

CALM CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES

OF AN

U N I O N

OF THE

KINGDOM OF IRELAND

WITH THAT OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BY CONCILIATOR.

Are you not one? Are you not join'd by Heav'n,
Each interwoven with the other's Fate?
Are you not mix'd like streams of meeting Rivers,
Whose blended waters are no more distinguish'd,
But roll into the Sea, one common flood?

Rowe.

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CALM CONSIDERATIONS,

Æc. Æc.

DURING the last thirty years reports have prevailed, from time to time, that an *Union* between the sister kingdoms would be attempted, but they gradually died away. Indeed, till Ireland was acknowledged as a separate and independent kingdom; the carrying into effect such a measure would have been merely an act of power, not of compact, which would have bred confusion, not unanimity. But now, when Ireland has a legislature and government of her own, the two kingdoms may separately treat of terms of an *Union*, and a coalescence of both.

Within a few months, the report has been revived with fresh force; persons of consequence, in both islands, who, from their

B connections

connections and situations, may be supposed to be of competent information, are said to have pronounced, that a plan of an *Union* is now in agitation. The minds of the people of this kingdom are now variously affected, as their hopes or fears predominate. Disputes arise in private companies, which are sometimes carried on with a degree of warmth, that often precludes the operation of calm reason ; when it is obvious, that no sound judgment can be pronounced in this matter by any who are under the influence of party, are warped by mere self-interest, or want the necessary information whereon to found an opinion.

In this state of the public mind, two contrary decisions are constantly made : the one, that an *Union* will be the aggrandizement of Ireland ; the other, that it will be the destruction of the dignity, commerce, manufactures, and population of this nation. Both these opinions cannot be true ; therefore, it may not be unacceptable to the public, for an impartial man, calmly to consider the arguments that may be brought on each side of this truly-important question ;

tion ; examine their force and validity ; observe which preponderates ; and, by laying them before the reader, may thereby assist him to point out the probable consequences of an *Union*.

There is little doubt but the majority of those who may endeavour to promote, or defeat the measure of an Union, whenever it may be seriously urged, may be equally friends to this country, though they may adopt contrary means, to assure its welfare. For this reason, neither ought to be condemned for the part they may take ; those who may err, may err only in judgment, which error will cease, in each candid person, upon sound reasoning, and fuller information.

Happily, we are not without some clear light to guide us in our enquiry. We have, for near a century, experienced the consequences of an Union of the two kingdoms. England hath united with herself two different nations, and incorporated them in one—Wales and Scotland ; but the Union of each was different. Wales was assimilated with England by *conquest*—and Scotland

land by *compact*; we know what has been the result of both, and that knowledge may help our conjectures as to the consequences of a subsequent *Union*, if it should take place.

The writer of these lines is a sincere well-wisher to the prosperity of Ireland; he is of no party, and cannot be benefited or prejudiced by an *Union* as an individual, but only in general with the bulk of the nation. For this reason, he has no motive to bias him to either side. He promises to discuss each point he may bring forward, with all possible calmness and candour, to the best of his judgment. That, and that only, may fail; but his *will* shall be pure.

To proceed with regularity in this enquiry, the following method will be pursued:

First, a succinct account will be given of the proceedings of England and Scotland, for effecting an Union of the two kingdoms, with the terms of the Treaty established by the two separate Parliaments.—This will be the more necessary, as a preliminary to the

the consideration of Irish affairs; as there are many persons not thoroughly acquainted with the progress of that event; and who thereby have entertained mistaken notions of the modes of settling an Union here, which most probably will be similar to those already employed, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne.

Second, a summary comparison between the state and circumstances of Scotland, at the time of the Union, and at present.

Third, an enumeration of the chief objections that may be brought against an Union of Ireland with Great Britain; with an examination of the force, including a consideration of the probable consequences that may result from an Union.

SECTION

SECTION I.

The proceedings in England and Scotland for effecting an Union.

From the year 1602, when James the sixth, King of Scotland succeeded Queen Elizabeth in the throne of England (which he ascended by the name of James I.) ideas were entertained of uniting and incorporating the two kingdoms, which, by that event, had both the same Sovereign. But the plan did not take place, till one hundred and four years had elapsed; for though the treaty first began to be seriously in train on the 22d of October 1702, yet it was not finally settled till July 1706, and did not take place till the 1st of May 1707, the first Parliament of *Great Britain* meeting October the 23d following. Thus it appears, that the two nations were four years, six months, and eight days in settling this arduous and important business.

The long postponement of this measure was owing to fundry untoward circumstances. From the time that the two countries

tries had one and the same Sovereign, the mutual jealousy entertained by the inhabitants of each nation, against those whom they beheld in the light of rivals, prevented any overtures being made during the reign of James I. The troubles that ensued under the turbulent reigns of his son, and two grand-sons were equally unfavourable. When William III. was on the throne, as he was a foreigner, he was not sufficiently acquainted with the interests of the English and Scots, to set on foot a measure that in the then present temper of the times, would, in all probability, have added fuel to the flames that prevailed, not only in respect to the partizans of the abdicated King, but also in respect to the different religions that were established.

When Queen Anne ascended the throne, as she was of the family of the Stuarts, she was more acceptable to the Scots than her predecessor. The time seemed to favour an attempt to effect an Union of the two kingdoms; and accordingly in the year 1702, Commissioners were appointed to treat of an Union. They first met on the

22d of October, and on the 20th of November they settled the preliminaries of the negociation. In December, the Queen paid them a visit, in order to quicken their mutual endeavours; but the Scottish Commissioners so strongly insisted on their claim that the Scottish African and Indian companies should have all their rights and privileges preserved to them, that no farther progress was made in the Commission; and the opposing party became so prevalent in the Scottish Parliament, that it passed an Act the next year (1703) to vacate the Commission, with an absolute prohibition to grant any other, without the consent of Parliament.

The design, though thus postponed, was not however abandoned; there were numbers in each kingdom, who thought an Union would be advantageous, but each party was willing that the other should commence the business; and on the 29th of November 1704, the grand Committee of the English Lords resolved (on the motion of Lord Wharton) that the Queen, by an English act, should be enabled.

bled to name and appoint Commissioners to treat about an Union—provided that the Scottish Parliament should *first* appoint Commissioners, on their part, for the same purpose; and on the twentieth of December following, an act for that purpose, having passed through both houses, received the Royal Assent.

In order to stimulate the Scots into compliance, the English Parliament passed an act, enacting, “that no Scotchman, but
 “such only as were settled in Eng-
 “land, Ireland, or the plantations, or are
 “in the army, or navy, should enjoy the
 “privileges of Englishmen, till an Union
 “was effected;” also “that the traffic of
 “cattle from Scotland should be prohi-
 “bited;” also, “that the exportation of
 “wool from England to Scotland, should
 “be prohibited;” and also, “that all ships
 “trading from Scotland to France, or the
 “ports of any country, enemies to England,
 “should be attacked by the English ships
 “of war, or privateers, and when taken
 “should be condemned as lawful prizes.”

There can be no doubt but such terrific acts had some influence on the minds of many: and to enforce those clauses, as well as to repel any commotion that they might occasion in Scotland, orders were issued to put the town of Newcastle upon Tyne into a state of defence; to secure the port of Tinmouth; and to repair, and put in order the fortifications of Hull and Carlisle. The Militia of the four northern counties, were disciplined, and furnished with arms and ammunition; and a competent number of regular troops maintained on the northern borders, and in the north of Ireland.

These precautions being taken, on the 22d of August 1705, the Scottish Parliament passed an act, (presented by the Earl of Mar) for a commission for an Union. It was compared with that passed in England, and Duke Hamilton moved, that the Queen should nominate the Commissioners for each kingdom. When this motion was made, fourteen members ran out of the House in indignation; and Andrew Fletcher, of Saltoun, inveighed bitterly against

against the imperious conduct of England, in this affair. However, when put to the vote, it was carried, and the Queen appointed the Commissioners, as well for Scotland, as for England. They held their first meeting at the Cockpit, at Whitehall, on the 16th day of April 1706.

The Commission was formed of some of the first, and most able men in both kingdoms, the names of whom may not be unacceptable to the reader.

The Commissioners on the part of England, were these:

- 1 Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 2 William Cowper, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.
- 3 John, Archbishop of York.
- 4 Sidney, Lord Godolphin, Lord High Treasurer of England.
- 5 Thomas, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord President of the Council.
- 6 John, Duke of Newcastle, Lord Privy Seal.
- 7 William, Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward of the Household
- 8 Charles, Duke of Somerset, Master of the Horse.
- 9 Charles, Duke of Bolton.
- 10 Charles, Earl of Sunderland.
- 11 Evelyn, Earl of Kingston.
- 12 Charles, Earl of Carlisle.

13 Edward,

- 13 Edward, Earl of Orford.
- 14 Charles, Viscount Townsend.
- 15 Thomas, Lord Wharton.
- 16 Ralph, Lord Grey.
- 17 John, Lord Powlet.
- 18 John, Lord Somers.
- 19 Charles, Lord Halifax.
- 20 William Cavendish, Marquis of Hartington.
- 21 John Manners, Marquis of Granby.
- 22 Sir Charles Hedges, } Principal Secretaries of State,
- 23 Robert Harley, }
- 24 John Smith.
- 25 Henry Boyle, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
- 26 Sir John Holt, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench.
- 27 Sir Thomas Trevor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
- 28 Sir Edward Northey, Attorney General.
- 29 Sir Simon Harcourt, Solicitor General.
- 30 Sir John Cook.
- 31 Stephen Waller, Doctor of Laws.

*The following were the Commissioners on the
part of Scotland:*

- 1 James, Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor of Scotland.
- 2 James, Duke of Queensberry, Lord Privy Seal.
- 3 John, Earl of Mar, } Principal Secretaries of
- 4 Hugh, Earl of Loudon, } State.
- 5 John, Earl of Sutherland.
- 6 John, Earl of Morton.
- 7 David, Earl of Wens.
- 8 David, Earl of Leven.
- 9 John, Earl of Stair.
- 10 Archibald, Earl of Roseberry.
- 11 David,

- 11 David, Earl of Glasgow.
- 12 Lord Archibald Campbell.
- 13 Thomas, Viscount Duplin.
- 14 Lord William Ross.
- 15 Sir Hugh Dalrymple, President of the Session.
- 16 Adam Cockburne, of Ormiston, Lord Justice Clerk.
- 17 Sir Robert Dundas, of Arncliffe, } Lords of the Ses-
- 18 Robert Stewart, of Tillicultrie, } sion.
- 19 Francis Montgomery, one of the Commissioners of the
Treasury.
- 20 Sir David Dalrymple, one of her Majesty's Solicitors.
- 21 Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Receiver General.
- 22 Sir Patrick Johnston, Lord Provost of Edinburgh.
- 23 Sir James Smollett, of Bonhill.
- 24 George Lockhart, of Carnwath.
- 25 William Morrison, of Preston-grange.
- 26 Alexander Grant.
- 27 William Seton, of Pit-midden. }
- 28 John Clark, of Pennycook, }
- 29 Hugh Montgomery.
- 30 Daniel Stuart.
- 31 Daniel Campbell.

It would be tedious to detail the various discussions that took place at the several sittings of the Commissioners; suffice it to mention, that those of England made three leading propositions. 1. That the two kingdoms should be for ever united under the general name of Great Britain. 2. That the two kingdoms should be represented by one Parliament. 3. That, failing

failing any descendants of the Queen, the succession to the united Crown should be according to the settlement of the act of William III. namely, on the Princess Sophia of the house of Brunswick Lunenburg, and her issue.

On the other hand, the Scottish Commissioners were at first for a federal Union, like that of the States of Holland; but that being settled in the negative, they proposed,

1. That the subjects of each nation, should enjoy the same privileges in the different countries mutually as in their own.

2. That there should be a free communication of trade and navigation, between the two Kingdoms, and the plantations thereunto belonging.

3. That all Laws and Statutes in either Kingdom contrary to the terms of the Union, should be repealed.

The Queen visited the Commissioners twice, to hasten their determination. At length

length every obstacle being removed, they came to a final settlement. The treaty was concluded July 22d, 1706.

The treaty was presented to the Queen the next day, by the Lord-keeper, in the name of the English Commissioners: another sealed copy of the same, by the Scottish Commissioners. The Lord-keeper, and the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, (the Earl of Seafield) each made an oration on the presenting it; to each of which, her Majesty made a most gracious reply. The same day, an order of council was issued, that every person concerned in any discourse, or libel, or in laying any wager relating to the Union, should be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law.

There then remained to have the treaty confirmed by the different Parliaments; but before we consider the steps taken on each side, it may be proper to lay before the reader, the substance of the stipulations of the treaty, more especially as they may serve as a specimen of what we may expect relative to the intended Union with England.

Substance

*Substance of the articles of the Union of
Great Britain.*

“ 1. The Kingdoms of England and
“ Scotland to be perpetually united under
“ the name of the Kingdom of Great
“ Britain.

“ 2. The succession to the Crown to be
“ vested in descendants of the Electress,
“ Princess Sophia.

“ 3. All subjects to enjoy the same pri-
“ vileges and advantages.

“ 4. All subjects to have the same al-
“ lowances, encouragements and draw-
“ backs, with respect to Commerce and
“ Customs; and to be under the same pro-
“ hibitions, restrictions and regulations.

“ 5. Scotland not to be charged with
“ the temporary duties on certain commo-
“ dities.

“ 6. The sum of £. 398,885 10s. to be
“ granted to Scotland, as an equivalent for
“ such parts of the customs and excise,
“ charged

“ charged thereon, in consequence of the
 “ Union, as would be applicable to the pay-
 “ ment of the debts of England; according
 “ to the proportion which the customs
 “ and excise of Scotland bore to those
 “ of England.

“ 7. As the revenues of England may
 “ encrease, a farther equivalent shall be
 “ allowed for such proportion of the said
 “ encrease as shall be applicable to the pay-
 “ ment of the debts of England.

“ 8. The sum to be paid at present, as
 “ well as the monies from future equiva-
 “ lents, shall be employed in reducing the
 “ Scottish coin to a standard with the Eng-
 “ lish coin; in paying off the capital and
 “ interest to the Scottish African Company,
 “ which shall be instantly dissolved; in dis-
 “ charging the public debts of Scotland; and
 “ in encouraging manufactures and fish-
 “ eries, under the direction of Commission-
 “ ers to be appointed by the Queen, and
 “ accountable to the Parliament of Great
 “ Britain.

“ 9. The laws concerning public rights,
 “ policy and civil government, shall be the
 “ same throughout the united Kingdom;
 “ and no alteration in the laws concerning
 “ private rights shall be made, except for
 “ the evident utility of the subjects within
 “ Scotland.

“ 10. The Scottish Courts of judicature
 “ shall remain as heretofore, with the same
 “ authority and privileges: subject, how-
 “ ever, to such regulations as may be made
 “ by the Parliament of Great Britain.

“ 11. All heritable offices, superiorities,
 “ heritable jurisdictions, offices for life, and
 “ jurisdictions for life, shall be reserved to
 “ the owners as right of property, the same
 “ as by the Scottish laws.

“ 12. The rights and privileges of the
 “ Royal Boroughs shall also remain.

“ 13. Scotland shall be represented in
 “ the Parliament of Great Britain by *sixteen*
 “ Peers and *forty-five* Commoners, to be
 “ elected in the manner to be settled by
 “ the Scottish Parliament.

“ 14. All

" 14. All Peers of Scotland, and their
 " successors, shall, after the Union, be
 " Peers of Great Britain, and have rank
 " and precedence next after Peers of Eng-
 " land, of like orders and degrees at the
 " date of the Union; and before all Peers
 " of Great Britain, of like orders and de-
 " grees created after the Union.

" 15. These Peers shall be tried as Peers
 " of Great Britain, and enjoy all the privi-
 " leges as Peers, as fully as they are now
 " enjoyed by the Peers of England; ex-
 " cept sitting in the House of Lords, and
 " the privileges depending thereon, and
 " particularly the right of sitting on trials
 " of Peers.

" 16. The Crown, Sceptre and Sword
 " of State, of Scotland, with the records of
 " Parliament, and all Scottish records, rolls
 " and registers, shall remain as they are in
 " Scotland.

" 17. All laws and statutes in either
 " Kingdom, inconsistent with the terms
 " of this Union, shall cease, and be declared
 " void by the respective Parliaments."

When

When this treaty came to be considered in order, for confirmation, by the two Parliaments, it underwent minute discussion. The Scottish Parliament met the 3d of October 1706, the Duke of Queensberry being the High Commissioner. Much heat prevailed; many commotions were raised in divers parts of Scotland. The party called Cameronians (a more rigid set of Presbyterians) fomented the tumults of the people. In some parts they took arms, the house of Sir Patrick Johnston, Provost of Edinburgh, was attacked, and his person so greatly insulted, that, had he not been protected by the military, he would have been murdered; merely because, as one of the Commissioners, he had agreed to and signed the treaty. However, by prudent conduct, the insurgents were disappointed in their views. The public were gradually disabused, and taught to consider the Union as tending to the good of their country; and convinced that what the nation might lose in point of punctilio of honour, and extent of dignity (which was more imaginary than real, and more concerned a few individuals than the bulk of

of the people) would be more than compensated by the great increase of manufactures, trade, and commerce, that would be the undoubted consequence of an Union. At length, after some slight alteration, the articles of the Union were accepted by the Scottish Parliament.

The English Parliament met the 3d of December 1706, and on the 28th of Jan. 1707, the Queen went to the House of Lords; and in her speech, told them, that the Scottish Parliament had confirmed the Union, on their part. In both Houses some debates ensued. The Queen went to the Lords, and was present at the discussion that took place there on the 25th of February. The Bill passed the Commons, by a majority of 114, and the business was finally settled; and the Parliament was prorogued 24th of April. The act of Union took place May 1, and both national Parliaments being dissolved, writs were issued for a general election; and the *first Parliament of Great Britain*, met on the 23d of October 1707.

SECTION

SECTION II.

A summary Comparison between the State and Circumstances of Scotland at the Union, and at present.

Lord Haversham, speaking of the Scots, in the debate on the Union, said, of their state at that time, that “the nobility and
“gentry of Scotland, were as learned and
“brave as any nation of Europe, but ge-
“nerally discontented; and that the com-
“mon people were very numerous, very
“stout, and very poor.” The character was doubtless just, and those qualities were the main sources of the opposition, that was made to the Union. Learning and bravery in the upper ranks produced pride, which made them fear the Union would lessen their rank and consequence; and the poverty of the common people made them dread, that the little trade they possessed, would be lessened. The Scottish nobility at that time amounted to *one hundred and thirty-eight*, of whom *seven* were also Peers of England, therefore could
suffer

suffer no degradation from the Union. Out of the remaining *one hundred and thirty-one, sixteen* were to be chosen to represent the whole peerage; that is somewhat above *one-eighth*. At the present time the Scottish Peerage, far from being degraded by the Union, is become more respectable, by being less numerous. A number of titles are extinct; some others have merged into other titles, and some have been forfeited; so that the present Peerage of Scotland amounts only to *eighty-five*; from which, deduct *seventeen* who have English peerages, and it appears, that the sixteen represent only *sixty-eight* Scottish Peers, (somewhat above one-fourth of the whole number.) Hence, the dignity of the Scottish Peerage, so far from being degraded, is rendered more honourable.

We have seen the state of the Peerage, before and since the Union; let us now advert to that of the *Commons*.

Before the Union, there were *eighty-nine* Commissioners for the thirty-three Shires, like our members for counties, and *sixty-seven*

seven Commissioners for sixty-six Boroughs, Edinburgh having two, and the rest one each. These *one hundred and fifty-six* members were, by the articles of the Union, reduced to *forty-five*; that is to say, *thirty* for Shires, and *fifteen* for Boroughs; and as there were thirty-three Shires, six of them were united, and formed but three in the representation. In respect to the sixty-six Boroughs, Edinburgh still sends one member; but the sixty-five other Boroughs are consolidated into fourteen; some comprehending five, and other four Boroughs. Yet each in its turn has the pre-eminence in election.

In like manner, the fears of the common people proved merely imaginary. Before the Union, there were no expensive manufactures in Scotland, and its commerce was but little. The lower ranks were held in vassalage, the peasantry of every clan being subjected to its chieftain. Hence, they were constantly involved in petty wars and commotions. It was only for the Barons and heads of clans, to have animosities with each other; the
disputes

disputes were generally decided by dint of arms, and the vassals of each were obliged to follow their lords whithersoever they chose to lead them, though at the risque of life and limb. Behold now the contrast: the slavish vassalage is at an end. Capital manufactures have been established. The linens, cottons, muslins and cambricks manufactured in sundry parts, especially at Paisly, give bread to great numbers: and the iron works at Carron, are now extensive, and employ more hands than any other of that kind in all Europe. Fisheries are improved; and commerce is carried on to the ports of the Baltic, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, and the whole range of the Mediterranean. This change is owing to the encouragement given to industry, to the encrease of capital consequence thereon, and to the taking off the many restrictions under which they laboured from England. The country has also assumed a new face. Fine roads have been made, and canals cut to facilitate the transport of commodities; and the number of houses have encreased above one

third in the whole Kingdom. Edinburgh, the capital, has been extended on all sides, sumptuous bridges have been erected, elegant squares laid out; beautiful streets traverse the north and south of the old City, and houses that emulate palaces, with splendid public buildings, proclaim the advantages that have resulted from the Union. The like increase may be seen in Glasgow, and fundry other cities and large towns.

The religion established in Scotland, and the laws and courts of civil and criminal jurisdiction, suffered no change from the Union: they remain in full force, and still subsist with all their authority, rights, and privileges. Some few only of the state and crown offices were abolished, and most of the old establishments continue to this day.

SECTION

SECTION III.

An enumeration of the chief objections that may be brought against an Union of Ireland with Great Britain; with an examination of their force and validity.

The objections that have been started against an Union, are many. Men of different ranks, stations, and occupations, have each urged their reasons, as party and self-interest have prompted; the principal objections are these:

In respect to the Irish nobility, it is objected that *their birth-right of being the hereditary counsellors of the crown, will be taken away from all who may not be elected to represent the Irish Peerage, in the united Parliament*: let this objection be examined.

The Irish Peerage amounts at this day to *one hundred and ninety-nine Temporal Peers*, (setting aside the Spiritual Peers;) of these *forty*, by having also British Peerages, cannot lose any dignity, neither can they
be

be elected to represent the Peerage of this kingdom, to the remaining number will be *one hundred and fifty-nine*. Now as sixteen were held a proper proportion to represent the *one hundred and twenty-one* Scottish Peers, a similar proportion of the *one hundred and fifty-nine* cannot be less than *twenty-four*; then it appears there will be *sixty-four* Irish Peers sitting in the Parliament of the empire; and from the number of absentees, it has frequently happened, that not more than that number has been sitting and voting in the Irish House of Lords, on some of the most important questions; and is it not obvious, that the interest of Ireland will be as well promoted in the one, as in the other, in either general, or particular and local points? But still, it is said, that although so many will be elected, the remainder who may either lose the election, or not be put in nomination, will thereby *lose some rights and privileges, which, without the Union, they would retain*: The only privileges the unelected Peers can lose, will be those of sitting in Parliament, and on the trial of a Peer, every other of rank, privilege, precedency, and

and inviolability of person, (except in cases of breach of the peace) will be continued and confirmed. Nay, they will be extended beyond the limits of Ireland. In Britain *hitherto* an Irish Peer, unless he is also a Peer of Great Britain, is not privileged from arrests in civil actions, and is not above the rank of a Commoner. As several Irish Peers are elected to the British Commons, after an Union the case will be altered; and an Irish Peer, though not a representative of the Irish Peerage in the united Parliament, will enjoy personal privileges throughout the whole empire; and though not successful in one election by his fellow Peers, may yet be so in another. Besides, as no Irish Peer can be created hereafter, in a few years the present number will be diminished, and continue to diminish; thus gradually becoming more respectable from their paucity: Another salutary end will be answered from this very circumstance:—It has not unfrequently been urged, and with a manifest degree of acrimony, that the Peerage of Ireland was too numerous; was constantly increasing; was bestowed on some, who had

had no kind of pretension by character or services, to be ennobled—Nay, it has been said, (how truly we cannot say,) that some Peerages have been purchased. By an Union all discontent, or invective on this head, will totally and immediately cease.

It is also objected, that the taking away the Irish Parliament, *will be prejudicial to such persons as have influence in the election of representatives for counties, or a patronage of boroughs.* That it will deprive electors of their right of franchise, and take away the salaries and profits of all the officers and servants, dependant of both Houses of Parliament. That an Union will avert these effects, in a certain degree, must be acknowledged; but it is worth while to examine candidly, how far these effects will be of injury, or benefit to the nation at large.

The constitution says, that all elections should have the free choice of the electors; and that no Peer ought to have any influence, or coercive power in the choice of any representative. If so, the use of any influence or nomination, is a breach of the constitution;

constitution ; and any steps taken to remedy that breach, must be praise-worthy. It should be also remembered, that Commoners of Ireland must be sent to represent the Commons of the kingdom, in the united Parliaments ; therefore, there will still be elections of Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, in proportion to what there are at present. If we may conclude, that the mode adopted at the Union with Scotland will be followed in an Union with Ireland ; then we may say, that as the *eighty-nine* members for shires were proportioned to *thirty* ; and the *sixty-seven* members for boroughs, proportioned to *fifteen* ; (that is *forty-five* present members in the place of *one hundred and fifty-six*, who sat formerly ;) so our present *three hundred*, will probably be represented by *seventy-five* members ; therefore no man will lose his elective franchise ; for if, as in Scotland, any two small counties may be consolidated, and send but one member ; the freeholder of each county must still have his vote. In like manner though two, three, or more boroughs may be united, the real electors of each must have his vote also.

The

The boroughs! the rotten boroughs, ought to be abolished! This has for many years been the outcry of the framers of Parliamentary Reform. Surely then, if an Union, by uniting the small, unconfidential boroughs, and thereby extending the number of burgessees who elect, takes away the cause of repeated clamour, and is in effect providing so far in the road of Reform, it ought to be received with pleasure, by every man, of what degree soever, who was sincere in his opposition to boroughs.

But it is also said, that every Peer or Gentleman who has patronage, and thereby can nominate to a seat in Parliament, however, that nomination may be deemed an evil; yet, as it is his property, it ought not to be taken from him without paying him for that property. And accordingly some of the most popular advocates for Parliamentary Reform, have calculated how much money should be raised to pay, what they called borough owners. The value of each borough has been estimated at 12,000l.

If

If this is now held as proper, the expence of this part of Reform will be great indeed. But, setting aside the propriety or unconstitutionality of borough patronage, two things deserve consideration: First by what means the owner came by that property? whether by *descent* or *purchase*? If by the first, he can suffer no wrong, if he is deprived of it, without any recompence; for no person can justly inherit a right of commanding a freeman to vote for this, or that candidate. But if he has purchased the property, that is supposed to convey to the buyer, a power of nomination, as there is, no doubt, but that consideration enhances the quantum of the purchase. Justice may probably allow of the re-imbursment of the money he has paid over and above the real intrinsic value of the estate he has bought. But yet the price must be greatly diminished by the consideration, that such boroughs as will be united, and others cannot demand such a price, as if they were totally annihilated.

In regard to the loss of salaries and profits of the officers and servants of Parli-
 F
 ment,

ment, that will be a real grievance to the individual losers; but none to any others, or to the nation at large: and it is a constant maxim in politics, that the interest of the whole is to be preferred to that of any part. The salaries and profits in question, are very considerable, and are all paid out of the public money. The salaries alone of both Houses amount to near 17,000l. a year, besides the fees; and when the expence of stationary, printing, lights, buildings, repairs and other contingencies are considered, the saving to the nation will probably be above 50,000l. a year, and there will be doubtless places and employments enough remaining to reimburse to deserving individuals what they may lose by the Union.

But it is farther objected, *an Union with Britain will be the destruction of Irish Commerce, Trade, and Manufactures.* Can any man be really serious in making such an objection? Surely he cannot, if in his sound senses. This must be only thrown out to deceive the unthinking multitude. By the treaty with Scotland, the natives
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of both nations became one people, “to
 “enjoy equally the *same* privileges and ad-
 “vantages, the *same* allowances, encou-
 “ragements and drawbacks, with respect
 “to commerce, and customs, and to be un-
 “der the *same* prohibitions, restrictions, and
 “regulations.” It is not within the bounds
 of the most unenlightened imagination, to
 conceive but the Union with Ireland will
 be, nay must be on similar terms. The
 moment the treaty is confirmed, every
 shackle on Irish commerce will be un-
 loosed; a perfect reciprocity of imports and
 exports of British and Irish produce and
 manufactures will be mutually establish-
 ed: we shall hear no more of British re-
 strictions on the commerce of Ireland; of
 which, complaints have been long and fer-
 vently made. The manufactures of each
 will be received mutually by the other,
 with no other preference than what may
 arise from the superior goodness of the ar-
 ticles. No more than port duties will be
 demanded. Dublin will pay no more for
 importing goods from London than from
 Cork—coasting duties alone will prevail
 on aught but foreign goods, or in foreign
 bottoms—no more crying out for protect-
 ing

ing duties; no more need for non-importation schemes. The commerce of Ireland, equally with that of Britain, will extend to and from every quarter of the globe. Commerce being unlimited, will extend manufactures, population follows trade, and agriculture, the basis of trade, will advance with rapid strides.

Well! object some. If all that has been urged be allowed, and should we grant, that the kingdom at large will be benefitted, yet *taking away the Parliament will be the destruction of Dublin*. That some speculative builders will find a temporary stop put to carrying Dublin to the eastward, to the already depopulation of the western part of the city; and to the erecting six or seven-story-high palaces, to the exclusion of the middle ranks of the people, is granted. That a check will be given to the destructive custom introduced within the last fifty years of exacting heavy *fines for houses*, which has had the most baneful effects on many honest and industrious shopkeepers, and by eating up their capitals, has induced more bankruptcies, than all other causes put together, is also granted. But where
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is the harm of all this to the public? Avaricious and speculative individuals may find themselves somewhat disappointed; but that thence Dublin will be ruined, does not follow.—Dublin will still be the seat of the King's deputy; it will still be the seat of equity and law; it will continue the seat of science; the centre of the military department; the great depôt of arms; the grand receipt of the revenue; the ecclesiastical department; and courts of Dublin, and the whole kingdom; the stamp-office; the post-office; the national bank; the municipality and guilds; the commercial establishments; and all the several charitable establishments, will still remain, with their dependent offices; and the multitudes of persons who subsist thereon; all this must necessarily be supported in Dublin, which joined to the influx of people which an extended commerce will bring to the capital, will still render Dublin as populous as it ever was, and fully balance the absence of about one hundred persons, which the Union will oblige to a temporary residence in Britain.

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The above will be the probable consequences of an Union, and more it would be premature to consider, till the exact terms of the treaty shall be known ; then will be the time to dwell more minutely on each article. Some other early objections besides those here enumerated, are certainly in circulation, which are here passed over, as not deserving, at present, to be answered ; as they seem to be made, merely to swell the account, and endeavour to make *number* compensate for weight.

THE END.