opening and carrying on a treaty with her as with an independent state, infults her pride. and strikes at her independence. But what is defired of her on the part of England ? So long as you continue to trade with us, as you have proposed, we defire of you, by laws of your enacting, to cherish, and protect, and encourage the fhips and mariners of

enact. Let me afk you, why did you refuse Protecting Duties to your own people? becaufe they looked like a monopoly; and will you give to the East India Merchant, and the Weft India planter fomething more? a monopoly where the monopolift is in some degree the law-giver. The principle of equal duty or the fame refriction is not the fhadow of fecurity; to make fuch a principle applicable, the objects moft be equal, but here the objects are not only diffimilar but opposite; the condition of England is great debt and greater capital, great incumbrances, but still greater abilities; the condition of Ireland, little capital but a small debt, poverty but exemption from intolerable taxes. Equal butthens will have opposite effects, they will fund the debt of one country, and deftroy the trade of the other; high duties will take away your refource, which is exemption from them, but will be a fund for Great Britain: thus the colony principle in its extent is dangerous to a very great degree. Suppose Great Britain should raife her colony duties to a still greater degree, to answer the exigency of fome future war, or to fund her present debt, you must follow, for by this bill you would have no option in foreign trade; you must follow, not becaufe you wanted the tax

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

of the empire, as we have done. We only defire of you, by laws of your own, to adopt a code of laws, the policy of which ftands admitted by all the nations of Europe---a code of laws which is the great fource of the ftrength and wealth of the empire. So long as you continue to trade with our colonies, we defire that you will regulate that trade, as we do. But if you do not chuie to adopt our navigation code---if you do not chuse to protect the ships and mariners of the empire by your laws, as we protect them by ours---if you do not chufe to regulate your trade with our plantations, as we regulate ours, why then there is an end of the agreement---you then make your option, not to trade with us, and with our plantations, upon the terms which are neceffary for the general fecurity of the empire.

Here give me leave to recui to that principle, clear as the fun and wide as the universe, which I have taken the liberty to borrow from an Honourable Member - Freedom of trade, is liberty to trade with foreign nations, fubject to the reftrictions of your own legifiature, and the legiflature of the country with which you trade. Here I meet that Honourable Member with his own principle, clothed in his own words: and if the principle is queffioned, it is impoffible

tax, but left your exemption from taxes should give your manufactures any comparative advantage, Irilh taxes are to be precautions against the prosperity of Irish manufactures! You must follow becaufe vour taxes here would be no longer meafured by the wants of the country or the interest of her commerce, becaufe we should have inftituted a false measure of taxation; the wants and the riches of another country, which exceeds you much in wants, but infinitely more in riches. I fear we fhould have done more, we should have made English jealoufy the barometer of Irifh taxes. Suppose this country should in any degree establish a direct trade with the British plantations, fuppole the apprehenfions of the British manufacturers in any degree realized, they may dictate your duties, they may petition the British Parliament to raife certain duties, which shall not affect the articles of their intercourse, but may ftop yours ; or, which shall affect the articles of their intercourse a little and annihilate yours; thus they may by one and the fame duty raife a revenue in England, and deftroy a rival in Ireland. Camblets are an inftance of the former, and every valuable plancation import an inftance of the latter; your option in foreign trade had been a reftraint on England, or a refource

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

poffible to form a commercial treaty with any nation on earth. But I will fhew you the principle recorded again and again in your own statute book, from 1779 to 1785sellion after sellion you have recorded it. What was the principle admitted in 1779admitted and proclaimed by the whole nation in peals of applause and gratitude? We will import the produce of the British colonies and plantations upon the terms of enacting from time to time, by our laws, fpecific taxes imposed by Great Britain upon British subjects; and accordingly, feffion after feffion, this agreement has been recited in your money bill. The British tax is recited, and the British tax is enacted. What is your option here? Have you an option as to the quantum of tax? No; you enact the British tax, or you give up the trade. I defy the ingenuity of man to diftinguish the two cases in point of conflitution. What does England defire now ?---You have proposed to trade with me in a more extended way, than you have heretofore done--- l agree to it, provided you agree on your part to make the fame regulations from time to time, to protect and encourage the mariners and fhips of the empire, as I do here. Where is the infult here, or where is the attack upon your independence ? I fay again, H where

fource to Ireland, but under this adjustment you give up your foreign trade, and confine yourfelf to that which you must not prefume to regulate. The exclusion of foreign plantation produce would feem fufficient, for every purpole of power and domination, but to aggravate, and it would feem, to infult, the Independent States of North America are most ungracioufly brought into this arrangement, as if Ireland was a British colony, or North America continued a part of the British dominion ; by the Refolutions almost all the produce of North America was to be imported to Ireland, fubiect to British duties ; the Bill is more moderate, and only enumerates certain articles: But what right has Great Britain to interfere in our foreign trade, what right has she to dictate to us on the fubject of North American trade? How far this country may be further affected by clogging her plantation trade and furrendering her free trade, I shall not for the prefent ftop more minutely to inquire, but I must stop to protest against one circumstance in this arrangement, which fhould not accompany any arrangement, which would be fatal to fettlement itself, and tear afunder the bands of faith and affection; the circumftance I mean, is the opening of the fettlements

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

where is the departure from the Honourable Member's principle, clear as the fun, and wide as the universe?-where is the departure from the principle, fanctified and recorded again and again in your own statute book? An Honourable Member has alluded to the Methuen Treaty. What is that treaty? It confifts of two articles only-Portugal agrees to receive English woollens, and England agrees, from time to time, to enact fpecific taxes upon the wines of Portugal. Is not this the fame principle again? Why the Honourable Member may as well fay, that England is infulted, and that England furrendered her independence, because she agreed not to raife more than a flated revenue upon the importation of Portugal wines; becaufe the binds herfelf to give a preference to the wines of Portugal in the British market, at all times over the wines of France. In fhort, if the Irifh nation will never condescend to promife a compliance with any condition of a treaty, the Irish nation must determine never to make any commercial treaty, or any treaty whatever.

It has been faid, we cannot confide in the prefent Minifter; but if we cannot confide in him, I do not know in what part of the British dominions we can find the man in whom we can confide. As to the leading

ments of the colony trade, and free trade of 1779: this adjustment takes from you the power of chusing the article, fo that the whole covenant hangs on the fpecial circumstance, and takes from you your option in the produce of foreign plantations, and even of America. It is a revision in peace of the fettlements of war; it is a revocation in peace of the acquisition of war. I here afk by what authority? By what authority is Ireland obliged now to enter into a general account for paft acquifitions? Did the petition of the manufacturers, defire it ? Did the addreffes of the last session desire it? Did the Minister in this session fuggeft it? No; I call for authority, whereby we can be justified in waving the benefit of past treaties, and bringing the whole relative fituation of this country into queftion in an arrangement, which only professes to settle her channel trade. I conceive the fettlements of the laft war are facred; you may make other fettlements with the British nation, but you will never make any fo beneficial as these are; they were the refult of a conjuncture miraculously formed, and fortunately feized. The American war was the Irish harvest. From that period, as from the lucky moment of your fate, your commerce, conflitution, and mind took

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

ing men who oppose him, I am fatisfied it is a first principle with them not to make any concession to this country which is to add to her weight in the scale of the empire .---In 1779, when Lord North proposed his Resolutions in favour of Ireland, they would not affent, nor would they diffent — they would referve themfelves. In 1785, when Mr. Pitt, with the liberality of a great and firm mind, ftood forth to combat the prejudices of the manufacturers of Great Britain, for the general advantage of the empire, they echoed the clamours and the prejudices of these men, and having failed in their profpect of damning the measure in England, they instantly changed their ground, and applied themselves to the pride and the prejudices of this country; and, as I have been informed, they have fomewhat prematurely indulged their merriment at our expence-they have fomewhat prematurely indulged their merriment at the expence of a few individuals, whom they fuppofe to have fwallowed the bait. And this country will be the laughing-flock of every. nation in Europe, if the becomes the dupe of fo palpable and shallow an artifice. Here, Sir, I defire to be understood, not to state this as a conduct in any degree reprehensible-Iam fatisfied these gentlemen act upon H 2

took form and vigour ; and to that period, and to a first and ... falient principle must they recur for life and renovation. 'Tis therefore I confider those fettlements as facred, and from them I am naturally led to that part of the subject which relates to compensation, the payment which we are to make for the loffes which we are to fustain. Certainly compenfation cannot apply to the free trade supposing it uninvaded, first, because that trade was your right; to pay for the recovery of what you fhould never have loft, had been to a great degree unjust and derogatory : fecondly, becaufe that free trade was established in 1779, and the fettlement then closed, and cannot be opened now; to do fo were to deftroy the faith of treaties, to make it idle to enter into the prefent fettlement, and to render it vain to enter into any fettlement with a British Minister. The fame may be faid of the colony trade; that too was fettled in 1779 on terms then fpecified, not now to be opened, clogged, conditioned, or circumfcribed; ftill lefs does compensation apply to the free constitution of 1782. His Majesty then informed you from the throne, " these things come unaccompanied with any ftipulation" ---- befides, the free conftitution, like the free trade, was your right. Freemen wont pay for the recovery of

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

upon system, but no man shall perfuade me that they are friends of Ireland. Let gentlemen recollect the language held by the leader of English oppofition, and by a gentleman foremost in his confidence on the fame day; one gentleman stated, that Captain Brooke was an intereffed witnefs, and therefore not to be credited, because this was an agreement wholly and exclusively beneficial to Ireland. And in the next half hour his friend ftated, that he had written to all his friends in Ireland to be upon their guard, for that it was an agreement ruinous to the commerce and the conftitution of this country-I liften to the one and the other with perfect indifference. I do not pretend to fay, that a few individuals in Great Britain may not perhaps feel a temporary inconvenience from this fettlement; but I am perfectly affured, that it will be highly advantageous to the empire. There is no folid advantage which this country can acquire that will not ultimately tend to the ftrength and wealth of the British empire, and therefore he is a narrow and flimfy politician, who will facrifice the ftrength of the empire to the narrow prejudices of interested individuals. A spirit of monopoly is the first principle of a merchant or a manufacturer. Whilft man continues to be a creature of paffion and interest, ielt-

of right; payment had derogated from the claim of right; fo we then stated to Ministry. It was then thought that to have annexed fubfidy to con fitution had been a barren experiment on public poverty, and had marred an illustrious experiment on the feelings of the nation, and had been neither fatisfaction to Ireland, nor revenue to Great Britain. This bolder policy, this happy art, which faw how much may be got by tax, and how much must be left to honour, which made a bold pufh for the heart of the nation, and leaving her free to acquire, took a chance for her difpofition to give, had its effect; for fince that time until the present most unfortunate attempt, a great bulk of the community were on the fide of Government, and the parliamentary conflictution was a guarantee for public peace.

See then what you obtained without compensation -a colony trade, a free trade, the independency of your judges, the government of your army, the extension of the unconflitutional powers of your council, the restoration of the judicature of your lords, and the independency of your legislature [

See now what you obtain by compensation—a covenant not to trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Mr. FITZGIEBON, For.

felf-intereft will be his first confideration; and therefore in a great national fyftem of commerce, a merchant or a manufacturer is perhaps the last man from whom you may expect information. The great ob. ject of his life is to accumulate wealth for himfelf; but in what manner national wealth is accumulated, his education or his pursuits do not enable him to ice; and therefore. upon a great national fystem, a merchant or a manufacturer is perhaps the laft man to whom I would apply for information. Let me remind gentlemen of the evidence delivered at the bar of this House in the course of the last feffion. How many of your merchants and manufacturers informed you, that this would never be a nation of trade, foreign or domestick, until you imposed prohibitory duties on the importation of British woollens. In a country whole imports from England do not exceed one million, and whole exports to England exceed two millions and an half, the merchants and manufacturers came forward to prefs you to commence a war of prohibitory duties. An Hon. Gentleman fays, he has no confidence in the Irifh Administration, and he affigns one reason for his want of confidence, that my Right Hon. friend when he was at London never appeared in the House of Commons to clear

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of Magellan; a covenant not to take foreign plantation produce, but as the Parliament of Great Britain shall permit; a covenant not to take certain produce of the United States of North America, but as Great Britain shall permit; a covenant not to take British plantation produce, but as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant to make fuch acts of navigation as Great Britain shall prescribe; a covenant never to protect your own manufactures, never to guard the primum of those manufactures! -Thefe things are accompanied, I do acknowledge, with a covenant on the part of England to difarm your argument for protecting duties, to give the English language in the act of navigation the fame. construction in Ireland, and to leave our linen markets without moleftation or diminution. One fhould think fome god. prefided over the liberties of this country who made it frugality in the Irith nation to continue free, but has annexed the penaltics of fine as well'as infamy to the furrender of the conffitution ! From this confideration of commerce, a queftion much more high, much more deep, the invaluable queftion of conftitution arifes, in which the idea of protecting duties, the idea of reciprocal duties, countervailing duties, and all that detail vanish, and the energies of every

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

up a doubt whether he had used the word mart, or the word emporium when he first stated his eleven Propositions to this Houfe. There is another reason, and I will fay it is the true reafon, why that gentleman has no confidence in the Irifh Administration-he has no connexion with them; -but being closely connected with them, it shall always be my pride, as a gentleman of this country, to acknowledge my obligations to the Duke of Rutland, and to my Right Hon. Friend. This country owes more to them than to any men who have ever filled their stations. In the course of this very interesting bulinefs, they have difplayed the most unwearied assiduity, and unshaken firmness and integrity.

Before I sit down I must remind the Houfe, that my Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Connolly) has, by authority from a noble Duke, difavowed the declaration which was imputed to him, because it rescues a nobleman for whom I entertain a very affectionate respect, from fome imputations which I have heard thrown upon him, and which from my knowledge of his ftrict honour and integrity, 1 have always afferted to be falfe and groundlefs. We all recollect when a motion was made in this House, with refpect to the East Indies, that my predecessor in office declared,

every heart, and the prudence of every head, are called upon to fhield this nation, that long depressed, and at length by domeftic virtue and foreign misfortune emancipated, bas now to defend her newly-acquired rights, and her juftlyacquired reputation; the queftion is no lefs than that, which three years ago agitated, fired and exalted the Irifh nationthe independency of the lrifh Parliament ! By this Bill we are to covenant that the Parliament of Ireland shall subfcribe whatever laws the Parliament of England shall prefcribe, respecting your trade with the British plantations, your trade in the produce of foreign plantations, and part of your trade from the United States of North America. There is also a fweeping covenant or condition, whereby we are to agree to fubfcribe whatever laws the Parliament of England shall prefcribe refpecting navigation; the adjustment subjects also your reverfionary trade to the Eaft to the fame terms-- over all thefe objects you are to have no propounding, no deliberative, no negative, no legislative power whatfoever. Here then is an end of your Free Trade and your Free Conftitution ! I acquit the people of England; an ill-grounded jealoufy for their trade feems aggravated by a well-founded alarm for your liberty; unwilling to relinquish,

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

clared, that it was improper to fritter away piece-meal a great fyitem of trade, which Administration meant to bring forward. And I know Lord Northington's honour, integrity, and firmnefs to be fuch. that he never would have fuffered fuch a declaration of a gentleman in his confidence to have remained uncontradicted. if the British Cabinet had determined not in any fort to concede any extension of commerce to this country; and therefore I am happy, for the fake of a nobleman whofe principles I admire, and whole worth and honour will ever remain unfullied, that my Right Hon. friend has publicly difavowed the declaration imputed to the noble Duke.

For my part, 1 never have hid myfelf from any public queftion, nor ever will. The man who in or out of office can ftoop to hide himfelf from any public queftion is, in my opinion, a most despicably corrupt man; the man who, in or out of office, can fkulk from his duty in this affembly, I confider to be guilty of the most pitiful and nafty fubterfuge that can difgrace a man, and therefore I never will skulk from any measure; if I approve it I will fupport it like a man, if not, I will oppose it like a man. And I repeat before this Houle, I repeat it in the face of the nation, that the Bill moved for

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. relinquish, but when relinquifhed, too magnanimous and too wife to refume abdicated tyranny; they feel in these Propositions an honourable follicitude for the freedom of Ireland and the good faith of Great Britain, and fee the darling principles and paffions of both countries wounded in an arrangement which was to compose them for ever: to a propofal therefore fo little warranted by the great body of the people of England, fo little expected by the people of Ireland, fo little fuggested by the Minister, and fo involving to whatever is dear to your intereft, honour, and freedom, I answer, no. I plead past fettlements, 1 infift on the faith of nations; the objections should have been made when thefe fettlements were making ; but now the logic of empire comes too late; no accommodation, no deprecation on this fubject: affertion, national affertion, national re-affertion! If three years after the recovery of your freedom you bend -your children, corrupted by your example, will surrender; -but if you ftand firm and inexorable, you make a feafonable impreffion on the people of England, you give a wholefome example to your children, you afford an awful instruction to his Majesty's Ministers, and make (as the Old English did in the cafe of their Charter) the attempt on

for this night is highly advantageous to its commerce, and in no fort incompatible with its free conflitution. Gentlemen may triumph in their oppolition to this Bill, but I will defend it line by line, and word by word; I will meet their whole array upon it-I fear them not; I will defend it on the principle of the British Constitution; and as to the clamour which has been railed against this measure, it is as unfounded and as little to be regarded as any that ever difturbed the deliberations of a wife affembly. Your own records declare, that you have not thought the principle of the Bill unconstitutional. In every fession fince 1779, in which year you obtained the Colony trade, you recite the condition on which you poffels it; you recite the British tax, and you enact that tax. What then is the difference here? You are permitted to trade to every polleffion Great Britain has, provided you adopt the laws by which fhe regulates her trade; provided you trade as British subjects trade. Every advantage which British subjects enjoy is offered to your acceptance. I call upon any man living to tell me-where is there an iota of difference? Therefore let no man talk to me of hiding my head; I fupport the Bill as highly advantageous to this country; and Gentlemen,

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. on Irish liberty its confirmation and establishment !

However, left certain gloffes fhould feem to go unanfwered, I shall, for the fake of argument, wave past settlements, and combat the reasoning of the English Resolutions, the Address, his Majesty's answer, and the reasoning of this day. It is here faid, that the laws respecting commerce and navigation fhould be fimilar, and inferred, that Ireland should fubscribe the laws of England on those subjects : that is the fame law, the fame legiflature; but this argument goes a great deal too far-it goes to the army, for the mutiny bill fhould be the fame; it was endeavoured to be extended to the collection of your revenue, and is in train to be extended to your taxes; it goes to the extinction of the most invaluable part of your parliamentary capacity; it is an union, an incipient and a creeping union; a virtual union, eftablifhing one will in the general concerns of commerce and navigation, and repofing that will in the Parliament of Great Britain; an union where our Parliament preserves its existence after it has lost its authority, and our people are to pay for a parliamentary eftablishment, without any proportion of parliamentary reprefentation. In oppofing the Right Hon. Gentleman's Bill, I confider myfelf as oppofing

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For. Gentlemen, who are fo ex-

tremely anxious to prevent us from going into the merits of it, may perhaps be fufpected by illiberal men not to wifh that the merits fhould appear to the public.

But the Honourable Gentleman fays, it is necefiary to anfwer the Refolutions of England by the Refolution which he has read. He fays, he does not think fhe has attacked our legiflative independence, and yet he fays he does think an anfwer neceffary; and what is that anfwer ?—why, that we will preferve our independence.

Let me tell Gentlemen, that it is not very prudent, upon every occasion, to come forward in terms of indignation against the fifter kingdom, because we cannot exist one moment without her protection. Let me tell them, that it will not be perfectly prudent to rouze Great Britain. She is not eafily rouzed,but if rouzed, the is not very eafily appealed; and in this, perhaps, lies the difference between the two pations -- lreland is eafily rouzed, but then fhe is eatily appealed; England is not eafily rouzed, nor eatily appealed .- If you rouze the British Lion, you may not eafily lull him to reft.

Gentlemen fay you may go on in the way you are; you have already a Free Trade, and that is all you want. You I have

an

an union in limine, and that argument for union which makes fimilarity of law and community of interest (reason ftrong for the freedom of Ireland !) a pretence for a condition which would be diffimilarity of law, becaufe extinction of Confficution, and therefore hostility, not community of intereft; I alk on what experience is this argu-ment founded ? - Have you ever fince your redemption refused to preferve a fimilarity of law in Trade and Navigation? Have you not followed Great Britain in all her changes of the Act of Navigation, during the whole of that unpalatable business, the American War? Have you not excluded the cheap produce of other Plantations, in order that Irifh poverty might give a monopoly to the dear produce of British Colonies? Have you not made a better use of your liberty than Great Britain did of her power? But I have an objection to this argument, ftronger even than its want of foundation, in rea on and experiment; I hold it to be nothing lefs than an intolerance of the Parliamentary Conftitution of Ireland, a declaration that the full and free external legislation of the Irish Parliament is incompatible with the British Empire. I do acknowledge that by your external power, you might difcompose the harmony of empire and

have indeed a right to trade, but without the affiftance and protection of Great Britain you have not the means of trading with any nation on There is not a fingle earth. article in which you can trade without the affiftance of England; and I defire by that Bill to enfure her protection and affiftance, and when the people of this country are reftored to their fober fenfes, they will fee it. The Bill for ever guarantees your Linen Trade, to promote which England taxes her own confumption 450,000l. yearly. The confumption of England is stated to be forty-eight million of yards; of this the at prefent takes twenty millions from Ireland, the remaining twenty million from Ruffia and Germany; on the Ruffian and German Linens she lays a heavy duty, and is content to pay an advanced price for the Irifh; yet still the Ruffian and German manufactures can in fome degree meet Ireland in the English market; if the duty was taken off, they would beat her out of it altogether, and therefore I fay fhe is a befotted nation if the feeks to quarrel with England.

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

I am much obliged to the Gentlemen who in pure kindnefs wifh to give me an opportunity for reflection, and I hope Gentlemen who have been fo very forward and fo very hot upon this occasion, will

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. and I add, that by your power over the Purfe, you might diffolve the State, but to the latter you owe your existence in the Conftitution, and to the former, your authority and station in the Empire; this argument, therefore, refts the connection upon a new and a falfe principle - goes directly against the root of Parliament - and is not a difficulty to be accommodated, but an error to be eradicated; and if any body of men can still think that the Irish Constitution is incompatible with the British Empire, a doctrine which I abjure as fedition against the Constitution-but if any body of men are juffified in thinking that the Irifh Constitution is incompatible with the British Empire, - perifh the Empire! live the Conffitution! Reduced by this falle dilemma to take a part, my fecond with is the British Empire, my first with and bounden duty is the liberty of Ireland-but we are told this imperial power is not only necessary for England but fafe for Ireland. What is the present question? what but the abuse of this very power of regulating the trade of Ireland by the British Parliament excluding you, and including herfelf by virtue of the fame words of the fame Act of Navigation? And what was the promovent caufe of this arrangement? what but the power you are going to furrender,

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For. will reflect also on the best manner in which I can fhew my fense of the obligation conferred upon me will be, to repeat and re-affert the words at which they have taken fo much offence. I say if Ireland feeks to quarrel with England fhe is a befotted nation. I fay fhe has not the means of trading with any nation upon earth, without the affistance and protection of Great Britain, and I wifh every man and every child throughout Ireland to hear me when I ftate it. I fay that Ireland cannot exift one hour without the support of Great Britain; and therefore again I fay she is a befotted nation if the feeks to quarrel with her; and I fay further, when the people recover their fenfes, and awaken from the delufion and the phrenzy into which they have been milled, if the benefits of that Bill are then within their reach they will grafp at them; but I very much fear they may not always be within their reach; if they are, they will be glad to accept of that very fettlement which they are now advifed to reject with fullen indignation and with infult.

A Right Hon. Friend of mine (Mr. Connolly), when his first fymptoms of opposition to this measure appeared, only defired time to the next session, that the people might underftand it. However, when the I 2 Bill

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. render, the diffinct and independant external authority of the Irish Parliament, competent to question that misconstruction? What is the remedy now proposed ? the evil, -go back to the Parliament of England-I afk again, what were the difficulties in the way of your Eleven Propofitions? what but the jealoufy of the British Manufacturers on the subject of trade? And will you make them your Parliament, and that too for ever, and that too on the fubject of their jealoufy, and in the moment they displayed it-fafe! I will suppose that jealousy realized, that you rival them in fome market abroad, and that they petition their Parliament to impose a Regulation which shall affect a tonnage which you have and Great Britain has not; how would you then feel your fituation, when you fhould be obliged to register all this? And how would you feel your degradation, when you fhould fee your own Manufacturers pass you by as a cypher in the Conflitution, and deprecate their ruin at the bar of a Foreign Parliament-fafe! Whence the American war? Whence the Irifh reftrictions? Whence the mifconstruction of the Act of Navigation? Whence but from the evil of fuffering one country to regulate the Trade and Navigation of another, and of inftituting, under the idea

Ma. FITZGIBBON, For. Bill was offered to the Houle he would have prevented the introduction of it. How this was to enlighten the people, or to enable them to understand the subject, I do not perfectly comprehend. Again, the Right Hon. Gentleman declared that he did not understand commerce, nor was he ever a flickler for conflitution, and then proceeded to pronounce fentence of condemnation wholefale upon the Bill, which he had never read, and which if he had read, he declared he should not understand. Another Hon. Gentleman who oppofes this measure with equal violence, has let it out fomewhat indifcreetly in my mind, that this is a queftion in which a certain fet of Gentlemen in England are deeply interested; and he has in my mind fomewhat indifcreetly reproached an Hon. Member who fits above me (Mr. G. Ponfonby) with having upon this occasion deferted the cause of his English connections *. How this reproach confifts with the repeated declarations which have been made from that fide of the House, that this was a question perfectly detached from all English party, I leave to the judgment of the nation. But I cannot but fay, that in my mind the charge which has been made

* Such an allufion had been made from the oppofite fide of the Houfe.

upon

idea of general protectores, a proud domination, which facrifices the interest of the whole to the ambition of a part, and arms the little paffions of the Monopolist with the fovereign potency of an imperial Parliament; for great nations when curfed with unnatural fway follow but their nature when they invade; and human wildom has not better provided for human safety than by limiting the principles of human power. The furrender of Legiflature has been likened to cafes that not infrequently take place between two equal nations covenanting to fufpend in particular cafes their respective legislative powers for mutual benefit; thus Great Britain and Portugal agree to fuspend their legiflative power in favour of the Wine of the one and the Woollen of the other, but if Portugal had gone farther, and agreed to subscribe the laws of England, this covenant had not been treaty but conquest; lo Great Britain and Ireland may covenant not to raife high duties on each other's manufactures, but if Ireland goes farther, and covenants to fubscribe British law, this is not a mutual fufpenfion of the exercise of legiflative power, but a transfer of the power itself from one country to another, to be exercifed by another hand; fuch covenant is not reciprocity of trade.

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

upon that Gentleman reflects very high honour upon him; becaufe, in my mind, any man who is actuated upon this occasion by motives of English or of Irish party, is a dangerous and decided enemy to this country.

But it is eurious to hear the charges which have been brought against Ministry; they are acculed of having originated this measure, and urged it forward with their whole force. But what interest could Administration have had in obtruding it on this country; it was called for by the unanimous address of this House, and when it was introduced, there were but three men found who could oppose it; and now I challenge any man to thew me a fingle instance in which the Bill now upon your table departs from the principle and spirit of the Eleven Refolutions of this kingdom. It is objected that they have been multiplied into twenty, but let any man look at them, and he will find that many of the additional Refolutions are mere matters of detail, mere matters of commercial regulation, intended chiefly to guard against the frauds of fmugglers; he will find that the Refolutions are more condemned for their numbers than their demerit. If, however, Gentlemen are determined to reject this measure without examination or enquiry, in my mind.

trade, it is a furrender of the government of your trade, inequality of trade and inequality of conflictution. I fpeak however as if fuch transfer could take place, but in fact it could not, any arrangement fo covenanting is a mere nullity, it could not bind you, ftill lefs could it bind your fuccesfors, for man is not omnipotent over himfelf, neither are Parliaments omnipotent over themselves to accomplish their own destruction, and propagate death to their fucceffors; there is in these cases a superior relationfhip to our respective Creators - God - the Community, which in the inftance of the individual, arrefts the hand of fuicide, and in that of the political body, ftops the act of furrender; and makes man the means of propagation, and Parliament the organ to continue liberty, not the engine to deftroy it. However, though the furrender is void, there are two ways of attempting it, one by a furrender in form, the other by a furrender in fubstance; appointing another Parliament your substitute, and confenting to be its regifter or stamp, by virtue of which to introduce the law and edict of another land; to cloath with the forms of your law, foreign deliberations, and to prefide over the difgraceful ceremony of your own abdicated authority; both methods are

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

mind it will not be an act of wildom to reject it with indignation, and it will be still more unwife to reject it with infult; for if a fair and honourable and advantageous offer of England is treated with indignation, we fhall not probably have an opportunity of repeating the infult; we shall not probably have a fecond offer of the English market, and a partnership in the English capital. We shall not probably be courted to an adjustment of commercial intercourfe between the two countries, and he is a bitter enemy to both countries who withes to throw any impediment in the way of fuch an adjustment. It is effential to the interests of Great Britain; it is effential to the existence of Ireland.

A Gentleman who declared himfelf to be in a flate of conflitutional infanity, whether political or natural I cannot tell, advifes us not to be too forward in celebrating the funeral of the prefent Chief Governor, left we fhould not be permitted to walk in the coronation proceffion of his fucceffor.

Sir, I am not the flave of party, nor the inftrument of faction; for much as I defpife popular clamour, or popular applaufe, I defpife party ftill more;—and I will tell that Hon. Gentleman, that I confider myfelf to be perfectly beyond the reach of Ministerial dif-

are equally furrenders and both are wholly void. I fpeak on principle, the principle on which you ftand-your creation. We, the limited truftees of delegated power, born for a particular purpofe, limited to a particular time, and bearing an inviolable relationship to the people who fent us to Parliament, cannot break that relationship, counteract that purpose, surrender, diminish, or derogate from those privileges we breathe but to preferve. Could the Parliament of England covenant to fubfcribe your laws? Could fhe covenant that Young Ireland fhould command and Old England fhould obey? If fuch a proposal to England were mockery; to Ireland it cannot be conflitution. I reft on authority as well as principle, the authority on which the revolution refts; Mr. Locke, who in his chapter on the abolition of Government, fays that the transfer of legislative power is the abolition of the fate, not a transfer. Thus I it does to the understanding may congratulate this House of the persons possessed with and myfelf, that it is one of it, and is apt, as Shakespeare the bleffings of the British tells us, to make the food it Conftitution, that it cannot feeds on. This, faid he, was perifh of a rapid mortality nor precifely the cafe of the Right would

Mr. FITZGIBBON, For.

displeasure; but if the Gentleman supposes Mr. Pitt's Administration will be fhaken by an intemperate rejection on the part of Ireland-if his opposition to it is founded in the hope that he will fhortly be called upon to affift at the coronation of the Duke of Rutland's succeffor, he will find that he is miserably miltaken. In my mind, we have taken a mill ftone from Mr. Pitt's neck, and hung it about our own. 1 201. 10 828.23

Mr. MASON, For.

the produce the state of the

He was not furprized that the Right Honourable Gentleman should be exceedingly jealous of any measure that appeared to him to infringe, even in the flightest degree, that conffitutional independence which he himfelf had restored to his Country; but that jealoufy was a paffion which applies itfelf more powerfully to the imagination, than die in a day, like the men who Hon. Gentleman on that ocshould protect her; any act cafion, as he would venture to that would deftroy the liberty affert, that this attack on the of the people is dead-born Conftitution of Ireland, which from the womb; men may the Right Hon. Gentleman put down the public caufe for had repelled with fo much a season, but another year ability and zeal, had no real existence,

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. would see Old Constitution advance the honours of his head, and the good inftitution of Parliament Inaking off the tomb to reafcend in all its pomp and pride, and plenitude and privilege!

Sir, I have flated these Propolitions and the Bill as a mere transfer of external legiflative authority to the Parliament of Great Britain, but I have understated their mifchief, they go to taxation. taxes on the trade with the British plantations, taxes on the produce of foreign plantations, taxes on fome of the produce of the United States of North America; they go to port duties, fuch as Great Britain laid on America; the mode is varied, but the principle is the fame -Here Great tirely void of foundation; to Britain takes the flamp of the be fraught with abfurdity and Irish Parliament, Great Britain mischief, and calculated to is to prefcribe, and Ireland is answer the worst of purposes; to obey ! We anticipate the to fpread a falle alarm through rape by previous furrender, all parts of the kingdom, to and throw into the fcale our irritate the public without just honour, as well as our liberty. cause against the British Par-Do not imagine that all these liament, and to perfuade the regulation; they are folid fub- independence of their country ftantial revenue, great part of was in danger at the very moyour additional duty. I allow ment that it was most fecure ; the Bill excepts rum and to- -at the very moment that all bacco : but the principle is re- the branches of the legislature tained, and the operation of in both kingdoms were vying it only kept back. I have flated with each other, which of that Great Britain may by them should affert the indethese Propositions crush your pendence of Ireland in the commerce, but shall be told strongest terms ;- at the very that the commercial jealoufy time when the Minister of exillence, of

Mr. MASON, For.

existence, but was merely the creature of his own imagina+ tion.

He faid, he fhould not be furprized, if the commercial regulations of the Bill then moved for should occasion a great diverfity of opinion, or that fome of them, when confidered fingly, and not as compofing part of a system, should appear exceptionable; for if, in a treaty of that nature, every article was in favour of one of the parties, there would be an end of that equality which must necessarily be the bafis of any permanent agreement between the two nations; -but that the objections that had been urged against those regulations on conflitutional grounds appeared to him en-Refolutions are mere acts of people, that the conffitutional Cript. Ireland

of Great Britain is at an end. But are her wants at an end? are her wifhes for Irifh fubfidy at an end? No-and may be gratified by laying colony duties on herfelf, and fo raifing on Ireland an imperial revenue to be fubscribed by our Parliament, without the confent of our Parliament, and in despite of our people. Or if a minifter should please to turn himfelf to a general excife, if withing to relieve from the weight of further additional duties the hereditary revenue now alienated, if withing to relieve the alarms of the Englifh manufacturers, who complain of our exemption from excifes, particularly on foap, candles, and leather; he fhould proceed on those already registered articles of taxation, he might tax you by threats, fuggefting that if you refuse to raife an excise on yourfeif, England would raife colony duties on both. See what a mighty inftrument of coercion this Bill and thefe Refolutions - ftir and Great Britain can crush you-stir and the Minister can cruth you in the name of Great Britain -he can crush your imports -he can crush your exports -he can do this in a manner peculiarly mortifying, by virtue of a clause in a British Act of Parliament that would feem to impose the fame refrictions on Great Britainhe can do this in a manner ffill

Mr. MASON, For.

Ireland had moved for a Bill, intended to contain a claufe for that purpofe; when the Minister of Great Britain had actually prefented a Bill declaring that the Parliament of Ireland alone was competent to make laws to bind that kingdom, in any cafe whatever; and when both the Houses of Parliament in Great Britain had concurred in prefenting an address to the Throne, containing the like explicit declaration ; nay, even the stipulation required by Great Britain, that Ireland fhould adopt her future commercial regulations, was the ftrongest acknowledgment of their independence; for why had fhe departed on that occafion from her established practice of regulating the commerce of every part of the empire, by her own Parliament only? Why had fhe then relinquished that power which the had exercised without controul for 120 years? Becaufe the acknowledged the independence of Ireland; becaufe fhe well knew that no act of her Parliament would be confidered as valid by the people of Ireland, if it were not confirmed by the Irifh legislature.

He faid, that he had liftened with attention to the feveral claufes of the intended Bill, and fhould not hefitate to affert, that if there was any one claufe more abfolutely K necef-

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. still more offensive by the immediate means of your own Parliament, who would be then an active cypher, and notorious stamp in the hands of Great Britain, to forge and falfify the name and authority of the people of Ireland. 1 have confidered your fituation under these Propositions with respect to Great Britain : see what would be your fituation with respect to the Crown ? You would have granted to the King a perpetual Money Bill, or a Money Bill to continue as long as the Parliament of Great Britain shall please, with a covenant to increase it as often as the British Parliament shall pleafe. By these Resolutions a great part of the additional duty would have been fo grantedthe trade of the country is made dependant on the Parliament of Great Britain, and the Crown is made lefs dependant on the Parliament of Ireland, and a code of prerogative added to a code of empire. If the merchant after this hould petition you to lower your duties on the articles of trade, your answer is " trade is in covenant." If your conftituents should inftruct you to limit the Bill of Supply, or pafs a thort Money Bill, your answer, " the purse of the nation like her trade is in covenant." No more of fix months Money Bills-no more of inftructions from conftituents

Mr. MASON, For.

neceffary than the reft, any one with which it was impolfible to dispense, it was that very claufe which the Right Honourable Gentleman had reprobated; for what was the object of the pending negociation between Great Britain and Ireland? It was to form upon principles of juffice and equality a final and permanent adjustment of commercial intercourse between the two countries. Now if they took into confideration only the commercial regulations at prefent existing, they might form a fystem that would be just and equal; but in order to render it permanent alfo, they must go somewhat fartherthey must look forward to futurity, and take care not only that the commercial regulations of both kingdoms were the fame at that day, but that they should ever be the fame at all times hereafter. If they did not that, their fystem could neither befinal nor permanent, and their eternal adjustment would last but for a session. A perpetual conformity of commercial regulations was neceffary to render the fystem permanent, which could never be preferved unlefs the Parliament of one country fhould agree to adopt the commercial regulations that should, from time to time, be established in the other; the question therefore was reduced to the fingle point, in which of the two kingdoms

flituents—that connection is broken by this Bill—pafs this, you have no conflituent—you are not the reprefentative of the people of Ireland, but the register of the British Parliament, and the equalizer of British duties !

In order to complete this chain of power, one link (1 do acknowledge) was wanting -a perpetual Revenue Bill. or a covenant from time to time to renew the Bill for the collection thereof. The twentieth Refolution and this Bill founded upon it attain that object. Sir, this House refts on three pillars -your power over the annual Mutiny Bill-your power over the annual Additional Duties -your power over the Collection of the Revenue. The latter power is of great confequence, because a great part of our revenues are granted for ever. Your anceftors were flaves; and for their effates, that is, for the act of fettlement granted the hereditary revenue, and from that moment ceased to be a Parliament; nor was it till many years after that Parliament revived; but it revived as you under this Bill would continue; without parliamentary power; every evil measure derived argument, energy, and effence from this conftitutional fund. If a country gentleman complained of the expences of the Crown, he was

Mr. MASON, For.

kingdoms the future commercial regulations of the empire ought properly to originate? Should they originate in Ireland, a country that as yet had but little experience in matters of commerce, in the infancy of its trade, manufactures and industry? or fhould they originate in Great Britain, the greatest commercial nation upon earth, the feat of empire, and of course the kingdom on which mult depend their treaties of commerce with foreign nations ? She was miltrefs of the colonies to which the principal part of their trade would be directed, and miftrels of the navy that must protect that trade. There was furely no man fo blindly prejudiced in favour of his country as not to acknowledge that the future commercial regulations of the empire ought rather to originate in Great Britain than in Ireland.

When Mr. Yelverton proposed his bill for adopting in Ireland all fuch commercial laws of Great Britain as conferred equal benefits, and imposed equal burdens on the fubjects of both kingdoms, the motion was received with general applause; now the only purport of the claufe in question was, to extend to futurity the provisions of that Bill, which they all approved of, and to recommend it to fucceeding Parliaments to adocp K 2

was told a frugal government could go on without a Parliament, and that we held our -existence, by withholding the discharge of our duty. However, though the funds were granted for ever, the provifion for the collection was inadequate-the fmuggler learned to evade the penalties, and Parliament, though not neceffary for granting the Hereditary Revenue, became neceffary for its collection.----Here then we reft on three pillars-the annual Mutiny Bill-the annual Additional Supply—and the annual Collection of the Revenue. If you remove all thefe, this fabric falls; remove any one of them, and it totters; for it is not the mace, nor the chair, nor this dome, but the deliberative voice refident therein that conflicutes the effence of Parliament. Clog your deliberations, and you are no longer a Parliament, with a thousand gawdy furviving circumftances of fhew and authority.

Contemplate for a moment the powers which this Bill prefumes to perpetuate a perpetual repeal of trial by jury—a perpetual repeal of the great charter—a perpetual writ of affiftance—a perpetual felony to ftrike an excifeman!

The late Chief Baron Burgh fpeaking on the revenue bill, exclaimed, "You give

Mr. MASON, For.

dopt fuch future commercial regulations as fhould be founded on the fame principles of justice and equality.

He next begged leave to remind the Houfe of the terms on which they then enjoyed the privilege of trading with the British plantations; the terms, he faid, were, that they should conform from time to time to fuch rules and reffrictions as Great Britain fhould enact for regulating the West India trade, and also that they fhould adopt fuch duties on all commodities exported from Ireland to the plantations, and imported from them, as Great Britain impofed upon the fame articles -not only the duties exifting at that day, but also those that Great Britain fhould think proper to lay on at any future time; and accordingly, though they pailed one equalizing Bill in 1780, they were forced to pals another in the following feffion, in order that their duties might correspond with those which Great Britain had imposed within that interval. Those, faid he, were the terms dictated by Great Britain, and accepted by Ireland on that occafion. Did the Right Honourable Gentleman's pride revolt against that stipulation? Did he reject with fcorn those humiliating conditions, as infringing on the legislative independence of Ireland? No. he received this concession like

Mr. GRATTAN, Against. give to the dipping rule what you should deny to the sceptre."

All the unconflitutional powers of the excife we are to perpetuate, the conflitutional powers of Parliament we are to abdicate. Can we do all this? can we make thefe bulky furrenders, in diminution of the power, in derogation of the pride of Parliament, and in violation of those eternal relations, which the body that represents should bear to the community which conflitutes?

We can go on, we have a growing profperity and as yet an exemption from intolerable taxes; we can from time to time regulate our own commerce, cherish our manufactures, keep down our taxes, and bring on our people, and brood over the growing profperity of Young Ireland. In the mean time. we will guard our Free Trade and Free Conflitution as our only real refources; they were the ftruggles of great virtue, the refult of much perfeverance, and our broad bafe of public action ! We should recollect that this Houfe may now with peculiar propriety interpose, because you did with great zeal and fuccefs, on this very fubject of trade, bring on the people, and you did with great prudence and moderation on another occafion, check a certain de-Icription

Mr. MASON, For.

like the reft of his fellow citizens, with fatisfaction and gratitude ;- yet that ftipulation was furely more offenfive than that which was the fubject of the present debate ; for in order to avail themfelves of the treaty which they were then about to conclude, nothing was required but that Ireland fhall adopt fuch commercial regulations of the British Parliament as should confer equal benefits, and impose equal burdens on the fubjects of both kingdoms, and fhould tend at the fame time to increase the fhipping and mariners of the empire. But in order to enjoy the commerce of the plantations, they bound themfelves not only to adopt her regulations, but alfo to impose fuch duties as Great Britain should prescribe on all commodities, whether native or foreign, exported to the West Indies, and on every article imported from thence, rum only excepted. He therefore contended for it, that that was the more offensive stipulation of the two, as if ever a country was to be jealous of the interference of a foreign legislature, fhe ought furely to be most fo in matters that related to. the imposition of taxes.

He fuppofed it would be faid, that by accepting of the trade to the plantations, on the terms he had ftated, Ireland bound herfelf to nothing —that fhe had it always in her power

Mr. GRATTAN, Against, fcription of the people, and you are now called upon by confiftency to defend the people. Thus mediating between extremes, you will preferve this island long, and preferve her with a certain degree of renown. Thus faithful to the conftitution of the country, you will command and infure her tranquillity, for our best authority with the people is, protection afforded against the ministers of the crown. It is not public clamour but public injury that fhould alarm you; your high ground of expostulation with your fellow subjects has been your fervices; the free trade you have given the merchant, and the free constitution you have given the island ! Make your THIRD GREAT effort, preferve them, and with them preserve unaltered, your own calm fenfe of public right, the dignity of the Parliament, the majesty of the people, and the powers of the island ! Keep them unfullied, uncovenanted, uncircumscribed, and unstipendiary! Thefe paths are the paths of glory, and let me add, these ways are the ways of peace; fo shall the prosperity of your country, though without a tongue to thank you, yet laden with the bleffings of conftitution and of commerce, bear atteftation to your fervices, and wait on your progrefs with involuntary praise ! .

Mr. MASON, For.

power to refuse to impose the fame duties with Great Britain, and that the only confequence of that refufal would be a suspension of their trade to the West Indies, with refpect to that article, the duty on which they refused to equalize; but he faid, that in the prefent cafe they flood precifely on the fame ground, for that it would be always in the power of the Parliament of Ireland to reject the commercial regulations of Great Britain, and that the only confequence of that rejection would be, a diffolution of the prefent treaty.

No man, he faid, could be fo ignorant as to imagine that Great Britain required by this stipulation that they should pass any law, rendering it compulfory on future Parliaments to register the commercial edicts of Great Britain; every man of common fenfe must know that this was impoffible ;--- that it was not in the power of a Parliament by any act of theirs to bind fucceeding Parliaments, or even to bind themfelves in a fubfequent seffion. All we bound ourfelves to by accepting of those conditions, was to adopt fuch laws as had been paffed by Great Britain fince Mr. Yelverton's Bill, imposing equal burdens, and conferring equal benefits on the subjects of both kingdoms, and then to recommend it to fucceeding Parliaments Parliaments to follow their example, and to adopt from time to time fuch further regulations as fhould be founded on the fame principles of juffice and equality. But notwithftanding their recommendation and example, every future Parliament would have its option, either to adopt or reject thofe regulations. How then, faid he, in the name of God, can this flipulation affect the fupremacy of the Irifh Legiflature !

He expressed his hope that the treaty, if concluded, would be final and permanent, but defired the Houfe would recollect that they were not about to form an indiffoluble contract, like the treaty of union between England and Scotland; for the moment the act of union passed, the Parliament of Scotland was annihilated, or rather merged in that of Great Britain; and if the articles of union had proved highly opprefive to the people of Scotland, they were left without refource, except what they fhould find in the moderation of the British Parliament, or the hazards of a civil war; the body of men to whom they would otherwife have applied for redrefs no longer existed- their Parliament was no more : but the Parliament of Ireland, notwithftanding this treaty, would remain in full vigour, and would always be able to reject, if they

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Mr. MASON, For.

they pieafed, the regulations of Great Britain.

He faid, that he was confident it would ever be their intereft to adopt those regulations; for though they could not be too jealous of the monopolizing fpirit of that kingdom, whilft fhe affumed the right of making laws to bind them, and of promoting her own commerce by the destruction of theirs; from the time that, in confequence of the prefent treaty, the commerce of both countries would become the fame, and their interests so united, it would be impoffible for Great Britain to make any laws injurious to the trade of Ireland, which would not be equally fatal to her own; they should run no hazard by adopting the policy of the wifest commercial people in Europe. But if, contrary to every reasonable expectation, Great Britain should happen to pafs any laws injurious to the commerce of the empire-ifOld England fhould fall into a state of dotage, and grow too foolifh to understand or to pursue her real interests, it would then be in the power, and become the duty of the Parliament of Ireland to declare off from any commercial connection with that devoted people; and the worft that could happen to them was, that after having enjoyed, for centuries together, a full participation of the British commerce,

Mr. MASON, For. merce, and increased both the wealth and confequence of the nation by that participation, they might be forced in the end to break off the connection, and ftand precifely in the fame fituation, with respect to Great Britain, that they did at that day.

Mr. FLOOD, Againft.

I do not at all wonder that this system should end in an open attack upon the rights of Ireland in commerce and in conflication, because in its origin it appeared to me to be a covered attack upon both. On this principle, I opposed it in its commencement. I have been reproached with being in a minority of one upon this fubject; I shall be no longer reproached on that ground.

The King's speech, under the fanction of which the fyftem was introduced, declared, that it was only to adjust matters which had not been before adjufted. Yet the very fecond of the original ten Propositions, in contradiction to this, went only to objects that had been before adjusted in 1780 and 1782 - namely, foreign trade and British colonial trade.

As to foreign trade, one word difpatches that, viz. the word, Independence. Independent Ireland has every right of foreign trade, which Bri-

Mr. FORSTER, For.

He faid, he could not fit filent when he heard a meafure in which he was proud to have had a confiderable part, reprefented by fo many gentlemen as injurious to the independence of the Irifh legiflature, and a barter of the conftitution for commerce. He fhould think himfelf, indeed, unworthy of a feat in that House, or of the name of Irithman, if he could confent to barter an atom of the conftitution of his country for all the commerce in the world; but he was fo fully fatisfied the present measure did not violate it, in the smalleft degree, that he could not reprefs his furprife at its being supposed to do fo. When gentlemen faid, that it violated the conflicution, they forgot that they had recorded a fimilar violation of it in every feffion, fince the freedom of their legislation had been established. His Right Hon. friend (the Attorney General) had quoted the refolution of that House L

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tain herself posses. For this, therefore, the had no compact to make with Britain, This had been adjusted in 1782. British colony trade was adjusted in 1780. The British Parliament, in 1780, declared, by refolution, that the unshaken loyalty of Ireland, entitled her, to participate in every advantage of British Colony trade. The British act of Parliament, in pursuance of this refolve, authorized Ireland to trade to the British Colonies with like advantages with Britain herself. In equity and good faith, what can we have to ask that this did not give? Or can Britain now fay that fhe withheld any thing without impeaching her own candour ? Britain boafted the liberality of that tranfaction. Ireland illuminated.

Now I ask did not most of you imagine, that in 1780, Ireland was put in a better fituation, than ever the had poffessed before, as to British Colony trade? And, of this 1 am fure, that there is not a man among you who will not admit, that it would be abfurd to hold, that you were not at least restored, to every advantage of British Colony trade, that Ireland had ever possefied. Now I fay, that till the 15th of Charles the IId, you could export any thing to, and import any thing from, the British colonies, as freely as England herfelf : and, that,

Mr. FORSTER, For.

in 1779. He would now read a part of the flatute of 1781, made in confequence of that refolution :

" And whereas fuch part of the trade between this kingdom and the British Colonies in America, the Weft Indies, and British Settlements on the coast of Africa, as was not enjoyed by this kingdom, previous to the last seffion of Parliament, can be enjoyed and have continuance fo long, and in fuch cafe only, as goods to be imported from the faid Colonies, Plantations, or Settlements, into this kingdom, or to be exported from this kingdom to the faid Colonies, Plantations or Settlements, shall be liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and be subject to the same securities, regulations and reftrictions as the like goods are liable and fubject to, upon being imported from the faid Colonies, Plantations or Settlements into Great Britain, or exported from thence to fuch Colonies, Plantations or Settlements respectively; be it enacted by the authority aforefaid, for the advancement of the faid trade, that duties, drawbacks, prohibitions, &c. be granted, &c."

This statute was passed at a time when the fpirit of the nation was as high as ever it had been, and her jealoufy of the conffitution as great, and has been repeated every feffion fince. Now, Sir, the condition as to regulating trade is as express in this ftatute as in the prefent bill.-[Mr. Grattan interrupting, defired to know what trade?]-Mr. Forster proceeded, the Plantation trade-the very trade now in agitation; and if accepting trade on conditions would deftroy the conflitution, our conflitution has been long fince deftroyed, even in the very year of its emancipation. But the Right Høn.

that, after landing it in Ireland, you could refhip it for any other country; and for England, as well, as for any other. In 1780 therefore, you were either reftored to that liberty, or it must follow, that, that boafted transaction was a deception ; and that inftead of giving you immunities you never had before, it did not even restore you, to what you had formerly poffeffed. This liberty therefore of refhipping British colony produce (the only boon which this fystem boafts) did in every confideration of reason and good faith accompany the transaction of 1780, and was therefore, not, now to be adjusted. Nay it is abfurd to suppose, that, in 1780, that was withheld from Ireland, which Ireland had poffeffed, till the 15th year of Charles the IId; which every one of the Thirteen States of America did poffes to the hour of their feparation? and which New Brunfwick poffeffes now? and would it not be more abfurd to fuppofe fo, if in fact it is as much the interest of Britain, as it can be of Ireland, that Ireland fhould be allowed that liberty? Now it is even more fo, and I prove it thus. This liberty can be of no advantage to Ireland except in this contingency: except Ireland has a furplus of colony produce over and above her own confumption - That is one necessary fact-

Mr. FORSTER, For.

Hon. Gentleman acknowledges the condition which he inveighs against as being most dangerous now, to be similar to that one which he then and ever fince has deemed fo innocent. He only dwells on its extending to foreign trade, that is, to foreign colonies, as if the greater or lefs extent could change its conffitutional or unconflitutional nature; but will Gentlemen confider the matter, stripped of all oratory and declamation? Great Britain has colonies, she offers full communication of her trade to Ireland, on condition of Ireland trading on the fame terms as fhe does herfelf; one of those terms is equal duties and regulations, which the gentlemen admit to be fair and harmlefs, for we have complied with it in part these two seffions; another of the terms is the giving a like protection, as Great Britain gives to their produce against the produce of foreign colonies. This too is fair, but it destroys our conffitution-what pitiful reafoning! It does not deftroy us to receive a monopoly of their confumption; but to give them a monopoly of our confumption, annihilates our independence! No man of common sense can hesitate that it is fair we should receive the trade on the fame terms as Britain. The Colonies are hers-fhe has a right L2 to

fact-Another is, that, at the fame article of time, that fhould happen, which rarely can happen, namely, that Britifh colony produce fhould be dearer in Britain than in Ireland, or in any other neighbouring country-For if that were not the cafe, Ireland would lofe by fending it to Britain. Now it is absurd to fuppofe that Ireland would do that. What follows? That at the moment when the liberty of fending colony produce to England would be useful to Ireland, it would be doubly the interest of Britain, to receive it from Ireland. For 1st, Britain as a confumer would be relieved by it; and 2d, the British merchant, in his commiffion, would be a gainer." In another capacity Britain would be a gainer alfo -that is to fay, as head of the empire, the would profit by the encrease of trade, confequent on this intercourse, between her colonies and Ireland, a member of the empire. Who after this will fay, that this liberty was not included in the transaction of 1780; or, if it was not, that Ireland ought to purchase it now, with the furplus of her hereditary revenue, with the degradation of her condition, and with the facrifice of her commercial legiflation? f common tents

As to Ireland's not having paid for the transaction of 1780, I fay the argument would

Mr. FORSTER, For.

to annex those terms. The trade with them is a gift from her, and the gift is conditional; fhe offers to take us into partnership in their trade; she, an old eftablished country, raifed by commerce alone to an height above any other European power, invites us to partake of the means that raifed her to wealth and greatnels, to a full and equal fhare in that trade which coff her millions to obtain and will coft her millions to preferve ; and this the does without defiring any thing towards that coft, or for their maintenance, or any return, fave a small fhare of what may arife from our profits in that new partnership. But when gentlemen argue on bad ground, even their own arguments often make against them, and an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Flood) at the fame time that he exerts all his eloquence to perfuade us that the confining ourfelves to the British Colonies, or accepting the trade on fuch conditions, is injurious to the conftitution, not only admits but contends, that we have done it already, and that we have done it on the folemn faith of compact. Hear his reafoning; he lays, that the transaction of 1780 was a compact, and not a gift, and he fays it was a compact, becaufe we gave a confideration ; three confiderations, each of more value than the gift; we VILLING INCOLLARY gave

would be a fordid one, if it were founded in fact, which it is not. The fentiment of the British Parliament in 1780 was a wifer and more statefman-like conception. It was that the unfhaken loyalty of Ireland entitled her, to those advantages; and, furely, that is a price above all prices. But Ireland paid for it in two ways befides, and in each of them more than the value of the object. 1ft, Ireland gave to the British Colonies (that is to Britain) a monopoly of her confumption in those articles, in which the then obtained that free trade. Now I fay, univerfally, that any nation pays too dear for any one market, when fhe gives up all other markets for one. And particularly that the nation pays too dearly for the fugar market of the British Colonies, who gives up all other fugar markets for the British ; which is neither the beft nor the cheapest. 2dly, 1 add, that Ireland paid in taxes for the direct trade more than it was worth, and I prove it thus: 10l. per cent. is a good profit in general on trade, and no trade can afford to pay the whole nor the greater part of its clear profit in tax. To apply this. We paid for that direct trade an estimated sum of tax to the amount of above 100,000l. a year. Now this would be the whole clear profit, at 10l. per cent. of 2,000,0001.

Mr. FORSTER, For.

gave monopoly for monopoly, that is, in other words, we agreed to prohibit the goods of other colonies, the very thing that is now held up as a furrender of legislature, and the fact is, we did, and still do prohibit, by heavy duties, the fame as Britain pays, all foreign colony produce. In theory, therefore, we have agreed to what he now fays cannot be agreed to without ruin, and in practice we have actually done the very thing without injury, if not with benefit to our trade. His other confiderations are curious; we gave revenue, that is, we received liberty to import an article, fugars, that would bear a confiderable revenue, which we must have otherwise imposed, elfewhere, and thus he ftrangely confirues the accepting the means of a revenue into giving one. His third confideration is still more wonderful; we gave loyalty. Good Heavens! in an Irifh Houfe of Commons does he fay that we gave our duty to our Prince as a partner for a grant of trade?

[Mr. Flood interrupted to fay, that he had quoted the Refolution of the British Parliament, when he stated that the loyaly of Ireland was deemed a confideration.]

Mr. Forster refumed. To fuch wretched shifts are gentlemen driven, who attempt to support what is not supportable,

2,000,0001. worth of trade. Could the whole clear profit be afforded in tax—or can the whole encrease of traffic, by the direct trade, amount, in any feries of years, to any thing like the enormous sum of two millions ? Most certainly not.

Thus the first of the original ten Propositions was a mere preamble; and the fecond, which began the bufiness, began it in a direction, unfair to Ireland, and inconfiftent with the King's speech. Ireland was drawn, unaware, to treat for the things already fettled; and thereby impliedly to relinquish the two settlements of 1780 and of 1782-This was not enough. Ireland had used non-importation and non-confumption agreements, towards the attainment of those fettlements; and when her Parliament was acknowledged to be independent, the applied to her Parliament, for duties of protection or preference, fimilar to those which Britain had long enjoyed, in favour of her home manufacture, in her home market. To cut all this up, by the root, was the object of the third and fourth of the original ten Propositions. The third therefore makes Ireland propole not only that there fhould be no prohibitory statutes, but that there should never be any popular or private affociations, against importation,

Mr. FORSTER, For. portable, and would vainly endeavour to perfuade you that this measure trenches on the independence of our legiflature : you need not adopt any laws that Great Britain may pais for the regulation of commerce; if you do not approve them, you may reject them whenever you think proper; you do but reject the benefit of the condition, and return to the lituation in which you now are : but the fame Member has proved most strongly the neceffity of introducing the Bill, for when fuch abilities as his can totally mitconceive its tendency, it ought to be introduced, in order to be fully understood. He has observed

largely on each Proposition, and nothing was ever fo miftated, missepresented and mifunderstood, as every part of them has been by him. It would be absurd to follow him through all his errors, many of them the most ignorant child would be assured to advance; but I will point out a few, not perhaps so obvious without examination.

Let me first take notice of his having alluded to me, and faid, that I voted against a declaration of Rights. I deny it; I declared my opinion of the independence of our legissifiature from this very feat, early in the debate on that day; but did be vote for it? He did not, and I repeat the Hon. Gentleman did not vote for it,

portation, use or fale. Such affociations had been made, and had been found beneficial by Ireland; they had not been made, and they had been complained of as injurious, by Britain. Yet Ireland is drawn in these Propositions, to make it one of her preliminaries, that there never fhould be fuch affociations again. But, at the fame time, Ireland is made to forget, that the had never prohibited the export of raw materials to Britain, whereas Britain had prohibited the export to Ireland of the raw materials the most valued. And, therefore, though Ireland, in her Supposed third Proposition is industrious, to preclude all prohibitions against import (by which kind of prohibitions Ireland had profited), the forgets to preclude, prohibitions against export, of which Ireland complained. Can any thing be more clear than that these Propositions never originated in Ireland? But the boldeft stroke of all was, in the very moment that Ireland was foliciting higher duties on import, in order to give protection and preference to her manufactures; to make this kingdom propose, in the 4th of the original ten Refolves, that, fhe not only fhould not now, but that the never thould hereafter have fuch duties of protection. Yet the 4th Propolition does this -for it requires that the lowest existing duties,

Mr. FORSTER, For.

it, but lamented that the fubject had been brought in that day.

[Mir. Flood appealed to the House, whether he did not enter into a long declaration on the fubject. — Here the Speaker interfered to order.]

Mir. Forfter proceeded-I shall leave this fubject as a leffon to the Hon. Gentleman, never for the future to charge facts that are unfounded. I shall now proceed to the Hon. Gentleman's observations. He fays " Mark the cunning with " which the refolutions are " drawn, to the injury of Ire-" land; there is no new pro-" hibition to be allowed on the " import from one country to " another." This is certainly a great evil, especially if we confider that the Exportation of Irish products to England amounts to TWO MILLIONS and an HALF annually-and the Exportation of British products to Ireland amounts but to ONE MILLION; fo it is injurious to a country which may by prohibitions lofe two millions and an half, to flipulate against prohibitions, and the country that fends more than she takes, is not wife in guarding against mutual prohibition !

Another discovery the Hon. Gentleman has made is that countervailing duties are unfair —why? Because the brewery of Ireland will thereby be effectually protected. The Hon,

duties, viz. the Irifh, fhould hereafter be the port duties for both kingdoms. Now experience had proved that they were too low to protect Ireland, and therefore Ireland had prayed, that they might be rai-This 4th Proposition fed. therefore, makes Ireland propofe a perpetual negative on her own application. So far was well -but a fear began to be entertained that as these low duties would certainly leave the Irifh market open to British imports (perhaps to the ruin of Irifh manufacture, and therefore finally to the damage of Britain), fo, by poffibility, thefe low duties might now and then fuffer fome Irifh manufacture to escape into the British market. Before the Ath Proposition should be eftablished therefore, it was thought adviseable, in the latter end of the third Propofition, to find an expedient. by which Britain should have higher Protecting Duties than Ireland, without appearing to mean it. Now what was that expedient? The principle of countervailing duties - That is to fay, that the port duties, though too low for the protection of Ireland, fhould be equal; but that the country, that had the highest internal duties on confumption, might add to the port duty, a countervailing duty in proportion to its internal imposts; whereby the before equal duties would

Mr. FORSTER, For.

Hon. Gentleman complains of the report of the English Privy Council, who fay, that to put Ireland and England on a footing of exact reciprocity as to Linen, Ireland ought to give a bounty on the exportation of English Linens, because England gives a bounty on the exportation of Irifh Linens. Can any thing be more juft ? Yet England makes no fuch demand, but is ready by this adjustment to give additional fecurity to our Linen trade for ever. If, indeed, the adjustment were to take away the benefit from Ireland, it would be a good caufe for rejecting it; but as it for ever confirms all the advantages we derive from our Linen trade, and binds England from making any law that can be injurious to it; furely Gentlemen who regard that trade, and whole fortunes and rent depend on its prosperity, will not entertain a moment's doubt about embracing the offer.

Another of his curious objections is, that as we have not a navy of our own, and if we affift the navy of the empire, England will turn that navy to her own ambitious purpofes. To what ambitious purpofes? To the protection of that commerce and of those colonies which are now to become ours.—In the moment that she gives up her monopoly of colonies, she is accufed of ambitious purposes, for

would become unequal. Now to folve this problem, we have only to afk, which of thefe kingdoms, now has, and which of them, as richer, must always be able to have, the higheft internal duties on confumption? Undoubtedly Britain. What follows? That Ireland was made, on the countervailing principle, to propole, that Britain should have higher duties against Irish imports, than Ireland should have against British imports; which was, first, contrary to what Ireland had defired; and, fecondly, was in itself unreasonable; becaufe certainly the weaker manufacturing country required more protection than the ftronger; though fhe was content with a protection equal to what Britain had long enjoyed, and by the long enjoyment of which, the had gained fuch advantage ground, as Ireland could never recover, nor Britain ever lofe ...

Thus Ireland was made to propole in the 2d, 3d and 4th of the original ten Propolitions, either implicitly or expressly, a total renunciation of every principle schehad held, and of every fet: lement and advantage sche had obtained in that æra of about five years, in which Ireland gloried more, than in any other period perhaps of her existence. Yet a bolder stroke remained behind —and that was, by the tenth of the original Resolves, to make

Mr. FORSTER, For. for her separate aggrandizement.

The Hon. Gentleman complains, that the Bill now before the English Parliament makes it neceffary that every proper and authentic document to prevent fmuggling fhould be fent by the revenue officers of this country with any foreign or plantation goods fent from hence to England, but that the fame precaution is not taken with regard to the fame kind of goods fent from England to Ireland. This is the ftrongeft argument for waiting the introduction of the Irish Bill; it speaks the confcioufnefs of the English Parliament, that they could not prefcribe to our revenue officers what documents should be fatisfactory to them on receiving goods from England, but that the Irith Parliament alone in their own Bill could determine that matter. lt shews the Hon. Gentleman to be totally ignorant of what either is or ought to be the fubstance of the Bill.

The Hon. Gentleman talks of bounties, and fays, by abolifhing bounties we fhall no longer be able to bring corn to this city; our inland corn bounties, he fays, are to be turned into Protecting Duties for England. A ftrange conception! But why has he fixed on corn and flour? If he had read the Refolution on which he is arguing, he would M

make Ireland propose, to pay tribute, for this negative on all her defires, and for this renunciation of all her principles and attainments-and to pay tribute in a manner peculiarly revolting, and repugnant, to those principles and attainments. In the first place, she was made to propose, that Ireland fhould make a perpetual grant to the British navy, which Britain had never made to her own navy; and, which, no free country, ought to make to armaments, that must be under the command of the crown. Ireland too, had, in this cafe peculiar reason to decline any fuch idea. Above an hundred years ago, in the fever of the reftoration, and in the infatuation of this kingdom, Ireland had made a perpetual grant, for the support of an Irish marine. This England never permitted to be ap-Why? Because she plied. wifhed that Ireland fhould have no marine-because she wifhed to have a monopoly of Navy to herfelf-for what purpose, let her subsequent conduct to Ireland explain. What followed? English Ministers, in spite of law, disappropriated this fund, and applied it to an overgrown land army, rather than to a marine. The defence of this land army Britain had, and Ireland had the burden. With what grace could Britain, after this, come to Ireland, and fay, you do not

Mr. FORSTER, For.

have feen that corn and flour are every where exempted.

Another argument of the Hon. Gentleman is, that the declaring that neither country hereafter can lay any new prohibition on native productions, implies cunningly that it may on foreign. What an argument! when the very first principle of the fystem is, that a mutual interchange of foreign commodities is for ever to take place between the two kingdoms, and one even of the Twenty Propositions declares it in precise terms-But, the Hon. Gentleman talks of prohibitions on exports, &c.: Would the Hon. Gentlemen with to leave it in the power of either nation to prohibit their native commodities from being exported to the other? would he wish to leave it in the power of England to prohibit the exportation of coals, falt, iron, bark, hops, and many other articles, or to raife a revenue on these articles when exported hither.

The Hon. Gentleman talks particularly of wool. 1 admit if you balance wool againft wool, that his argument is right; but the juft way is to balance the whole of the exports; — England engages never to prohibit the export of articles which are neceffary almost to our existence, and we engage not to prohibit the export of articles which bring us in 500,000l. a year. We are to

not support a marine; when Britain herself prevented Ireland from doing fo? When a monopoly of navy was the choice of Britain, what right had fhe to fay, that Ireland ought to pay Britain, for her having her own choice? When British Ministers, contrary to legal appropriation, had applied the marine fund of Ireland to a land army for the convenience of Britain, what right had they to come to Ireland to demand a new marine fund; and that, not for an Irish marine, but for the Britifh Navy? which was in effect to demand, that Ireland should for ever abdicate any marine, and make a formal recognition, that the never ought to have a fea-guard of her own? As to the fact of protection, does Britain keep a frigate for the protection of Ireland? Or when the Stag frigate was in our bay, was it for the protection of our trade? But admitting that Britain ever fo much, and at ever fo great charge, did protect Ireland by her Navy, I afk, has the not reason, and is it not well worth her while, to do fo without any fuch tribute and humiliation as this? Ireland is willing to oblige Britain in every way fhe can; but yet with confcious dignity. What nation would not protect Ireland without tribute, to whom Ireland were to give what the does give to Britain? She gives

Mr. FORSTER, For.

to engage not to prohibit the export of Woollen and Linen Yarn, which we have exported for a whole century, and without keeping a market for the redundancy of which by export, we could *not* enfure plenty for our own manufacturers.

The Gentleman too totally miftakes the cafe of patents and copy-rights. Britifh patents and copy-rights are protected in Britain by prohibition against import. The Refolutions fay to us, "Protect your's in like mauner;" a meafure never yet adopted here, which must promote genius, printing, and invention in Ireland.

I am ashamed, Sir, of taking up fo much of your time on a fubject which might be fo eafily underftood by the lowest capacity; I shall therefore quit the Hon. Gentleman and come to the queffion of conftitution, which I do not at all think involved in this fubject. If Great Britain grants us a full partnership in all her trade in all her colonies, if fhe admits us to a full participation in the benefits of her Navigation laws, by which fhe has raifed herfelf to be the greatest commercial power in the world; if the does not call upon us to contribute to the expence of the partnership, but merely to receive our share of the profits, and fays, we may continue in that partnerthip M 2.

gives her the nomination of her monarch, and therein of administration, whole her throughout every department; a third eftate in her legiflature; the creation of her peerage; the influence over placemen and penfioners in the House of Commons; she gives her a mighty army; the ufe of near a million and an half of yearly revenue; five million a year in imports and in exports; above a million a year in absentee expenditure, which at the grievous iffue of one million a year from Ireland, carries above 200,000l. a year in taxes into the Britifh exchequer; the gives her the use of three millions of people in peace and war, and of feventeen millions of Englifh acres in an happy climate and of an happy foil, and fo fituated as to be the best friend or the worft enemy in the world to Britain. In giving her the nomination of her monarch, Ireland gives to Britain, in effect, the power of treating for her, with all the world; and of declaring peace and war for her with all mankind. What follows? That Ireland can have no enemies but those who are made to by Britain. And what follows from that? That Britain is bound by every principle of honour, as well as of interest, to potect Ireland, against those enemies, which Britain creates to her. What aftonishment then

Mr. FORSTER, For.

fhip only fo long as we chule, can any man fay, the conditions of it amount to a furrender of our legiflature? furely not, it is idle fpeculation. Let us then look at the fubject, free from all imaginary dread for the conflitution.

Britain imports annually from us 2,500,000l. of our products, all, or very nearly all, duty free, and covenants never to lay a duty on them. We import about 1,000,000l. of hers, and raife a revenue on almost every article of it, and referve the power of continuing that revenue. She exports to us falt for our fisheries and provisions; hops which we cannot grow; coals which we cannot raife; tin which we have not, and bark which we cannot get elfewhere; and all these without referving any duty, or a power to impose any on them; tho' her own subjects pay 2, 3, or 4s. a chaldron for her own coals, fent coaftways, and in London We on the contrary 7s. charge a duty for our own ufe here on almost every article we fend to her. So much for exports: now as to bounties, shealmost ruined our manufacture of fail-cloth, by bounties on export of her own to Ireland. In 1750, or thereabouts, when her bounty commenced, we exported more than we imported, and in 1784 we exported none, and imported 180,000 yards; the now withdraws that bounty.

then must thinking men have felt, at Ireland's being brought for a moment to entertain such an idea? and this too, at what time? In three years after the affertion of her national independence. For I afk. what country has ever been free, that could not protect itfelf? What country can be independent, that relies for ever, on the protection of another nation? Is not a confeffion that you cannot protect yourfelf a virtual cancelment of all pretenfions to independence? That fuch a tribute therefore should have been the virgin fancy of Independent Ireland, must have been aftonishing. And that it fhould have originated within three years of the last war, must encrease one's astonichment : for in last war you had the ftrongest experience that the fact was false, on which the principle was grounded. Did the British navy protect Ireland laft war? No-it did but protect Great Britain. Did the British army protect Ireland ? No-it was gone to America. Did the Irifh army protect Ireland? No-it was gone to protect Great Britain. What then did protect Ireland ? Ireland herfelf-in other words, her Volunteers. They defended Ireland - and by defending Ireland they enabled Ireland to fend her army to defend Great Britain-that is, they in effect protected both kingdoms-vet the

Mr. FORSTER, For.

bounty. And let me digrefs here a little on fail-cloth, which although gentlemen affect to defpise when mentioned, will I trust be an immediate source of wealth by this adjustment. For 1. This bounty is to be removed. 2. The export of fail-cloth to the Indies is to be allowed, and Great Britain exported there, in 1782, about 200,000 ells. 3. There is a British law, obliging every British and colony thip to have its first fuits of British failcloth. Irifh now is to be deemed British. 4. There is a preference of 2d. an ell given by British law to British fail-cloth, over foreign, for the British navy. Irish is now to have the fame preference. 5. The furplus of the hereditary revenue is to be applied in the first place to the purchase of Irish fail-cloth. All these give a glorious prospect for that valuable manufacture-But to return, were a man to look for the country most advantageous to fettle manufacture in, what would be his choice? One where labour and provisions are cheap; that is Ireland; and what would he next look for ? why to have a rich, extended and fleady market near him, which England ftretched along-fide affords, and to effablifh that market for this country, is one great object of this fystem. Gentlemen undervalue the reduction of British duties on our manufactures;

the fashion has of late been with fome men in both kingdoms to revile that illustrious body. The curse of ingratitude has fallen on the nation, and the Independence of Ireland having thrown away its staff has begun to totter.

I have spoken of the 10th Refolve, as it ftood numbered, in the original Propositions. It became the 11th, as the Propolitions went from the Irifh Parliament to Britain. This change, in the number and arrangement, arole, from the addition of one Proposition, and one only in Ireland; which was but prefatory to the tenth, and therefore was inferted before it. As it has been afferted. I cannot doubt, the intention of it to have been æconomy and limitation. Yet it was fo expressed, that I thought it, as likely, to lead to further new taxes at least, as to prevent the further accumulation of debt. At all events, the fact is, that the Right Hon. the Secretary, just took advantage of that added Refolve, fo far, as to make it a ground on which to alk 140,000l. a year of new taxes, and to get them -Why? That our income might be equal to our expence. And to what end? That we might, in consequence, give away the specified furplus of hereditary revenue. That is, he faid thus in effect, "Your establishments which are formed by British Ministers, are too

Mr. FORSTER, For.

tures; I agree with them it may not operate foon, but we are to look forward in a final fettlement, and it is impoffible but that in time, with as good climate, equal natural powers, cheaper food, and fewer taxes, we must be able to fell to them. When commercial jealoufy fhall be banifhed by final fettlement, and trade take its natural and fleady courfe, the kingdoms will ceafe to look to rivalship, each will make that fabric which it can do cheapeft, and buy from the other what it cannot make for advantageoufly. Labour will be then truly employed to profit, not diverted by duties, bounties, jealoufies or legiflative interference, from its natural and beneficial course; this fyftem will attain its real object, confolidating the ftrength of the remaining parts of the empire, by encouraging the communications of their market among themfelves, with preference to every part against all strangers.

I need not mention the Navigation Act, the proper benefits of which we have fo long looked for; I will only obferve, that Great Britain could never agree to receive the Britifh Colonies' goods from us, unlefs we prohibited the goods of foreign Colonies as the does, which is a powerful argument for that part of the fyftem againft the conftitutional phrenzy that threatens it. Let us alfo

too great for your revenue; we have refused to retrench; and yet we expect a part of your inadequate revenue to be fent to Britain .- Neither will we quarrel with you, for faying, that the income ought to be equal to the expence of Government, provided the equality is not to arife from retrenchment but from new taxes. On the contrary, we will join you heartily in raifing 140,000l. a year of new taxes, to enable you to part with the specified surplus of your old duties." But no fooner had the Right Hon. Secretary got the new taxes, under the cover of this Refolution, than the Refolution as to all other Purposes was laid afide; nor did he condescend to have a question put upon that added Resolve in the British Parlia-Thus funk into conment. tumelious annihilation, the only Refolve that originated in Ireland. It was conceived in fraud, and it was dropped in infult.

Such, and fo inadmiffible were thefe Propositions, before they entered the Britisch Parliament. Hence it was, that they were hurried through the Irisch Parliament, that no man might have time to see to the bottom of them, or to explain them to the public. Short as the moment was, I saw a glimpse of their tendency, and endeavoured to obtain time, that a preoccupied public, might have leifure

Mr. FORSTER, For.

alfo observe, that now, for the hrst time, Great Britain offers us a right for ever in all prefent and future Colonies, without any refervation of power, to call on us either to procure, fupport, or preferve them ; the maintains them, we share all the profits; and, not only their goods, but all goods of Irish produce, are to pass through Britain duty free. Can foreign nations, after this is fettled, make diffinction between British and Irish goods? Our manufactures will be united as our interests, and we fhall laugh at Portugal folly.

I could rnn out for hours into the many benefits of this fystem, but I have tired the Houfe too long; let me only implore you not to reject this meafure for ill-founded, vifionary objections, or to facrifice realities to shadows. If this infatuated country gives up the present offer, she may look for it again in vain; things cannot remain as they are; commercial jealoufy is rouzed, it will increase with two independent legislatures, if they dont mutually declare the principles whereby their powers shall be separately employed in directing the common concerns of trade; and without an united intereft of commerce, in a commercial empire, political union will receive many fhocks, and feparation of interests must threaten feparation of connexion, which every

88

leifure to understand them ; all was fever for a fhort timebut they had fcarce got to Britain, before the public began to recover from its error. The contrary was reported to Ministers, and believed in Britain. What was the confequence? Ireland was thought to have fallen into fuch a flate of infatuation and dejection, that any thing might be attempted with fuccefs. Hence, in the 20 Propositions, a bolder hand appears every where. The Right Hon. Secretary. when he first mentioned the idea of tribute, did it with a trembling diffidence; and mentioned it, not as a condition on the part of Britain ; but as his pre-fentiment, of spontaneous generofity on the part of Ireland. Then delicately and timoroully was it ushered in, at the end of the Propositions in the first stage-but in the last exhibition, it ftands immediately after the preamble, and in the van of that hoft of Propofitions to which the original ten have encreased. Here too it stands in a different form ; as a peremptory demand and abfolute condition, to be fulfilled in all its parts (implying diftrust before a stepis to be taken by Britain. In the confideration of this tribute, the 20th Proposition must be combined with this fecond Refolve, in order to fee the whole alteration. Now what are the alterations that have been made in the

Mr. FORSTER, For.

every honest Irishman must shudder ever to look at as a possible event.

I will only add, that if this meafure be refufed, Ireland will receive more folid injury than from any other evil that ever befel her; it is in vain for Gentlemen to think we can go on as we have done for fome years—or to expect to cope with England in a deftructive war of bounties—our fituation muft every day become more difficult, and it is impoffible to forefee all the ruinous confequences that may enfue.

J. H. HUTCHINSON, Efg. For.

In second fat workships

He prefented a petition from Cork, praying that the Refolutions, if not rejected, fhould be postponed till the next fession of Parliament. The adjournment was proposed for the purpofe of giving the fullest time to the public to confider the Bill, which had been that day moved for, with a declaration of not taking up the meafure till the next session of Parliament, and an affurance that it would never be taken up, if not called for by the public voice. That the Minifter who held fuch language was intitled to the public efteem, and to fhare in the triumph which a learned Gentleman had to eloquently expressed. He was also for the adjournment, because he was againft

the Irifh grant by the 20th Propofition ? 1ft. The grant was conditional, and the 20th makes it abfolute. In war, at all events, the specified furplus was to be given to the British Navy as the Refolves left Ireland ; but in peace, nothing might be given. Thus Ireland feemed to be at a certainty not to give more, with a poffibility of not giving fo much .- But by the 20th Proposition, this certainty is taken away, and the reverfe is eftablifhed. That is to fay, it is made certain that Ireland fhall never give lefs, but that in war, fhe fhould lie open to an unlimited demand. In other words, it is made certain that on the first war there should be a rupture between the nations, which, confidering the diftrust that this fystem would infpire, might probably be fatal. Thus the nature and quantum of the Irifh grant was altered. The application, too, by the Irifh Parliament, was conceived to be referved as a right to be exercised from time to time, and to be adapted to circumftances that no man can foresee. The 20th Propolition cuts off this free exercife of Parliamentary authority in the application of it's grant, and requires the application to be made, now and for ever, by one act. Laftly, a perpetual revenue bill in effect is demanded - perpetual duties are unconstitutional enough

Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

against the Resolution intended to be propofed. That the Refolution implied a contradiction of the declarations made by the two Houfes of Parliament in Great Britain, in their address to the Throne, and to the Bill of the British Houfe of Commons, both of which declared, in the most explicit terms, that the Irish Parliament was alone competent to make laws for Ireland; and to the objection, that the House should make fuch a declaration as well as the British Houses of Parliament, he answered, that it was done by the Bill now moved for, which would be printed and difperfed through the kingdom. It was faid that the Bill introduced a new commercial fystem in respect to the British colonies, different in principle from that of 1779; he denied it, and infifted that by the unanimous refolution of the Houfe of Commons in that year, the liberty fo gratefully accepted by Ireland was a liberty of trading with those colonies " in like manner as " trade was carried on between "Great Britain and them." That on that principle their feveral laws were paffed from that year to the prefent time, and in those laws the fame duties, regulations, prohibitions and reftrictions were introduced as in the British laws, except in the inftance of rum, which was excepted in the N Bill,

nough in themfelves, and derogatory enough from Parliament .--- A perpetual bill for collecting perpetual duties would make the matter much worfe. Were the whole hereditary revenue to go as usual to Irifh fervices, what man would suffer a perpetual revenue bill for its collection? Any queftion approaching to fuch an idea, has been always received with peculiar alarm. How monftrous then was the idea contained in this propofition ? And what does it demand? No lefs, than that Ireland fhould make a perpetual revenue bill for the whole hereditary revenue, because she was about to give away a part of that revenue to Britain. It is difficult to state any thing more extravagant than this.

The 2d of the 20 Propofitions, declared, that, on the full performance of the condition of tribute, a full participation of commerce should be given to Ireland. This is doubly falified by what follows : this makes the tribute the fole condition, and yet, afterwards, condition is added to condition, infomuch, that in the British Bill, foundea on the Propositions, there are twenty-three indifpenfable and fundamental conditions. It is fallified again by the very next, as well as by fublequent claufes of reffriction, that prove that the participation is not to be fulle Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

Bill, and one or two articles of little importance. It was objected, that by the Bill they were to have no felection; he thought it unjust they should have any, because Great Britain herself had none; that they had accepted the trade on the fame terms Great Britain enjoyed it, and that it was abfurd to expect it on any other. That whatever Great Britain and Ireland could fupply, the colonies could take from no other country, and whatever the colonies could fupply, the two kingdoms ought only to take from them, for that was the true principle of colonial connection. He infifted that no change whatever was made by the Bill in the independence of the Irifh legiflature; that the English colonies and fettlements were the property of Great Britain, and every country had as good a right to grant its property on condition, as an individual. The nature of a condition was, that the perfon who had accepted the grant was at liberty not to perform the condition, and to relinquish the grant on one fide, the grantor is fure that his property was not to be enjoyed longer than the condition was performed; and on the other fide, the grantee was at liberty not to perform the condition, and to determine the grant.

He observed, that the condition expected from Ireland was

full. To fpeak at prefent of the third, what does that except? Not lefs than all the countries between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, containing in the leaft exaggerated estimate a fourth part of the terraqueous globe, over and above what Britain has any title of property to in that region. We read with furprise of a Roman Pontiff granting one hemisphere to one prince, and another hemisphere to another prince, and here we see half an hemisphere cut off from Ireland in a parenthefis; and that, in a refolution purporting to extend the commerce of Ireland. This parenthesis in the 3d, is detailed in the oth Proposition. As to both, I shall only fay this, that if Ireland is now under no restriction as to her East Indian commerce, fuch a reftraint is not fit to be a part of a fystem of commercial extenfion, for which Ireland fhould be expected to pay; and if Ireland be under any refriction as to her East Indian commerce, it is only by a law of her own, and by a voluntary and unftipulated act of her Parliament in fayour of the British East India company, merely becaufe it is British. Such a conduct on the part of Ireland, fhews how little fuch hard conditions are either necessary or deferved. It is foolifh in any nation to bind itself, for ever, to the exifting monopoly of any other

| Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

was of the most honourable nature; it was no more than this-that fhe fhould enjoy the property of Great Britain. on the very fame terms on which it was enjoyed by Great Britain herfelf, and whenever Ireland did not choose to enjoy it on those terms, that then each nation was to return precifely to the commercial fituation in which the was now placed. He faid Great Britain had granted her colony trade on no other terms, and that, in justice to the whole Empire, fhe could have granted it on no other; for that otherwife the whole maritime and commercial lystem of Great Britain would be at the feet of Ireland. He adverted to the articles of union between England and Scotland, and faid, that event, fo long defired by England, had been obstructed for many ages by Scotland's infifting upon having the benefits of trading with the English Colonies, and of the ringlifh navigation laws. What Scotland had been long refused, and had at last obtained by parting with the fovereignty of her legiflature, was granted to Ireland as a free gift on the condition of fimilar laws, and while that fhould be performed, was then offered to be perpetuated to her, without infringing, in the smallest degree, on the unqueftioned independence of her legiflature; and that when Scot-N 2

other nation; but to bind itfelf to the future and poffible, but unexisting monopolies of any other nation, would be a folly much more than common. Many people think, that it would not be right for Britain to perpetuate this monopoly, as to herfelf .- Now fuch a contract, on the part of Ireland, would have a tendency to perpetuate that monepoly, whilft the freedom of Ireland from fuch a compact, might, according to some able opinions, be a means of diffolving that monopoly by degrees, if fuch a measure were deemed to be beneficial. At all events, it cannot be the interest of Ireland to be for ever bound during the existence of fuch monopolies-nor after they shall cease, to give up her legiflation as to fo large a portion of foreign trade, by fubjecting herself to the duties, regulations and prohibitions that may from time to time, be laid by the British Parliament on the produce of that immenfe region which lies between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan.

If the trade of Ireland could be extended by exclusion, the 3d and 9th Propositions would deferve our thanks, as far as the Afiatic world and its circumjacencies are concerned. But this third Proposition takes in another object. It strikes at our trade in all foreign spirits,

Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

Scotland had confented to an incorporating union, the was fo anxious for the fecurity of those favourite objects, that the infifted on an express provision for that purpose. Would any man then have forefeen that those advantages could ever have been granted to another kingdom, with a view to no other union but that of interest and affection? The principle of a fimilarity of laws between the two kingdoms as far as related to colonies, fhips and feamen, had been eftablished by several Irish statutes, from the year 1780 to the present fession. To support this, he repeated the preamble of one of those acts, the 19th and 20th Geo. III. the fpirit of which had been fince uniformly agreed to.

"Whereas fuch part of the trade between this kingdom and the British colonies in America and the Weft Indies, and the Bri ish fettlements on the coaft of Africa, as was not enjoyed by this kingdom previous to this present session, can be enjoyed and bave continuance fo long, and in fuch cafes only as the goods to be imported from the faid colonies, plantations, or fettlements, into this kingdom, or to be exported from this kingdom to the faid colonies, plantations or fettlements, shall be liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and be subject to the fame securities, regulations and refiritions as the like goods are liable and fubject to upon being imported from the faid colonies. plantatiors and fettlements into Great Britain, or exported thence to fuch colonies, plantations or fettlements refpectively."

That one of those flatutes, paffed in the year 1782, enacted that principle with much greater

fpirits, and confequently muft injure our whole trade and intercourfe with France, Spain, Portugal and America. Add to this, as to America, the 16th Proposition, which has for its object foreign trade only; and, as a branch of that. fubjects our imports from the independent States of America to fuch duties, regulations and prohibitions as the British Parliament shall from time to time think fit to impose on Britain; as to all articles limilar to those that are produced in the British Colonies or Settlements. Now, what articles can America fend to us, to which, fimilar articles are not, or may not be produced in fome of the Colonies or Settlements of Britain? A great revolution took place, as to the relative fituation of America and Ireland, about the year 1782. In a commercial confideration in 1785, the chief object that Ireland could poffibly have was America. The reft of the world, comparatively speaking, was mortgaged and pre-occupied. The new states were unengaged. Much Irish blood circulates in America, and there is no fmall partiality towards Ireland in those states. Was this a thing for Ireland to throw away? Or was it the found and permanent interest of Britain, that Ireland should fo throw it away? If there be a ftring, by which Britain can recover the affections

Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

greater extent than the Bill then moved for; for that confined it to the colony fyftem, and to the fhipping and feamen, but the act of 1782 not only adopted the principle. in those articles, but extends it generally to a fimilarity in the laws of commerce, provided those laws imposed equal reftraints, and conferred equal benefits on the fubjects of both kingdoms; and enacted all fuch claufes and provisions made in England or Great Britain, in any statute made in England or Great Britain. fave fo far as they have been altered or repealed, to bind the fubjects of Ireland only fo long as they bind the fubjects of Great Britain. The whole of the prefent act fhewed, that a fimilarity of trade laws was the object; and the duration, while they were laws in Great Britain, fhewed a view to the future as well as the past. The prefent Bill annexed the fame condition of equal reftraints and benefits to the laws relative to the colonies, to fhipping and feamen; and of that equality the Irifh legiflature was to judge as well as the British; and if, at any time, the adherence to that reftrained fimilarity fhould be found prejudicial to Ireland, her two Houses of Parliament might determine the fettlement, and bring them back to their prefent condition. He then affirmed as a law[94]

Mr. FLOOD Against.

affections of America, it is a ftring which Ireland holds out to her. The 5th Proposition; of the 20, extends to all our imports from Colonies foreign as well as British, and subjects them to the fame duties, regulations and prohibitions which the British Parliament shall think proper to adopt in Britain. This neither confifts with Free Trade, nor with independent legislation. The 8th extends to all those exports of Ireland that in 1780 were exempted, and fubjects them, in going to the British Colonies or Settlements, to fuch duties, drawbacks and regulations, as that they may not be exported with lefs incumbrance of duty or imposition than the like goods going from Great Britain. This fubjects our export trade to the Colonies to difadvantages from which it is at prefent free.-Is this extension and grace? Is this a thing to be paid for? We have just attained the trade of candles to the Weft Indies-This would deftroy it. Capital is a greater advantage than poverty-The only advantage of the latter, is freedom from incumbrance-And this Proposition deprives Ireland of that. Is this for the interest of the empire? Certainly not; unlefs the intereft of the empire be the ruin of Ireland; and if fo, the profperity of the empire would not be the interest of Ireland. Now

a lawyer, that the act of 1782, did affirm the principle that he had ftated ; he called upon the gentlemen of the long robe to fay, whether he was mistaken, and if he was not contradicted, it must be taken as granted, that the principle then objected to was at that time advanced with greater latitude; and when was it acknowledged? At a time when the independence of their legislature had been recently established, and when the fpirit of liberty was as high as it ever had appeared in any country. With whom did that principle originate? With some of the foremost affertors of the liberties of Ireland, the late and prefent chief Baron, the prefent Attorney General, and Mr. Grattan; for those respectable men were the perfons appointed to prepare the act. The generality of the expreffions in that law might poffibly have occasioned expreffions of a fimilar import in fome of the British proceedings, but those expressions had been fufficiently reftrained, and the object had been placed beyond the poffibility of doubt, by the address of the two Houses of Parliament in Great Britain, and by the English Bill.va words or t

Het faid, they were now alarmed at a principle repeatedly recognized by their own acts, and at a condition which they at first received with gratitude,

Now thefe, in my mind, are noxious doctrines, and a fyftem that fuggests them cannot meet with my support.

In a word; what follows? That we ought to put an end to the bufinefs, and the fooner that we do it the better. The public has been too long agitated already-The only good that has refulted, is, that both nations, may fee, that there is nothing in commerce about which they ought to quarrel. Temper has been thewn on both fides, and I hope it will remain. The importance of the fubject demanded free discussion, and that neither kingdom fhould feel refentment, or chagrin, at the deliberation of the other. In private and in public, I have always faid fo, from the commencement of this queltion; and, the event, has confirmed me in that fentiment +.

† [Mr. Flood, in the course of his speech, took notice of a declaration made on a former occasion by Mr. Fitzgibbon, who had faid he never would support any measure detrimental to the interests of Ireland. Which declaration Mr. Fitzgibbon role and repeated. Mr. Flood also faid, a Right Honourable Gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Forfter) had voted against a declaration of Rights; and before he fat down, he took notice of what Mr. Orde had faid relative to Patents, Copy-rights, and other minute particulars.]

Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

titude, and had fince uniformly performed without murmur; nor could it ever have been thought fair or equal between the two countries, that Ireland fhould have the benefit of the British Navigation fystem, and not submit to it herfelf.

He faid, the Refolution propofed would be a cenfure on the British Minister, who deferved very different treatment from them, for having encountered the miftaken prejudices of many of his own countrymen to promote the interefts of that kingdom, and the ftrength and prosperity of the whole British empire. He faid. it would be unjust to condemn the Bill before the majority of the Houfe was apprifed of its contents, and before the kingdom had confidered it. To their difpaffionate and unprejudiced opinion it was referred; with that view, and becaufe he could fafely affirm that the Bill contained not a fyllable injurious to their conftitutional rights, he had voted for the introduction of it.

Mr.

[Mrg

[Mr. Connolly faid, that the Right Hon. young Man, at prefent the British Minister, had made no struggles for Ireland at all, nor did he deserve to be panegyrized. Had he thought fit to have interfered with his weight in favour of Ireland, it was impossible but that his power and influence must have prevailed.]

Mr. HUTCHINSON, For.

Mr. Hutchinson, in reply, faid, that he confidered the British Minister entitled to the acknowledgments of that country; that he had refifted the petitions of berween fifty and fixty of the principal trading cities and towns of Great Britain, and the opposition of many of the principal manufacturers of England, who declared their intentions of removing with their capitals to that kingdom, and had repeated their evidence before the Houle of Lords of Great Britain, under the fanction of an oath. That a conduct directed to the good of the whole empire, in opposition to the clamours of fuch a multitude of manufacturers, deserved praise; but he flattered no man: he had not the honour of being known to the British Minister; his Majesty's favour and his own fituation rendered him independent of all Minifters.

The Houfe divided, For leave to bring in the bill 127 Against - 108

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