

duplicate
see vol 51

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Lord Viscount Castlereagh,

IN THE

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS,

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1800,

ON

*Offering to the House certain RESOLUTIONS, proposing and
recommending a complete and entire UNION between
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.*

LONDON:

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1800.

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

Lord Wyndham, Castlereagh.

IN THE

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1800.

On the Motion for the Resolution, That the House do resolve, That the Bill for the better Regulation of the Trade between Great Britain and Ireland, be read a second time.

LONDON:

Printed by J. Wright, Opposite the Royal Exchange, in Pall Mall.

SPEECH, &c.

LORD CASTLEREAGH *delivered to the House a Message from his Excellency the LORD LIEUTENANT; it was read by the Speaker, and is as follows :*

“ CORNWALLIS.

“ At the close of the last Session, in obedience to the particular commands which I received from his Majesty, I acquainted this Parliament that a joint Address of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his Majesty, accompanied by Resolutions, proposing and recommending a complete and entire Union, between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both Parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of Laws, Constitution, and Government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections.

“ I have it now farther in command, from his Majesty, to lay those Resolutions before this House, and solemnly to recommend to the consideration of his faithful Commons the great objects they embrace.

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“ His

“ His Majesty has observed, with increasing satisfaction, that
 “ the sentiments which have continued to be manifested,
 “ in favour of this important and salutary measure, by such
 “ numerous and respectable descriptions of his Irish sub-
 “ jects, confirm the hope he has expressed, that its accom-
 “ plishment will prove to be as much the joint wish as
 “ it unquestionably is the common interest of both his
 “ kingdoms; an event to which His Majesty looks forward
 “ with the utmost earnestness, as the only means by which
 “ the common interests of all his People can be indissolubly
 “ united, and their security and happiness can be perma-
 “ nently established.

“ His Majesty, therefore, relies on the wisdom of his Parlia-
 “ ments, and the loyal concurrence of his People, for the
 “ completion of this great Work, with a firm persuasion
 “ that a full and unreserved participation of constitutional
 “ and commercial advantages will augment and perpetuate
 “ the prosperity of his Subjects of his United Kingdom,
 “ and that, under the favour of Divine Providence, the
 “ Freedom and Power of the British Empire will be esta-
 “ blished on a foundation not to be shaken by the efforts
 “ either of its foreign or domestic enemies.

“ C.”

The Message being read from the Chair,

Lord CASTLEREAGH proceeded:

HE said he felt it his duty, upon this great
 Subject to put the House in possession of the
 intire views of the British and Irish Govern-
 ments,

ments, and to lay before the House all those details which had been agreed upon to be submitted to Parliament. In thus entering upon a detail so extensive and important ; important to the restoration of tranquillity in this Country, and to the security of our connection with Great Britain, he found it necessary to throw himself upon the indulgence of the House, for a larger portion of its patience and attention than he had ever before presumed to solicit. Before he entered into the general question, he would make one observation upon the topic to which the attention of the House had been just then so anxiously directed, the expression of the public sentiment. By the British Constitution, the deliberative power was placed in Parliament, and Parliament would be very unwise were it not to take its direction from the great majority of those whose stake in the property and interests of the Country gave them a claim to consideration ; but Parliament would be equally unwise were it to suffer an artificial clamour to divert it from the first of all its duties, that

of deliberating solemnly on measures affecting the interests of the Country.

Last year it was wished, that Parliament should put this great Question of Union into a course of deliberation and inquiry ; the measure was not even suffered to be laid before them, though it was only desired that a discussion of it should take place. Parliament was cautious of proceeding upon the Question, and even a discussion was not permitted : Government felt it their duty then to say, that they would not bring the Measure forward, until its introduction should be justified by the public sentiment ; and the event had justified the expectations of Government.

This Question, as it became more inquired into and better understood, became more and more popular with those persons most interested in the welfare of the Country. The great body of the landed property of Ireland was friendly to the principle, and the two Houses of Parliament

ment particularly ; three-fourths of the landed property were amongst its supporters ; nineteen counties, five-sevenths of Ireland in superficial extent, had come forward in its support. He did not say those counties were unanimous in approving the Measure ; complete unanimity was not to be hoped upon any great political question ; but he would say, a very great majority of those counties favoured the Measure ; all the great commercial towns in the Kingdom, save Dublin and Drogheda, had declared in favour of it ; and in speaking of the city of Dublin, he begged to be understood as speaking of it with that high respect which the zeal and loyalty of its inhabitants, displayed in the great and trying circumstances of the Rebellion, commanded. He could not help observing, that the Citizens of Dublin were affected with the same alarm that those of the metropolis of Scotland felt on the Scottish Union ; but he trusted, that they would live to change their fears to satisfaction ; and, like the Citizens of Edinburgh, have cause to be grateful to Providence

dence for the accomplishment of an Union with Great Britain.

His Lordship said, that he felt no surprise at observing, in some counties, a hostile disposition to this Measure; they were counties in which he had expected such opposition; inasmuch as they were known to be under the influence of some of the Gentlemen on the other side of the House: but he could not help observing, since the last debate in that House, a political phenomenon, new to this Country: a part of the Minority withdrawing themselves from Parliament, and, not satisfied with exercising their deliberative powers within these walls, but assembling in another place, and empowering certain persons to send letters missive through the Country, calling upon fit persons in the different counties to become their Agents, to bring the mass of the people of Ireland to the Bar of that House, as advocates against the Measure of Union. Some of those Gentlemen, his Lordship said, he was convinced, had never entertained

tained a notion of employing this popular interference to intimidate Parliament, and he was equally convinced, that, had such an intention existed, the Commons of Ireland would not yield the Country to any such desperate attempt; but some of the persons, acting under these letters, had gone forth, with the most unwarrantable pretences, to deceive and distract the populace, whose signatures against the Measure they wished to obtain. In one place, in the North, it was given out, that this Union was a project of Mr. Pitt's, to lay a Tax of five shillings on every wheel, and ten shillings on every room; in another place, the Tenantry were told, that an Union was to break all their leases, and, as all the great landed interests in the county of Down supported the Measure, this was urged as an additional argument:—"Do you not see that the landlords are all for it, and is not that a proof that it is to break your leases?"

Such were the deceptions and practices resorted to by those who solicited petitions
against

against the Measure. As to the petitions procured in this way, his Lordship said, he was only surpris'd they were not more numerous. On the discussion of the Scotch Union, the table of the Parliament was, day after day, for three months, covered with such petitions; the Scotch Parliament acted, as he trusted the Irish would do; they considered only the advantage of the Country, and, steadily pursuing that object, not misled by artifices, or intimidated by tumults, they received, in the gratitude of their Country, that reward which amply compensated for the arduous task they had accomplished.

As to the general principle of the Question of Union, his Lordship felt it unnecessary, at that time, to enter into the discussion of it; it had been most freely investigated, both in speaking and writing, and with peculiar ability, by an Honourable and Learned Friend of his, in his speech of the last Session, which he had since published in a pamphlet; in which the general principle was placed beyond question

or dispute. Had Parliament in the last Session entertained the discussion of this Measure, it was his Lordship's intention to have followed the course of proceedings marked upon the Scottish Union. He would have moved, when the general principle of Union had been acknowledged, that commissioners should be appointed to digest Articles of Union, to be afterwards submitted for the adoption or rejection of Parliament. But as the discussion was not then permitted to take place in the Irish House of Commons, he would not now have recourse to this measure; he would move to have the Subject, and the papers relating to it, referred to a Committee of the whole House, by which means every Member would have the fullest latitude of discussion, and the House would have, in particular, the benefit of the advice and assistance of the Right Honourable Speaker, whom he addressed; an advantage which could not fail to be highly useful to the interests of the Country. To this Committee, his Lordship said, he would offer certain Resolutions, founded upon the principles of those

voted by the British Parliament, but going more into detail, so as to form, when agreed upon, so many Articles of the proposed Union. The case of our proceeding would then amount to this: Great Britain proposes to hold certain principles on which to found an Union; Ireland admits those principles, and proposes Articles founded on them; on which Articles, if the British Parliament shall agree, the Articles of Union shall be founded, and formed by the agreement of both Legislatures, with a solemn Legislative Act. His Lordship then said, he would proceed to state the substance of each of these Articles.

The first Resolution to be proposed would be similar to the first of those agreed upon by the British Parliament, "That it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two Kingdoms into one," &c.

The first Article, to follow this Resolution, would be, that for the purposes of establishing
such

such an Union on this basis, it would be fit to propose, that from the day of the two Countries be for ever united into one Kingdom.

The second Article would provide for the continuance of the Succession to the Crown, in the way at present limited.

The third would declare the propriety of a common Legislature for both Countries.

The great object of this arrangement was the establishing the identity of the Executive: it might be said that this was done by the Act of Annexation: for the Act of Annexation, his Lordship said he felt great veneration, and had he been in Parliament some years earlier than he was, he would have felt it his duty to act strictly up to the spirit of the act, and not have suffered any private views to interrupt its course; but he must say that this act, both in principle and operation was defective: in principle it went to hand over to another country, in which we are

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not represented, one of the most important legislative powers, that of regulating the succession to the Crown; a power which never could be exercised by Great Britain, without jealousy and distraction on the part of this Country; nor was the practice less defective than the principle. In the case of the Regency it was found so: for the Prince of Wales was constituted Regent by an address of the Irish Parliament, before any Regent was appointed for Great Britain; so that the unity of the Executive, the only bond of our present connection, depended, notwithstanding the provisions of the Act of Annexation, upon the British Parliament acquiescing in the choice of the Irish House of Commons: and for the dangers of this connection, his Lordship said he had the authority of a Right Hon. and learned Member who opposed the measure of Union. That Right Hon. Member had introduced a bill avowedly to move on this argument in favour of Union, grounded upon the Act of Annexation; but when it was pressed upon him to say whether he would surrender the right of the Irish Parliament to Great Britain, he

was so startled at this idea, that he abandoned his own bill: thus confirming the weakness of the bond by which the unity of the Executive was secured.

The case of the Regency was not the only one which had occurred to prove the dangers of a separate Legislature to the whole empire. After the abdication of King James II. he withdrew into this country, and setting himself up with the Irish Parliament in opposition to England, gave a strong practical proof of the tendency of distinct Legislatures to ultimate separation.

On all the great imperial questions of war, peace, and treaties, what was the situation of Ireland? to avoid separation she was bound without deliberation to adopt the conduct of Great Britain; if she dissented from that conduct, her dissent tended to that separation which it was so much the true interest of Ireland to avoid; and as the country advanced in wealth and prosperity, it was more likely that such questions would more frequently occur and be more anxiously

anxiously discussed ; so that every day the danger of separation encreased. Nor were these the only objections to our present mode of connexion. It had been often, and justly, complained in that House, that the Ministers of this country, acting as they did, under a British Cabinet, were not responsible to the Irish Parliament, from the moment they should withdraw from the kingdom, unless by a derogation of our independence we were to impeach, at the bar of the English Legislature, those who had offended against the Irish Constitution. But it had been said that this measure would reduce Ireland to the state of a colony: was it by making her a part of the greatest and most powerful empire in the world? If, (said his Lordship,) I were called upon to describe a colony, I would describe it as something very like the present state of this country, enjoying indeed a local Legislature, but without any power entrusted to that Legislature, with respect to regulating the succession of the Crown. I would describe it as having an Executive administered by the orders of the Minister of another Country, not in any way responsible to the colony for his acts or his advice. Can an act of
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the Irish Lords and Commons pass into a law, unless the Great Seal of England, in the keeping of a Minister not responsible to Ireland, be affixed to it? Another objection very usually urged was, that an Imperial Parliament could not have such an intimate knowledge of the Country as would avail to keep the kingdom in tranquillity : he would ask what reason did there exist to prevent one hundred Representatives carrying as much local knowledge for the necessary purposes of Parliament, and finding as ready an adoption of their sentiments upon local subjects, as the Imperial Parliament in a local situation?

It had been asserted, that this measure would have the effect of lessening the Executive Power in this country :—Convinced as he was that without a strong and active Executive Power, the properties and lives of Loyalists were not by any means secure; he would willingly forego all the advantages which this measure promised the country, if it could have this effect; but so convinced was he that it would strengthen the hands of the Executive Government, that this consideration

consideration was no slight motive with him in supporting it, as a security for the lives and properties of the loyal people of Ireland; and he courted the measure more especially, as he hoped that, by getting rid of the imputations thrown out against the Government, that this country was administered always with a view to English influence, we should get rid of one source of that fatal weakness and distrust which had proved so ruinous to it.

Another argument had been strongly urged and plausibly supported; it was that the local Parliament had, from the circumstance of being local, made exertions for suppressing the Rebellion, which an Imperial Parliament could not have attempted. He admitted that the Irish Parliament had most manfully assisted Government, by giving to Government those ample powers which had been employed to suppress the Rebellion: but there was no reason to suppose that an Imperial Parliament would not have been equally forward to give those powers, and equally interested in suppressing that rebellion: nor was it agreeable to truth, that the Parliament of the
 empire

empire would carry less authority in its acts than the Parliament of a part of that empire.

It had been said, that Parliament had traced and developed the conspiracy which produced the Rebellion. This was a mistake in point of fact: the Executive Government had first employed the powers entrusted to it to put down the Rebellion, and then laid before Parliament the documents upon which they had acted.— These documents had, indeed, been very clearly arranged in the Report of a Committee, but nothing more than this arrangement was owing to the exertions of the Irish Parliament in discovering the conspiracy.

FINANCE.

Having made these preliminary observations, his Lordship proceeded to the detail of the Principles which he was about to submit to the consideration of the House. He would begin, he said, with the question of Contribution to the

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general

general expences of the Empire, and afterwards proceed to the Commercial Detail.

The enemies of this measure had founded much of their clamour upon a supposition, that it was a financial project of the British Minister. The statement he would now lay before the House would, his Lordship said, prove that it was a sacrifice of money made by Great Britain to her own loss, and the advantage of Ireland. But he desired not to be understood as holding out any proposition to the Irish Parliament, in which it could be suggested that pecuniary advantage was given in compensation for loss of the honour or Interests of Ireland. The offer was on the broad principle of a fair mutual agreement. The immediate effect of the principle he would offer would be, that IRELAND WOULD, IN CASE OF AN UNION, BE TAXED CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN IF SHE REMAINED SEPARATE.

In retrospect to past expences, Ireland was to have *no concern whatever with the debt of Great Britain;*

Britain; but henceforward the two countries were to unite as to future expences, on a strict measure of relative ability. He should have considered it a most valuable circumstance in this arrangement, if the countries could have been so completely incorporated as not to have had distinct revenues; a part of the system of the Scots Union, which had been felt to be of such importance, that a great effort was made to equalize the circumstances of the two countries for that purpose. England had a large debt; Scotland had none charged upon her revenues: an accurate calculation was made of the sum to be paid to Scotland to justify her in accepting her share of the debt, and the sum was paid accordingly by England. The taxation of the two countries was accordingly fixed at the same proportion, except in the instance of the land-tax, which was fixed at a different ratio, because the Land-Tax in England was imposed so unequally, that had Scotland paid in the same rate as the nominal Land-Tax of England, she would really have been taxed much higher than her just proportion. His Lordship mentioned this, he

saïd, to shew the pains which had been taken to incorporate the two countries as well in point of finance as in other circumstances; but in the present situation of these countries, this part of the system could not be adopted. Great Britain now paid in taxes for the interest of her debt ten millions annually; for any proportion of this she could not call upon Ireland, nor could she offer, as in the case of Scotland, any equivalent. it was therefore absolutely necessary, that the respective debts of the Countries should remain distinct, and of course that their taxations should continue separate.

In order then to find the sum which Ireland should contribute to the Imperial Expences, it would be necessary to seek for a criterion by which to judge of her relative ability, and settling her expence in such proportion as should be the result of that inquiry. The best criterion of ability, as embracing all kinds of possession and expence, was an Income-Tax; this was not a criterion to be found in Ireland, nor was it likely that for
some

some time our local circumstances could permit its operation, so that some other must be sought.

The next best test of ability would be found in examining the relative commercial wealth of both Countries, and the relative expences of both in articles of luxury; and if it should be found, that these two proportions very nearly coincided with each other, it ought to be fairly pronounced that the best means of judging of the relative ability of the Countries had been discovered.

Taking then the Exports and Imports for the last three years, those of Ireland would be

found to be	£ 10,925,000
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Great Britain,	£ 73,961,000
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In the proportion of seven to one.

The next part of the proportion was to be found in excised articles of consumption, such as malt, beer, spirits, wine, tea, tobacco, &c.

The

The average of these for the last three years

has been, Ireland,	-	-	£5,954,000
Great Britain,	-	-	£46,891,000

Being in the proportion of seven seven-eighths to one. As the results of these two proportions came so very close to each other, he would assume them as just, and take $7\frac{1}{2}$ to one as the just ratio of the ability of Great Britain to that of Ireland.

Having stated this as the general proportion of British to Irish expences, he mentioned that the second part of the next Article referred to the past debts of either country; on the principle before stated, that each debt was to be separately provided for by the country which had incurred it.

The next Article would go to give to Ireland a community of property in the territorial revenue of Great Britain (though Ireland was not called on for a shilling of the debt by which it had been obtained)—and upon this principle the
actual

actual advantage to Ireland in 2-15ths of her share of the sum paid by the East-India Company, would amount to 60,000*l.* annually.

It might be objected that these proportions, however just at this day, might hereafter, from circumstances, become unfair; this it was proposed to obviate, by giving a power to the Imperial Parliament to revise them in 20 years hence, upon the same principles on which they were now supported. He was well aware that with some persons who would argue upon the Question, those advantages to Ireland would weigh as nothing; those persons were pre-determined to talk of it as a measure throwing Ireland and her interests at the feet of Britain; with those persons he would not now contend; their arguments went against any Union at any time, between any countries, and upon any terms. From them he expected no attention to the interests of Ireland, as long as they were wedded to the hostility of the general principle. He would propose that the revenues of Ireland should form a consolidated fund, on which the interest of her
own

own debt should be charge, and of which the remainder should go to her share of the Imperial contribution. It would be proposed, that no article should at any time be subject in Ireland to a higher tax than the same article paid in Great Britain.

The next provision would be, that any supplies which should remain of this consolidated fund, might be applied to local purposes of improvement, or to accumulate to form a fund for war-contributions: and here his Lordship stated a difference between the situation of Great Britain and Ireland, which required some consideration. Great Britain raised a great proportion of her war-expences within the year: this Island had not ability so to do: the consequence of which was, that Ireland must, if she continued separate or united with Great Britain, get into debt much faster in proportion than Great Britain. By this arrangement, her immediate expences being reduced, she would be able to appropriate more of her revenues to the purposes of war, and of course not hasten so much into debt, while by the salutary

tary operation of the sinking fund, it was not impossible that at some period, not very remote, Great Britain should liquidate so much of her debt as to descend in point of debt to nearly her proportion with respect to Ireland; and if this should ever occur, it would be right to leave to the United Parliament a power of fixing the same scale of reduced taxation for the United Kingdoms. To show how much more rapidly Ireland, as a separate kingdom, incurred debt than Great Britain, he stated that at the commencement of the war, the debt of Great Britain was to Ireland as twenty-six to one; it was now thirteen to one.

His Lordship then stated, that it was intended to make provision for a certain sum out of the revenues of Ireland, to be appropriated to those laudable institutions which had annually experienced the bounty of the Irish Parliament; such as the Protestant Charter Schools, the Dublin Society, &c. &c. &c.

To shew the operation of the proportion of seven one-half to one, (the ratio of British
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and

and Irish contributions), his Lordship stated that

The Peace Establishment of Great Britain (exclusive of interest for debt) was	-	5,800,000
That of Ireland	-	1,012,000

In a proportion of 5 3-fourths to one.

The War Establishment of Great Britain	-	27,000,000
Of Ireland	-	3,076,000

almost nine to one. Taking a mean between these proportions it was 8 1-8th to 1.

The proportion of years of peace to those of war, during the present century, had been six years of peace to one of war, which produced a farther mean of 7 3-4ths to 1. Nearly this was the proportion now proposed 7 1-half to 1.

To shew the operation of this proportion, his Lordship stated the total Expenditure of Great

Britain last year at	-	£32,700,000
That of Ireland	-	5,439,000

Total, (British money)		£38,139,000
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According to the proportion of 7 one-half to the

Expenditure of Britain, would have been		33,699,000
Of Ireland	-	4,442,000

Making a saving to the Country on the actual expence of nearly one million sterling, which million will, in effect, be thrown upon the shoulders of the British Minister to provide for, instead of giving him any financial advantage by the proposed Union.

As to the future Peace Establishment of Ireland, it could not be expected to be reduced to the rate of former Peace Establishments; the most sanguine expectant of Irish tranquillity and prosperity could not hope to return to a Peace Establishment of 12,000 troops; perhaps the estimate of 20,000 would not be too high:

This, with the Increased Pay of the Army, would

raise the Peace Establishment to	-	£ 1,900,000
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The Peace Establishment of Great Britain was		5,800,000
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Which, by the Increased Pay and Expences, would

be probably raised to	-	7,500,000
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Making, with the Irish Peace Establishment, the whole Peace Establishment of the United Kingdoms, Nine Millions.

Of which, at the rate of 7 1-half to 1, Britain

would have to pay	-	7,950,000
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Ireland	-	1,050,000
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aving to Ireland on the Peace Establishment	-	450,000
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The nett Revenue of Ireland, in the last year, was 1,850,000*l*. but it would be deceiving the House to reckon upon this as a permanent increase; the causes of it were obvious and temporary; but the gross permanent Revenue might

be taken at	-	-	-	2,300,000
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The charge of Debt	-	-	-	1,400,000
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Peace Establishment	-	-	-	1,500,000
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2,900,000

To defray which there was but	-	-	-	£ 2,300,000
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So that there was an annual deficiency of 600,000*l*. to be provided for under our present circumstances; besides that every year of war would add at least 250,000*l*. for payment of interest on loans.

This would be our situation continuing separate: but from the proofs he had offered it would be seen that the proposed Union would give us, in aid of our Peace Establishment, half a million, and in aid of our War Establishment, a million annually. Those who had a stake in the happiness and interests of the Country, would, his Lordship trusted, consider seriously whether advantages

advantages like these should be rejected without discussion, and decided by wild and senseless clamour.

Having stated the financial part, his Lordship proceeded to the

COMMERCIAL

part of the system. This, he said, was not materially different from that so ably supported by the Speaker, in 1785, excepting that it went beyond it in some points of advantage to Ireland.

The circumstances of the two Countries at this period did not admit of a complete incorporation of commercial interests, because some of our manufactures were not sufficiently advanced to proceed without protecting duties, and the unequal burthens borne by the British manufactures, from their greater share of taxation, rendered it impracticable to adjust this part of the system on any other principle than that of perfect freedom of export between the Countries. The only principles

principles which could be followed under these circumstances were, that articles exported to Great Britain should pay on the import a duty equal to the duty paid at home by the British subject on the same article.

One important article to Ireland, his Lordship mentioned ; it was that of fail-cloth : by the present law of Great Britain, every vessel sailing out of Great Britain, must, on her first voyage, have a full suit of British fail-cloth, and the whole navy was now furnished with British fail: It was to be proposed that Irish fail-cloth should be entitled to share all the advantages and preference thus secured to Britain. This, he trusted, considering the capacity of Ireland to furnish the article, would prove a new source of wealth to Ireland.

To effect the complete freedom of Export, it was intended to propose, that after a certain day, all prohibitions, bounties, and drawbacks, (excepting those under the Corn Laws) should cease and be at an end; thus securing to Ireland forever the advantage of all those raw materials
which

which she now receives from Great Britain, many of which are of the most urgent necessity, as coals, salt, hops, &c. In this instance the present offer outwent that of 1785; for, by the propositions of 85, coals were to have paid a duty; by this they pay none, and though Great Britain raises a revenue of 5s. 6d. a chaldron on her own coals carried coast-ways, they are to be exported to Ireland duty free. By the propositions of 85, wool was withheld from this Country, by the jealousy of the British manufacturers; that jealousy is removed, and the article of wool was to be exported to this country duty free.

As to the Linen Manufacture, much has been said as to the advantages it had received from a local Parliament, he denied that the local Parliament had given it those advantages; it was the British Parliament, which by laying a duty of 33l. per cent. on German Linens, and admitting Irish duty free, gave in effect so much bounty on Irish Linens as the same 33l. per cent. on Irish Linens would produce,

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The quantity of Linens imported to Great Britain was fifty millions of yards, of which thirty-three millions come from Ireland: the duty of 33 per cent. on these thirty-three millions of yards, would amount to a million sterling; which million, equal almost to our Peace-Establishment, was, in effect, raised on the British Consumer, to be paid to the Irish Linen-Merchant.

But it had been urged, that this bounty was in consequence of a compact, by which the Irish Parliament gave up the Woollen, in consideration of the Linen, Manufacture. It was a compact of a very singular kind, by which the British Parliament should give up an annual million sterling, in return for a trade whose utmost gross produce to Ireland was never more than 600,000l.—Be this as it might, Ireland was, by the present proposal, put in full possession of both parts of the compact; the Bounty would be continued, and she had an unlimited share in the Woollen-Manufacture, with the advantage of importing the raw material,

terial, from Britain, duty free. It was not intended to continue any Duties on Import between the Countries, excepting those which were in the nature of Protecting-Duties; and, as Protecting-Duties had for their purpose to assist infant and growing Manufactures, he would propose that, as they might, if rendered perpetual, become injurious instead of useful, it should be left to the Imperial Parliament to lower or regulate them, on this principle, at the end of twenty years.

The next Article went to establish the proportion of the Countervailing-Duties, to be settled on the same principles.

The two next Resolutions went merely to establish this principle: that Foreign Produce, passing through either Country into the other, should be admitted as if imported directly from the place of its growth or manufacture. This his Lordship considered as an advantage of the very highest importance to Ireland, whose situa-

tion adapted it, so much better than Great Britain, for the admission of such goods, and their transmission to other Countries, thus avoiding the tedious and dangerous navigation of the narrow seas: and when it was considered, that the Re-export-Trade of Britain amounted to fourteen millions sterling annually, it would be admitted that the prospect of advantage, from this part of the System, was well worth the attention of this Country.

The natural consequence of this part of the Arrangement must be, that one or two Ports of Ireland should be allowed to import Foreign Goods, free of duty, to be bonded until time for re-exportation: and here his Lordship asked, whether the Cities of DUBLIN and CORK were likely to suffer by those regulations which would open to them such prospects of commercial Wealth and Prosperity? He then proceeded to shew the advantages which the Provision-Trade of this Country would derive from the proposed System.

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Upon the regulation of the Duties between the two Countries, it would appear, that by Ireland giving up 76,000*l.* of Duties, and Britain giving up 83,000*l.* of similar Duties, the advantage would be decidedly on the part of Ireland,—This is but a brief abstract of the commercial detail of his Lordship's Speech, which he concluded by saying, that he trusted it would appear to the Country found in the principle on which it proceeded, and just in the detail,

His Lordship then proceeded to that part of the Arrangement which affected the

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT.

The present Church Establishment of Ireland, as long as it continued separate from that of Great Britain, could never hope to defend itself against the perpetual attacks made upon it upon local grounds, and against the popular argument of physical force; there appeared to

him no possibility of giving it security in any other way than by a complete Incorporation with that of Great Britain: by these means, it would be secured on such a strong and natural foundation, that we might hope to see a possibility of terminating these unhappy circumstances, which have, in a great measure, arisen from the separation of the Irish from its obvious protection, the Church Establishment of England.

While the present system continued, and while it continued likely that various persons might be called to the Councils of Great Britain, so long would this Country be liable to the operation of various politics; one Minister might wish to uphold the present Establishment, and another the system of Exclusion, as the best bond of Connection; another might wish to throw himself upon the population of the Country, and to open the Establishment to every claimant. Under such a course of Policy the Country could not hope for quiet: the Protestant, as long as the Establishment remained

mained separate, and was to be defended on local grounds, would feel himself insecure, and, of course, look with jealousy upon the Catholic; the Catholic, relying on the argument of physical force, would endeavour to assert his claims against the establishment of a Minority; and there appeared no hope of a termination to distrust, jealousy, and alarm.

But the Establishment being incorporated, the Protestant would feel himself supported on the broad basis of an Imperial Establishment, where his property would have due weight, and the mass of population would include him. The cause of distrust being removed, the claims of the Catholic might be temperately heard, and calmly discussed, before an impartial Tribunal, an Imperial Parliament; who would decide on the Question, divested of those local circumstances which served to irritate and inflame.

It had been said, that the Popish Clergy had been bribed to support this Measure: he trusted, however, that he would be believed when he
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assured the House, that the Measure of providing for them and the Dissenting Clergy, had long been in contemplation, before the Question of Union came into agitation. As to Bribery, he could not help saying, that this Measure of Union appeared to him the most comprehensive system of bribery he had ever known; it bribed the whole community of Ireland, by embracing them within the pale of British Commerce and Constitution; it was a bribe the most comprehensive a Minister could devise. One set of people would, he knew, not receive it as a bribe: they called themselves the Lovers of Liberty; but it was such Liberty as nothing but an abdication of the British Constitution could gratify; and this was a bribe he was not prepared to offer.—As to

REPRESENTATION.

He would not enter into argument with those who thought nothing but a Majority, or at least an Equality of Representation could secure

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the interests of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. With such men, it availed nothing to argue, that these interests were not designed to be perpetually distinct; their doctrine went to prove that separate Parliaments, and perpetual hostility between them, could alone serve the interests of Ireland. The proposition on this subject proceeded on the same principle with that adopted in Scotland, that, after Incorporation, the separate interests became one common interest, and that the proportion to be taken is in the ratio of the wealth and population of each Country. The population of Ireland was called four millions, that of Great Britain ten millions; more than two to one. Two to one population, five and a half to one contribution, gives a medium of about five to one: so that to the British House of Commons of 558, it was proposed to add 100 Irish Members.

To the Peers in the proportion of 32, *viz.* 4 Bishops, and 28 Temporal Peers; but as, by the Scotch Union, there were already 16
elective

elective Peers, determinable on each Parliament, it was proposed, as more consonant to the Constitution of the Peerage, to make the 32 Irish Peers, when elected, Peers of Parliament for life. Those English Commoners, who had accepted Irish titles, were to be permitted to continue to sit as Commoners, on waving their privilege as Peers of Ireland. As to the representation of the Commons, it was proposed to strengthen the popular part of the Representation. In Scotland, 45 Members were returned,—30 for Counties, 15 for Cities and Boroughs. The Irish Counties would remain as they were, returning 64 Irish Members, so that 36 would remain for Cities and Boroughs. Of these 108 now sent Members to Parliament: two ways offered of reducing their number; one by classing a number together to return one Member, the other by taking away the privilege of returning Members from the greater number of them; the latter, from the experience of the former mode in Scotland, he would be inclined to prefer.

DUBLIN

DUBLIN and CORK to return two each, as at present ; the University one, and thirty-one other Borough Towns, to be estimated as to wealth and population, by the returns of Window-Tax and Hearth-Money, to return one each.

It must occur to the House, that for the great number of Boroughs to be thus disfranchised, it would be necessary to adopt a measure of compensation to those individuals who should be injured by this arrangement.

By this plan he trusted a great Question, which had long agitated this Country—that of Parliamentary Reform, would be set quietly at rest for ever. The principle of the plan was a Reform of the most popular kind ; indeed it might be objected that it was too popular ; but this would be answered by admitting that for a separate Legislature in Ireland it would be very dangerous, though checked as it would be by great counter-vailing principles, it could do no injury in an Imperial Parliament. Parliamentary Reform had been a favourite object with him, until it was

made part of a new question, and to him appeared on a new principle ; upon this ground he had given it up hitherto. In the plan he now offered, it would be carried into full effect without the danger. His Lordship then mentioned some regulations to be adopted respecting trials of contested elections ; on this ground that questions of fact were to be tried in Ireland, and questions of law before a committee of the Imperial Parliament. The removal of the appellant jurisdiction would form a necessary consequence of the removal of the House of Peers.

And having thus gone through the outline of the plan, his Lordship said, he trusted he had stated enough to shew, that the proposal was such an one as it was honest in Great Britain to make, and honourable for Ireland to accept ; one which would remove those anomalies from the Executive, to which it was perpetually liable ; one which would relieve the apprehensions of those who feared, that Ireland should be saddled with the expences of Great Britain, by establishing a just and fair principle of taxation from

from one which goes to discharge Ireland of the payment of one million of money in war, and half a million in peace, and which would place Ireland in such circumstances as would enable us to look at our situation with satisfaction, by making the Church Establishments one, and consolidating the Legislatures of the Empire. All present apprehensions would be quieted, and future peace secured ; the great Question which has agitated Ireland would be put upon the broad principles of Imperial policy, and divested of local prejudices, would be deliberately and maturely weighed, and such a representation would be established for the Country as should give the nation such an interest in it, as to lay asleep for ever the dreadful question of Parliamentary Reform, which, acting upon the religious divisions of the Country, had produced such calamities to Ireland.

Rash, indeed, would be the man who could say, the dangers which we have seen were entirely past. We had made great progress towards security, and it would become the serious

consideration of Gentlemen to reflect, that we owed that security to the firmness of character, the steadiness of mind, and the calm undisturbed sagacity of the very man who now proposed this measure, that to his constancy at all times, and under the most tremendous dangers, we owed the security in which we stood: We could not hope that such a man, with such a mind, could be always found to guide the British Councils. We should seize the advantages offered to us. This was the moment to strengthen the Irish Constitution, by blending it with that of the great and powerful Empire of Great Britain; and I trust, said his Lordship, that if, at any future day, the enemies of Britain, and of mankind, should again be let loose to afflict the social world, that Ireland will be in such a commanding situation, as to bear in concert with the magnanimous Empire of Great Britain, the glorious task of again defending and restoring the liberties of Europe.

His

His Lordship then said, it was his intention to move, to have the papers which he had laid before the House printed and circulated.

The following are

THE RESOLUTIONS:

That in order to promote and secure the essential interest of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources, of the British Empire, it will be adviseable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by the Acts of the respective Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

ART. 1.—Resolved, That for the purpose of establishing an Union upon the basis stated in the Resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament of Great Britain, communicated by his Majesty's command in the Message sent to this House by his

his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, it would be fit to propose, as the first article of Union, that the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon the 1st day of January, which shall be in the Year of Our Lord 1801, and for ever after, be United into one Kingdom, by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that the Royal Style and Titles appertaining to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom and its dependencies, and also the Ensigns Armorial, Flags, and Banners thereof, shall be such as his Majesty, by his Royal Proclamation, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, shall be pleased to appoint.

ART. 2.—Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the succession to the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdom, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, shall continue limited and settled in the same manner as the succession of the Imperial Crown of the said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing Laws, and to the terms of the Union between England and Scotland.

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ART. 3.—Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be stiled The Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

ART. 4.—Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that of the Peers of Ireland at the time of the Union, four Spiritual Lords, by rotation of sessions, and twenty-eight Temporal Peers for life, shall be the number to sit and vote in the House of Lords, and one hundred Commoners (viz. two for each County of Ireland, two for the City of Dublin, two for the City of Cork, and one for each of the thirty-two most considerable Cities, Towns, and Boroughs) be the number of Representatives of Ireland in the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom; that for the same purpose such acts shall be passed by the Parliament of Ireland previous to the Union, to regulate the mode by which the Spiritual Lords and Temporal Peers, and the Commoners to
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serve in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be considered as forming part of the Union, and shall be incorporated in the acts of the respective Parliaments by which the said Union shall be ratified and established. That all questions touching the Election of Peers of Ireland, to sit in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall be decided by the House of Lords thereof; and whenever there shall be an equality of votes in the Election of Peers, the names of such Peers who have an equal number of votes in their favour, shall be written on pieces of paper of a similar form, and shall be put into a glass by the Clerk of the Parliament, at the table of the House of Lords, whilst the House is sitting; and the Peer, whose name shall be first drawn out by the Clerk of the Parliament, shall be deemed the Peer elected. That any Peer of Ireland shall be capable of being elected as a Representative for any County, City, or Borough of Great Britain, in the House of Commons of the United Kingdom, provided that so long as such Peer of Ireland shall serve

in the House of Commons, he shall not be capable of being elected to serve as a Peer on the part of Ireland, or be qualified to vote at the Election of any Peer, and that he shall be liable to be tried as a Commoner.

That it shall be lawful for his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, to create Peers of that part of the united kingdom called Ireland, and to make promotions in the Peerage thereof after the Union, provided the number of Peers shall not by such creation at any time be encreased beyond the number existing on the said first day of January, 1801; and if any Peerage shall at any time be in abeyance, such Peerage shall be deemed and taken as an existing Peerage, and no Peerage shall be deemed extinct unless on default of claimants to the inheritance of such Peerage for the space of one year from the death of the person who shall have been last possessed thereof; and if no claim shall be made to the inheritance to such Peerage in such form and manner as may from time to time be prescribed by the House of Lords of the united kingdom before the expiration of the said period of a year, then, and in that case, such

Peerage shall be deemed extinct, and a new Peer may be created, provided that nothing herein shall exclude any person from afterwards putting in a claim to the Peerage, so deemed extinct; and if such claim shall be made good, no Peer shall be created to supply the place of the next Peerage which may be deemed extinct, after such claim being made good and established.

That all questions touching the election of Members to sit on the part of Ireland in the House of Commons of the united kingdom, shall be decided in the same manner as questions touching elections on the part of Great Britain now are, or at any time hereafter shall by law be decided, subject nevertheless to such particular regulations in respect to Ireland, as from local circumstances the Parliament of the said united kingdom may from time to time deem expedient.

That all qualifications as to property which are or shall be required by law of the Members elected on the part of England by counties, cities,
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or boroughs, respectively, to sit in the House of Commons of the united kingdoms, shall be required of the Members to be hereafter elected to sit therein on the part of Ireland for places of like description.

That when his Majesty, his heirs, or successors, shall declare his, her, or their, pleasure for holding the first or any subsequent Parliament of the united kingdom, a proclamation do issue under the Great Seal of the united kingdom, to cause the four Spiritual Lords and twenty-eight Temporal Peers, and one hundred Commoners who are to serve in the Parliament thereof on the part of Ireland, to be returned in such manner as by an act of this present session of the Parliament is or shall be settled ; and that if his Majesty, on or before the 1st day of January, 1801, on which day the Union is to take place, shall declare, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, that it is expedient that the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and Commons of the present Parliament of Great Britain, should be the Members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the

united kingdom, for and on the part of Great Britain; then the said Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, shall be the Members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament thereof, for and upon the part of Great Britain. And his Majesty may, by his Royal Proclamation, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, appoint the said first Parliament of the united kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, to meet at such a time and place as his Majesty shall think fit, and the four Spiritual Peers and twenty-eight Temporal Peers, and one hundred Commoners, who shall have been returned or elected to sit in the first Parliament of the united kingdom, in the event of such Proclamation being issued as aforesaid, in the manner which shall be prescribed by an act of the present Session of the Parliament of Ireland, for regulating the mode by which the Spiritual Lords and Temporal Peers and the Commons to serve in the Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ireland, shall be summoned or returned to the said Parliament, shall be the Members of the respective Houses of the first Parliament of the united kingdom on the part of Ire-
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land; and the Lords of Parliament of Great Britain, and the four Spiritual Lords, and twenty-eight Temporal Peers of Ireland being summoned and returned as herein-before provided, and the Members of the House of Commons of the said Parliament of Great Britain, and the hundred Members for Ireland, such hundred Members being elected and returned as herein-before provided, shall assemble and meet respectively in their respective Houses of the Parliament of the united kingdom, at such time and place as shall be so appointed by his Majesty, and shall be the two Houses of the first Parliament of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that Parliament may continue for such time only as the present Parliament of Great Britain might have continued, if the Union of the two Kingdoms had not been made, unless sooner dissolved by his Majesty: and that every one of the Lords of Parliament of the United Kingdom, and every Member of the House of Commons of the United Kingdom in the first and all succeeding Parliaments, shall take the oaths, and make and subscribe the declarations which are at present by law

law enjoined to be taken, and made, and subscribed by the Lords and Commons of the Parliament of Great Britain, until the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall provide otherwise, that the said four Spiritual Lords to sit in rotation of Sessions, and the said twenty-eight Temporal Peers to sit for life in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, shall have all privileges of Parliament, which the Spiritual and Temporal Peers of Great Britain respectively now have, and which they or any Spiritual or Temporal Peer after the Union may enjoy; and the said four Spiritual Lords and twenty-eight Temporal Peers shall have the same right of sitting upon the trial of Peers as any other Spiritual Lords or Temporal Peers may enjoy; and in the case of the trial of any Peer during the adjournment or prorogation of Parliament, the said twenty-eight Temporal Peers shall be summoned in like manner, and have the same powers and privileges at such trial as any other Spiritual Lords or Temporal Peers of the United Kingdom: and that all Spiritual Lords of Ireland, and their successors, shall have rank and precedence next and immediately after the Spiritual Lords of the same rank

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and degree of Great Britain; and that all Temporal Peers of Ireland shall, from and after the Union, have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Peers of the like orders and degrees in Great Britain, at the time of the Union, and before the Peers of Great Britain, who may be created after the Union, and shall be tried as Peers of Great Britain, and shall enjoy all privileges of Peers fully as the Peers of England do now, or as any other Peers of Great Britain may hereafter enjoy the same; the right and privilege of sitting in the House of Lord, and the privileges depending thereon, and particularly the right of sitting on the trial of Peers, excepted; and that all Peers for that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, created after the Union, shall have rank and precedency among the Peers of the United Kingdom, according to the dates of their creation, and enjoy all the privileges which may be enjoyed by the Peers of Ireland as hereinabove specified and declared.

ART. 5.—Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the Churches

of that part of Great Britain called England, and of Ireland, shall be united into one Church, and the Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, &c. of the Churches of England and Ireland, shall from time to time be summoned to, and entitled to sit in Convocation of the United Church, in like manner, and subject to the same regulations as are at present by law established with respect to the like orders of the Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church shall be preserved as now by law established for the Church of England; and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the Church of Scotland, shall likewise be preserved as now by law established for the Church of Scotland.

ART. 6.—Resolved, 1st, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain and Ireland shall, from and after the 1st day of January, 1801, be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing as to encouragement and bounties on the like articles being the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom respectively and generally

generally, in respect of trade and navigation, in all parts and places of the united kingdom, and its dependencies. And that in all treaties made by his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, with any foreign power, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland shall have the same privileges, and be on the same footing as his Majesty's subjects of Great Britain.

2. That from the said first day of January, 1801, all prohibitions and bounties on the export of articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country to the other shall cease and determine; and that the said articles shall thenceforth be exported from one country to the other without duty or bounty on such export.

3. That all articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, (not herein after enumerated as subject to specific duties) shall from henceforth be imported into each country from the other free from duty, other than such countervailing duty as is specific in the Schedule No. 1. annexed to this article? and that the articles herein-after enumerated shall be subject, for the period of twenty years from the Union,

or importation into each country from the other, to the duties specified in the Schedule No. 2, annexed to this article, viz. Apparel, Brass—wrought, Cabinet Ware, Coaches, Copper—wrought, Cotton, Glass, Haberdashery, Hats, Hardware, Lace—Gold and Silver, Millinery, Paper—stained, Pottery, Sadlery, Silk manufacture, Steel, Stockings, and that the Woollen Manufactures shall pay, on importation into each country, the duties now payable on importation into Ireland.

Salt and Hops, on importation into Ireland; and Coals, on importation, to be subject to the same burdens to which they are now subject.

4. That any articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, which are, or may be subject to internal duty, or to duty on the materials of which they are composed, may be made subject, on their importation into each country respectively from the other, to such countervailing duty as shall appear to be just and reasonable in respect of such internal duty, or to duty on the materials: and that for the said purposes

purposes the articles specified in the said Schedule No. 1. should, upon importation into Ireland, be subject to the duty set forth herein, liable to to be taken off, diminished, or encreased, in the manner herein specified ; and that upon the like export of the like articles from each country to the other respectively, a drawback shall be given equal in amount to the countervailing duty payable on the articles herein before specified on the import into the same country from the other ; and that in like manner, in future, it shall be competent to the united Parliament, to impose any new or additional countervailing duties, or to take off or diminish such existing countervailing duties as may appear, on like principles, to be just and reasonable in respect of any future or additional internal duty on any article of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country ; or if any new or additional duty on any materials of which such article may be composed, or of any abatement of the same ; and that when any such new or additional countervailing duty shall be so imposed on the import of any article into either country from the other, a

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drawback, equal in amount to such countervailing duty, shall be given in like manner on the export of every such article respectively from the same country.

5. That all articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, when exported into the other, shall in all cases be exported subject to the same charges as if they had been exported directly from the country of which they were the growth, produce, or manufacture.

6. That all duty charged on the import of foreign or colonial goods into either country, shall, on their export to the other, be either drawn back, or the amount, if any be retained shall be placed to the credit of the country to which they shall be so exported, so long as the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed by proportional contributions; provided nothing herein shall extend to take away any duty, bounty, or prohibition which exist with respect to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit, but that the same may be regulated, varied, or repealed, from time to

to time, as the united Parliament shall deem expedient.

ART. 7.—Resolved, That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively.

That for the space of twenty years after the Union shall take place, the contribution of Great Britain and Ireland respectively towards the expenditure of the united kingdom in each year, shall be defrayed in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain, and two parts for Ireland. That at the expiration of the said twenty years, the future expenditure of the united kingdoms, other than the interest and charges of the debt incurred before the Union, shall be defrayed in such proportion as the united Parliament shall deem just and reasonable, upon a comparison of the real value of the exports and imports

imports of the respective countries, upon an average of the three years next preceding the period of revision, or on a comparison of the value of the quantities of the following articles consumed within the respective countries on a similar average, viz. Beer, Spirits, Sugar, Wine, Tea, Tobacco, Malt, Salt, and Leather, or according to the aggregate proportion resulting from both those considerations combined, or on a comparison of the amount of the income in each country, estimated from the produce for the same period, of a general tax, if such shall have been imposed, on the same descriptions of income in both countries, and that the Parliament of the united kingdom shall afterwards proceed in like manner to revise and fix said proportions according to the same rules, or any of them, at periods not more distant than twenty years, nor less than seven years, from each other, unless previous to any such period, but subsequent to the 1st of Jan. 1821, the united Parliament shall have declared, as herein-after provided, that the general expences of the empire shall be defrayed indiscriminately

minately by equal taxes imposed on the like articles in both countries,

That for the defraying the said expences according to the rules above laid down, the revenues of Ireland shall hereafter constitute a consolidated fund upon which charges equal to the interest of her debt and sinking fund, shall in the first instance be charged, and the remainder shall be applied towards defraying the proportion of the general expence of the united kingdom to which Ireland may be liable in each year,

That the proportion of contribution to which Great Britain and Ireland will by these articles be liable, shall be raised by such taxes in each kingdom respectively, as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall, from time to time, deem fit : provided always, that in regulating the taxes in each country by which their respective proportion shall be levied, no article shall be liable to be taxed to any amount exceeding that which will be thereafter payable in England on the like article.

That

That if at the end of any year any surplus shall accrue from the revenues of Ireland, after defraying the interest, sinking fund, and proportioned contribution and separate charges to which the said country is liable, either taxes shall be taken off to the amount of such surplus, or the surplus shall be applied by the united Parliament to local purposes in Ireland, or to make good any deficiency which may arise in her revenues in time of peace, or be invested by the Commissioners of the National Debt of Ireland, in the Funds, to accumulate for the benefit of Ireland, at compound interest, in case of her contribution in time of war, provided the surplus so to accumulate shall at no future period be suffered to exceed the sum of five millions.

That all monies hereafter to be raised by loan, in peace or in war, for the service of the united kingdom, by the Parliament thereof, shall be considered to be a joint debt, and the charges thereof shall be borne by the respective countries in the proportion of their respective contributions: Provided that if at any time in raising the respective contributions hereby fixed for each kingdom

kingdom, the Parliament of the united kingdom shall judge it fit to raise a greater proportion of such respective contribution in one kingdom within the year than in the other, or to set apart a greater proportion of sinking fund for the liquidation of the whole, or any part of the loan raised on account of the one country, than of that raised on account of the other country, then such part of the said loan, for the liquidation of which different provisions have been made for the respective countries, shall be kept distinct, and shall be borne by each separately, and only that part of the said loan be deemed joint and common, for the reduction of which the respective countries shall have made provision in the proportion of their respective contributions.

If at any future day the separate debts of each kingdom respectively shall have been liquidated, or the values of their respective debts (estimated according to the amount of the interest and annuities attending the same, of the sinking fund applicable to the reduction thereof, and the period within which the whole capital of such

debt shall appear to be redeemable by such Sinking Fund) shall be to each other in the same proportion with the respective contributions of each kingdom respectively, or where the amount by which the value of the larger of such debts shall vary from such proportion, shall not exceed one-hundredth part of the said value ; and if it shall appear to the United Parliament, that the respective circumstances of the two countries, will thenceforth admit of their contributing indiscriminately, by the equal Taxes imposed on the same articles in each country, and thenceforth, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to impose and apply such Taxes accordingly, subject only to such particular exemptions or abatements in Ireland, as that part of Great Britain called Scotland, as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand ; that from the period of such declaration it shall no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two Countries towards the future general expences, according to any specific proportion, or according to any of the rules herein before prescribed ; provided nevertheless, that

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the interest or charges which may remain on account of any part of the separate debt with which either Country is chargeable, and which shall not be liquidated or consolidated proportionably as above, shall, until extinguished, continue to be defrayed by separate taxes in each Country.

ART. 8.—Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it would be fit to propose, that all Laws in force, at the time of the Union, and all the Courts of Civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, within the respective Kingdoms, shall remain, as now by Law established, within the same, subject only to such Alterations or Regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear, to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to require; provided that all Writs of Error and Appeals which may at present finally be decided by the House of Lords, of the United Kingdom; and provided, that, from and after the Union, all Admiralty-Jurisdictions be under the Lord High Admiral, or Commissioners, of the Admiralty of the United Kingdom; and that all Laws, at present in force, in either

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Kingdom, which shall be contrary to any of the Provisions which may be enacted, by any Act for carrying these Articles into effect, be, from and after the Union, repealed.

SCHEDULE, No. 1.

Of the Articles to be charged, with Countervailing-Duties, upon Importation into Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the 6th Article of Union, to which this Schedule is annexed.

*Articles to be charged with a Countervailing-Duty
in Great Britain :*

Beer, Bricks and Tiles, Candles, Soap, Cordage, Printed-Cottons, Cider, Glafs, Leather, Paper—stained, Silk, Spirits, Starch, Sugar—refined, Sweets, Tobacco.

*Articles to be charged with a Countervailing-Duty
in Ireland :*

Beer, Glafs, Leather, Paper—stained, Silk, Spirits, Sugar—refined, Sweets, Tobacco.

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SCHEDULE, No. 2.

Of the Articles to be charged, with the Duties specified, upon Importation into Great Britain and Ireland, respectively, according to the 6th Article of Union, to which this Schedule is annexed.

Apparel, Brafs—wrought, Cabinet-Ware, Coaches, Copper—wrought, Cotton, Glafs, Haberdashery, Hats, Hard-Ware, Lace—Gold and Silver, Millinery, Paper—ftained, Pottery, Sadlery and other manufactured Leather, Silk-Manufactures, Steel, Stockings: 10 per Cent. on the true value.

THE END.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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

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

3. **S**PEECH of the Right Hon. HENRY ADDINGTON, Speaker of the House of Commons, on the 12th February, 1799, in the Committee of the whole House, to whom his Majesty's most gracious Message of the 22d January, relative to an UNION between Great Britain and Ireland was referred. THIRD EDITION. Price 1s.

4. **S**PEECH of LORD AUCKLAND, in the House of Peers, April 1, 1799, on the proposed Address to his Majesty, respecting the Resolutions adopted by the two Houses of Parliament, as the Basis of an Union between Great Britain and Ireland. A new EDITION. Price 1s.

5. **S**peech of the Right Hon. SYLVESTER DOUGLAS, in the House of Commons, Tuesday, April 23, 1799, on seconding the Motion of the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the House to agree with the Lords in an Address to His Majesty, relative to an Union with Ireland. Price 3s. 6d.

6. **S**PEECH of the Right Hon. JOHN Lord Baron FITZGIBBON (now Earl of CLARE), Lord High Chancellor of Ireland, delivered in the House of Peers of Ireland, on the Second Reading of the Bill for the Relief of the Roman Catholics, March 13, 1793: with an accurate Report of the **S**PEECH of the Right Hon. JOHN FOSTER, Speaker of the House of Commons, on the same Subject. Price 1s. 6d.

7. **R**EPORT from the COMMITTEE of SECRECY of the House of Commons in Ireland, on the Irish Rebellion, as reported by the Right Hon. Lord Castlereagh, August 21, 1798. Price 4s.